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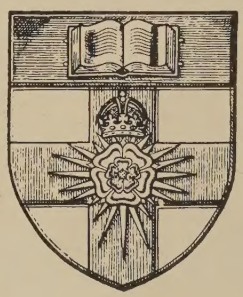

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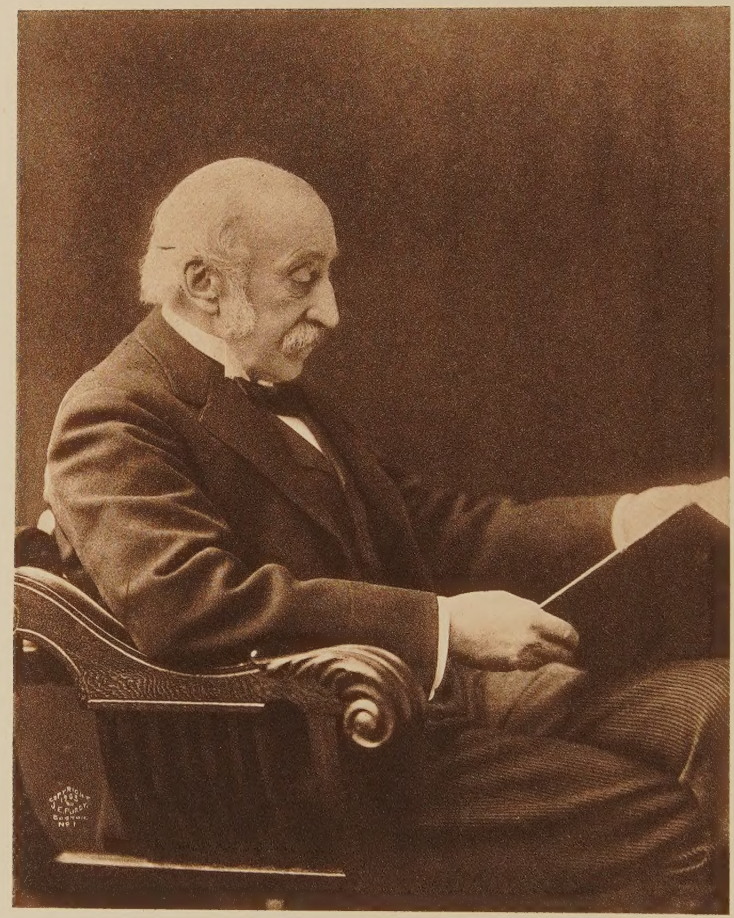

Charles Eliot Norton

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1914—JUNE, 1915

VOLUME XLVIII

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund

Boston
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
MDCCCCXV

University Press:
John Wilson and Son, Cambridge.

14594

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1871, Abner Cheney Goodell . . . . . July 20, 1914.
1875, Charles Francis Adams . . . . . March 20, 1915.
1881, Alexander McKenzie . . . . . August 6, 1914.
1897, Lucien Carr . . . . . Jan. 27, 1915.
1898, John Chipman Gray . . . . . Feb. 25, 1915.
1906, William Endicott . . . . . Nov. 7, 1914.
1910, Curtis Guild . . . . . April 6, 1915.

Honorary.

1907, Alfred Thayer Mahan . . . . . Dec. 1, 1914.

MEMBERSHIP CEASED.[1]

1905, George Parker Winship . . . . . May 4, 1915.

[1] By removal into the State of Massachusetts.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1914.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the purchase of twelve medals; and gifts of the medal of the DeMeritte School, Boston, from Edwin DeMeritte; of the medal of the Springfield Convention of the American Numismatic Association, from Waldo C. Moore, of Lewisburg, Ohio; of a medal of Williams College, from John A. Lowe; of a photograph of a painting of a Mr. Smyth, of Philadelphia, said to be a son of George IV and Mrs. Fitzherbert, painted perhaps by Gilbert Stuart; also a lithographic reproduction of a portrait of Washington "done in New York, 1790," from Miss Alba Davis; of a photograph of a portrait of Hon. William Gray, from Edward Gray; and of a statuette of Daniel Webster, after Ball's statuette of 1853, from Rev. Palfrey Perkins; also a campaign circular in the shape of a $1000 bill of fiat money, issued in 1880 in opposition to the Greenback Party.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Joseph Grafton Minot accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the publication of a new volume of *Proceedings*, 1913–1914, being the XLVIIth of the series, which

had just been distributed to members; and the approaching issue of the first volume of *Commerce of Rhode Island*, 1726–1800 (Seventh Series, vol. IX), and *The Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham*, 1739–1776 (vol. 71).[1] He also spoke of the reproduction of early Massachusetts newspapers by the photostatic process now undertaken by the Society. Progress has already been made with the *Boston News-Letter*, and with other libraries coöperating it is believed that every known issue of Boston newspapers from 1704 to 1774 will in time be accessible in this city, either in the original or in facsimile.

The Editor reports the following gifts of manuscript material:

From Mr. Shaw, a number of interesting printed notices of societies and public meetings, all of 1847. Among the papers is the catalogue of wines sold at auction from the estate of Mr. Justice Story, with lots described as "'Judicial.' Imported expressly for the Judges of the Supreme Court, U. S."

From Mrs. Bradley Gilman, of Canton, Massachusetts, a large number of letters of the Foster family, including letters from the three brothers, Dwight Foster (1757–1823), a representative and Senator from Massachusetts in the United States Congress; Theodore Foster (1752–1828), a United States Senator from Rhode Island; and Peregrine Foster, who went with the Marietta colony to Ohio. These letters contain valuable historical material, apart from their interest as family papers, and extend from 1757 to 1859.

From Mr. Edward Gray, of Groton, Massachusetts,[2] three deeds, 1755, on stamped paper, the stamp being an embossed codfish and "11 Pence" surrounded by a circle composed of the words "Staple of the Massachusetts"; a contemporary copy (1766) of an exoneration of Rev. Penuel Bowen from a charge of plagiarizing from Dr. Doddridge; a contemporary copy in manuscript of Wilkes' "North Briton, No. 45," and other papers.

From Mrs. Ellis B. Usher, granddaughter of Samuel

[1] In place of continuing series of ten volumes each, future issues of the *Collections* will be given volume numbers. The similar course was taken with the *Proceedings*.

[2] Author of *William Gray* (1914).

D. Partridge, a number of notes and legal papers of Cotton (1765–) and Samuel (1775–1856) Partridge, of Hatfield — a well-known family of that town. They run from 1808 to 1836.

From Mr. Stanley Webster Smith, of Boston, letters and papers, 1695–1833, consisting of depositions and other court papers, and commercial letters from Nantucket to Aaron Lopez and Christopher Champlin, of Newport.

The PRESIDENT said:

Seldom does the Society meet after the summer intermission that it does not devolve on the presiding officer to announce the death of either a member, or of some one otherwise associated with us, as having occurred during the intervening four months. The present constitutes no exception to the general rule. Two of our Resident Members have died since we last met — Abner Cheney Goodell, at Salem, July 20, and Alexander McKenzie, at Cambridge, August 6.

In accordance with the custom long since adopted, it will devolve on others than myself to offer characterizations, and subsequently to prepare memoirs of those just named. I shall confine myself to matters bearing on their connection with the Society and their activities in it. I will merely say that Mr. Goodell and Dr. McKenzie were contemporaneous and both octogenarians, — the former having been born in Cambridgeport, October 1, 1831, and the latter in New Bedford, December 14, 1830. Mr. Goodell was elected a Resident Member March 9, 1871; Dr. McKenzie, December 8, 1881. Mr. Goodell's membership thus covered the long period of forty-three years, while that of Dr. McKenzie, though ten years less, saw a generation born, grow up and pass off the stage. At the close, Mr. Goodell's name stood third on our roll of Resident Membership; that of Dr. McKenzie stood ninth.

Though elected in 1871, Mr. Goodell's activities in connection with the Society did not begin until twelve years later. March 8, 1883, he read his first communication — a paper I well remember, on the "Execution of Mark and Phillis for the Murder of Captain John Codman of Charlestown," a case of "petit treason," the murder of their owner by slaves, occur-

ring in 1755. This paper — an extremely interesting one — appears in volume xx of the First Series of our *Proceedings* (pp. 122–157). During the succeeding years Mr. Goodell was one of our most frequent and considerable contributors, and nearly everything to which he called attention originated in the work on which he was engaged as Editor of the Massachusetts Province Laws. Taken altogether, those papers cover a large number of topics of historical interest, some of them of importance. To those at all acquainted with Mr. Goodell's methods, it is needless to say that they all bear evidence of tireless investigation. In 1886 Mr. Goodell was appointed a member of a committee to examine and report upon the alleged Sharpless portraits of Washington. The same year he was also a member of the committee to consider the subject of indexing foreign Revolutionary documents relating to American affairs. During the next fifteen years his contributions were constant, and he served on more committees than I have time to enumerate. Elected a member of the Council in 1885, his service was continued until April, 1887.

Mr. Goodell's editorial methods in connection with the Province Laws had long excited adverse legislative criticism, both because of the slowness with which the work progressed and the cost entailed. Into this subject it is unnecessary now and here to enter in detail. The criticism provoked was attributable both to the commendable qualities and to the limitations of Mr. Goodell's mind and methods. Essentially an antiquarian, with him exactness was unquestionably carried to excess. In fact, it knew no limit. Neither was the sense of historical importance and proportion developed in him, if indeed it can be said to have existed. Time was of no moment. Naturally, under these conditions, all things relating to the past assuming in his mind importance, the work he did and the plan he laid out in connection with the Province Laws of Massachusetts may be said practically to have known no limit. It diverged into fields of investigation, both innumerable and inexhaustible.

Thus, though Mr. Goodell was in many respects an interesting character and his work had unquestioned value, it cannot be denied that to those who liked to see things accomplished on a reasonable basis of labor and cost, he was also an aggrava-

tion. The combative element in his make-up was, moreover, pronounced. Unable to conform to the views of others, he aroused antagonisms which ultimately led to the discontinuance of his services in connection with what had become the work of his lifetime. As President of this Society, I found myself drawn into that legislative wrangle, and it entailed some examination on my part of Mr. Goodell's work, his methods and results. Deeply impressed as I was by his research and indefatigable industry, he yet continually recalled to me a passage in Thomas Carlyle's Essay on Sir Walter Scott, published in 1838 in the *Westminster Review*. Carlyle there says:

> But indeed, in all things, writing or other, which a man engages in, there is the indispensablest beauty in knowing *how to get done*. A man frets himself to no purpose; he has not the sleight of the trade; he is not a craftsman, but an unfortunate borer and bungler, if he know not when to have done. Perfection is unattainable: no carpenter ever made a mathematically accurate right-angle in the world; yet all carpenters know when it is right enough, and do not botch it, and lose their wages, by making it too right. Too much pains-taking speaks disease in one's mind, as well as too little. The adroit sound-minded man will endeavour to spend on each business approximately what of pains it deserves; and with a conscience void of remorse will dismiss it then.

That closing clause exactly expressed what Mr. Goodell was unable to do. He could not bring himself to "spend on each business approximately what of pains it deserved; and with a conscience void of remorse to dismiss it then." He was simply untiring — indefatigable; and, as I have said, in matters historical, he lacked all sense of proportion. I mention this fact because it accounts, in my belief, for the discontinuance in 1901 of the contributions of Mr. Goodell, and of his active connection with the Society. That year the further work of editorship of the Province Laws was transferred to another, also a member of this Society; and I have reason to think he felt this had been in some degree due to a failure on our part to give him the legislative support he thought his due.

In any event, our records indicate that the last appearance of Mr. Goodell at our meetings was in June, 1901. He then made some remarks on the quotations found in the writings

of Mr. Webster. Previous to this he had attended at a few more than half of the meetings since his election. Especially was his attendance frequent between 1883 and 1901. Nevertheless, to those of the members who remember the Society as it existed prior to the year 1900, Mr. Goodell was and will continue to be conspicuous, both personally and in his efforts. Naturally, however, his absence now causes in us no sense of immediate loss.

At his death one of our oldest members, two years after his election in 1883, Dr. McKenzie became a member of the committee to publish the *Proceedings*. His service on that committee continued until November, 1907, being the longest ever rendered by any individual in that connection. During those years the Society published the entire Second Series and a part of its Third Series — twenty-two volumes in all. A frequent and invariably interesting speaker at the meetings he attended, Dr. McKenzie had a singular and attractive facility of extemporaneous utterance. His command of language was great, words flowing from him in well-ordered sentences which, taken down, at the moment of their utterance, might be put in print almost without revision. For a presiding officer it was, therefore, a pleasure, to call on him; and I am especially mindful of his tributes to Professor Smyth, to Dr. Herrick, to Professor Allen, and especially that to William Everett, who, though much younger than Dr. McKenzie, had been his roommate at Harvard. Between his election in 1881 and the time of his withdrawal from activities in 1910, Dr. McKenzie appears to have been one of our more regular attendants.

Altogether, he was an active and interesting, as well as fruitful member of our Society. His presence would be greatly missed had not four years and a half already intervened since he ceased coming.

Born in New Bedford, Dr. McKenzie came of the old stock, his father having been a typical whaling captain. Our associate Mr. Crapo is its present last living representative, and it gives us all satisfaction to see that his great regard for one he knew from boyhood has brought him here to-day. He will, I hope, speak from personal knowledge of those local but prenatal educational influences which made Dr. McKenzie what he was.

In the first place, however, I shall call upon Mr. Schouler, formerly a Resident, but now a Corresponding Member, to speak of his classmate and friend in life, Dr. McKenzie; afterwards I shall ask Mr. Waters to pay tribute to his fellow Salem representative, Mr. Goodell.

Mr. SCHOULER read the following tribute:

Our deceased fellow-member, Dr. McKenzie, pursued a long and eminent career in the Christian ministry; and the religious and secular presses, since his death last August, have paid united tribute to his memory, recalling his distinguished and successful service to the public and his fellow-citizens as a preacher, philanthropist and spiritual guide. I have no such intimate acquaintance with his life work as would qualify me to add to the characterization of others in this Boston and Cambridge vicinity, where his lot was mostly cast; but as a college classmate and one who saw something of him in his early manhood, besides following fairly his later career, I may perhaps at this time add something to the record.

No one among you can recall those earlier years of his life or review his prolonged activities who is not himself one of your older fellow-members in point of years; and such a one I may now consider myself. And yet my earliest and latest and most constant impression of McKenzie has been that he was a man much older than myself both in years and feelings — never a youth, always a sage; one to be looked up to for counsel and guidance, but not to be known familiarly.

Alexander McKenzie was born in New Bedford in 1830. He died at his home in Cambridge, about two months ago, after a pastorate there of more than forty consecutive years, followed by about four years of retirement as emeritus. His death occurred at the advanced age of eighty-three. It is well known that, after a common school training, he entered mercantile life as a clerk and bookkeeper and served an important business house in Boston; that, feeling a strong religious impulse, while thus employed, to enter the sacred ministry, he was aided and encouraged in his wishes by his generous employers; and that, in pursuance of such new plans of life, he entered Phillips Academy, just at the turn of majority, to study Latin and Greek and prepare for college. And thus did

I first meet him, myself a youth of sixteen, coming to Cambridge from distant Cincinnati, to be, like him, a Harvard freshman in the Class of 1859.

Our class numbered one hundred the first year and graduated only slightly smaller; and this was a good average total for college classes in those earlier times. McKenzie was by far the oldest man among us; more than eight years my own senior, which counted much to one in the adolescent teens. For in that era many of us collegians graduated at the age of twenty, while the greater number finished the four years' course at or soon after reaching majority. McKenzie was nearly thirty years old when he graduated, and completed afterwards his preparation for the Congregational ministry at Andover Theological Seminary in 1861. Hence among us college mates, playful in the free effervescence of youth, McKenzie moved a full-grown man, sedate and lonely, mature in thought and worldly experience and having already a fixed purpose in life while most of his classmates were doubtful or heedless of the future.

McKenzie attended oral recitations with his fellows of the same alphabetical section. He came out of college neither the first nor the second scholar in the class; but he held a high rank in his studies and was diligent and industrious. He was an older man than some of those to whom he recited — Charles W. Eliot, for instance, later famous, who for our class was tutor in mathematics.

In a simple and natural way McKenzie gained quickly great influence with his classmates, setting before them a high personal example of probity and honor. That influence was largely enhanced by the fact that, throughout our college course, the brilliant William Everett was his chum and roommate. The relationship had been arranged by Everett's distinguished father, in order that his young and precocious son might have a sort of proctor rather than a comrade to watch over him and guard his growth.[1] They roomed in the yard and in a college building, which is the best means of assuring a large and varied class acquaintance. Everett, sociable, self-confident and full of animal spirits, visited much the rooms of other classmates, whereas McKenzie, courteous to such as called, went little outside, but kept somewhat secluded, as

[1] For Dr. McKenzie's own statement on this point see *Proceedings*, XLIII. 414.

befitted one of his age and temperament. He sustained well his own unique position and, although not given to witticism or playful banter, he smiled indulgently and kindly on the frolicsomeness that went on about him, like one who could appreciate, but had himself put away all childish things. We learned to regard him as the patriarch of the class, our elder brother many years removed. Early in our sophomore year he was made President of the Institute and performed the duties of that post with dignity and discretion. He had already by general consent been booked for chaplain of the class at our graduation.

The college incident concerning this fellow-student which has left the strongest and most durable impression on my memory occurred towards the end of that same sophomore year and relates to the action taken by our Class of 1859 with reference to the Greek Letter societies. One of those societies, the least liked in college at the time, had made early canvass of our class and induced three or four of the most popular men to pledge themselves to join it when the proper time should arrive. Our class leaders, indignant, pressed these men to retract; but they felt that they could not in honor do so, though regretting the step they had hastily taken. Thereupon these leaders conceived the idea of persuading the whole class to repudiate the Greek Letter societies and refuse as a body to enter them. The broad ground they took, however, was that such societies were detrimental to class unity; a burden rather than a benefit so far as affiliation with like chapters in other colleges was concerned; and productive besides of jealous dissensions among ourselves. McKenzie was prevailed upon to advocate such repudiation, though he could hardly have been a party to the original grievance. A meeting of the class was called to consider and decide the question. The attendance was large, and in the discussion that ensued McKenzie's speech was the strongest, decisive of the issue. With uplifted face and animated voice and gesture, after the pulpit manner characteristic of him in later life, he besought and exhorted us all to cherish constantly class unity and class acquaintance. "I want," said he earnestly, "to see my classmates growing stronger and stronger in the bonds of affection, each and all of them. I want to know them and I want to love them."

That speech, and most of all that particular passage, touched the hearts of all assembled. It brought over the doubtful and wavering among his listeners and carried the meeting. By a large and conclusive majority the Class of 1859 voted to stand out from all the Greek Letter societies and have no fellowship with them.

That speech, we may fairly suppose, was McKenzie's earliest effort as a preacher before a congregation worthy of the name. Such an occasion for exhortation he could hardly have found at Phillips Academy; and it was not until our Senior Exhibition of May, 1859, that, before the usual large and cultured audience of both sexes in the old chapel of University Hall, he delivered his well-written dissertation on "The Eloquence of St. Chrysostom," sailing in at one rear door and out of the other in flying silk gown, as the custom then was with those of us who had parts, to hold forth from an improvised platform in front of the pulpit, where sat President Walker in academic costume, to announce in Latin each orator.

As so many of this Society are fellow-alumni of Harvard I may be permitted to give the sequel of this bold departure taken by our class. For a few months the flame of class unity mounted high and burned brightly. We formed a Class Society to which all were admitted, adopting the Chinese name of "Wen Tchang Koun," which the knowing ones assured us had an appropriate meaning. We hired parlors in the old Brattle House for reading, general conference and conversation. On a few memorable occasions we held evening entertainments for the full class, such as a mock trial, the reading of a paper with special class contributions [1] and a mirthful charade on the name of one of our professors, ending with a mimic lecture on natural philosophy. But class affection began to flicker and fail in our junior year, when elections to the great Hasty Pudding Club came in slow and gradual order. That supreme of social honors at college, with its accompanying adornment in one's room of the symbolical black ribbon whose owner's name was inscribed thereon in white letters, the ambitious among us coveted greatly. But for these elections the balance of the Greek Letter societies, each with its representative men,

[1] McKenzie made a poetical contribution to my paper. The verses, full of class spirit, are still in my possession, in his own handwriting.

was now wanting; and our popular leaders, as hitherto recognized, got to controlling those elections from within to please too much a set of favorites and parasites. Boon companionship prevailed against talent and quiet tastes.

At length some of the excluded ones started an opposition literary society known as the "O.K," and the sixteen men chosen to it on behalf of '59 gave our class much distinction in later life. A clear schism and not mere petty dissensions now vexed us, and our much vaunted class unity vanished into the limbo of fond illusions. Class politics became bitter. For Class Day and the final class honors at graduation the "O.K." seniors set up candidates in opposition to the old class slate which former leaders, now in control of the "Hasty Pudding," still held out for acceptance. Class elections were held early in the second senior term and the "O.K." ticket was carried at the polls against the "Hasty Pudding." There were heartburnings among classmates in consequence at our graduation which only time's slow process could heal.

Meanwhile the classes succeeding ours entered the Greek Letter societies and the chasm we had made was bridged over. The "Hasty Pudding" speedily regained its supremacy and composure in the social life of the college; while the "O.K," handed down to worthy successors, settled into a permanent literary society of repute, discarding all further harsh rivalry.

As for McKenzie himself, no loss or diminution was suffered in his quiet popularity. He remained as before, above all reach of class turbulence, looked up to and respected; still aloof from intimacy, as nature compelled, and better appreciated rather than better known. He did not exhort us again, but suffered class matters to take their course, interesting himself specially in the college society of Christian Brethren, where he bore an important part. With great unanimity we chose him chaplain of the class, as foreordained at the beginning, and the patriarch of '59 became its priest. In this, at least, the class made no mistake; for McKenzie's qualities of mind and heart were sterling. How admirably he served, through a long life and career, in the Congregational ministry, by preaching and example, is well known in and far beyond this community. He was faithful, too, to the many kindred trusts, charitable and educational, committed to him; always judicious,

always mature. No life could have better fulfilled the hopes of those who saw him turn from mercantile pursuits to the ministry or justified more amply the high ideals of its earliest manhood.

Mr. Crapo spoke as follows:

The members of this society knew Alexander McKenzie the man. I knew Alec McKenzie the boy. He and I were playmates. Our homes were directly opposite on the same street. We attended the same public schools and took part in the same sports. In his youth he was somewhat slender in physique. His manners were gentle. He was never rough or aggressive. He was not a leader in the school room or on the playground, for he was too modest and retiring. He was thoughtful and a good scholar. He was thoroughly conscientious, anxious to know what was right and determined to do right. His companions liked him because he was helpful and sympathetic. When he left school he came upon the problem which every boy at that period had to meet — the problem of employment and how to become a wage earner. Some boys went to a trade, others into a store or counting room, and still others shipped as cabin boy on a whaler. Young McKenzie sought employment as a clerk in a bank but was not successful. He made applications in other directions with the same result. At last he found a situation in a grocery store, and after a while by some great good fortune he had employment in Boston, and there he met friends who recognized his merits and who encouraged him to further study and to prepare for and enter college, which he did, graduating with the class of 1859 from Harvard. After he left New Bedford I saw little of him, for our steps led in different directions.

It is difficult for me to speak of Alexander McKenzie without speaking of his father, Daniel McKenzie, a man whom I greatly admired. He was a splendid specimen of the whaling captains of seventy-five and eighty years ago. He was a man of daring, undaunted in danger, and never shirking in times of peril, self-poised and self-reliant. His occupation as a whaleman was one of great hazard. Modern devices have lessened the risk attending the pursuit and capture, but in those earlier years it was a hand to hand fight with the monsters of the deep.

The spirit of the conflict can be inferred from the slogan used by the boat's crew as it pushed from the vessel to engage in the chase — "A dead whale or a stove boat!" Often it was a stoven boat, a boat crushed in the jaws of an infuriated whale, the crew leaping into the water, an oar their only life preserver, floating on the ocean until a companion boat could come to their rescue. Daniel McKenzie's sea-life was one of extraordinary adventure. In the War of 1812, when nineteen years of age, the whaling ship in which he was serving as boatsteerer was captured by an English man-of-war and he was confined as a prisoner at Capetown. After suffering much privation there he was removed to the Dartmoor prison, where he remained many months enduring the brutality of that prison pen. If character is influenced by the strain and stress of life, the father of Alexander McKenzie had ample opportunity for character making. He was well informed. During his voyages he had read many books of history and travel. He visited seaports in distant parts of the world. He dealt with barbarous and savage tribes in the South Sea Islands when in quest of water, wood and yams. After retiring from the seas he made his home at New Bedford, where he became a favorite of all classes. His readiness of speech, his fund of adventurous stories, and his gentle humor, made him an entertaining companion, while his good sense, and sound judgment, and earnest efforts for local improvements and the promotion of every worthy cause brought to him the esteem of his townsmen. In my boyhood I thought the great men of New Bedford were not its rich merchants but its retired whaling-masters.

While the father and son were different in education, training and vocation, they had traits in common. Both had a keen sense of duty and a willing purpose to meet it. Both were kind-hearted and broad-minded, and unselfishly sought to make men happier and advance the betterment of the communities in which they lived.

I never heard Dr. McKenzie preach his sermons from the pulpit, but on several occasions I have listened to him when he spoke on topics of philanthropy, social welfare and reform movements. On one occasion many years ago when speaking in behalf of a rescue mission or some kindred charity, he mentioned an event in his boyhood. It was a trifling incident, but

as I have remembered it I venture to repeat it. In doing so I will preface it with a reference to a custom of that period. A whale ship, homeward bound, as it approached the coast displayed from the mast head the private signal of its managing owner. As the vessel entered Buzzard's Bay, passing by Cuttyhunk, this signal could not be seen from the town. It was first discovered with the aid of a spy glass by the lighthouse keeper on Dumpling Rock. When he had satisfied himself of the identity of the signal he took from the chest in the lighthouse its duplicate which he hoisted on the flag staff on Dumpling. This could not be seen from the wharves or business part of the town, but might be seen from elevated ground. One morning word came from the observatory on the hill that a vessel was in the bay inward bound and that it was the *Falcon*, Captain Daniel McKenzie. Young McKenzie, a mere lad, heard the report and rushed to the dock where the pilot boat was moored. He reached there just as it was about to sail to bring the vessel into the upper harbor. He begged the pilot to take him in the boat in order that he might greet his father on the ship. The pilot consented, and when the pilot boat and the ship approached each other in the bay, Capt. McKenzie saw a little boy in the boat and soon recognized him as his son from whom he had parted two years or more before. When the boat came alongside the ship the Captain shouted to the mate, "Throw a line to my boy." The line was thrown and the boat's crew carefully adjusted it about the little fellow and he was hauled in safety on to the deck of the vessel where he embraced his father. The story itself was in no way remarkable. It was the application which Dr. McKenzie made of it which has remained in my memory. He said there were thousands of boys and girls floating on the sea of life, friendless and homeless. Who will throw a line to these boys and girls? Who will throw a line to save them from the wiles of the wicked and from destruction by devouring human sharks? This appeal made to a New Bedford audience, some of whom had known Dr. McKenzie in his boyhood and remembered his father, was impressive.

The last time I saw Dr. McKenzie was a few years ago when he came to New Bedford and spoke to the Old Dartmouth Historical Society. His address consisted of reminiscences of

his boyhood and school days in that town. In a charming, unconventional, conversational way, with touches of humor, he told the stories of his youth to a delighted gathering. Only one or two of his comrades of the old Green School house on Bush Street were present to welcome him; but those who listened to him gave him a hearty greeting, for they knew him to be a man of sincerity and purity of character, loyal to the truth and a leader in good works.

Mr. WATERS spoke briefly on Mr. Goodell's career and character.[1]

Mr. JONATHAN SMITH read a paper on

TORYISM IN WORCESTER COUNTY DURING THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Beginning with the establishment of royal authority in the colonies, the people naturally divided into two parties, the Conservative or Tory, and the Radical party, which took the title of Whig, both names borrowed from the mother country. The former included the royal officials, whose salaries depended directly or indirectly upon the Crown, and most of their friends; the Anglican clergy almost unanimously, with a few ministers of other denominations; the aristocracy of culture, with most of the lawyers; many of the holders of large property; the dynastic Tories, or king worshippers; those who honestly believed that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies; and also those who were swayed by factional feuds and interests, of which were the De Lancey and Livingston families of New York.

On the other side were the Whigs, who included the farmers, the mechanics and laborers, nearly all the dissenting clergy and a good many representatives of the wealthy and educated classes.

From the earliest settlement the whole course of events had tended to emphasize this division of parties and widen the gap between the two. The spirit of hostility, indeed, showed itself in Massachusetts as early as 1638, and from that date down to the battle of Lexington it constantly grew, intensified by every new law or decree of Parliament relating

[1] He reserves his remarks for his Memoir of Mr. Goodell.

to revenue laws, trade regulations or taxing statutes affecting the colonies. The Stamp Act, the Boston Massacre, the Boston Port Bill and the quartering of royal troops in Boston were but successive steps on the road, which began with the first settlement and ended in open war. The history of the Assemblies both of Massachusetts and New Hampshire from their first institution down to 1775 is one long story of quarrels, bickerings and controversies between the representatives of the people and the royal governors. By the latter date all this had been going on for one hundred and forty years, with constantly growing bitterness and intensity. The people had taken sides, and their choice was based upon profound political convictions, so that when the clash of arms came they were ready to submit their claims to the gage of battle.

At the outset the Tory party had one great advantage. It held the executive of the State and all the appointive places down to the least official. It also had the judiciary, the sheriffs and many of the leading officers of the militia. Appointees of royal power were found in every town. As a rule they were of the cultured and wealthy class and were among the leading citizens of their several communities, and being widely connected through their official and family kinships, they exerted a great influence. All the instruments of power were completely in their hands; but they were conservative, slow to act and utterly failed to realize their danger or to grasp the opportunity which in the early stages of the controversy was in their control. On the other hand, the patriot party, under a determined and aggressive leadership, acted with the greatest energy and vigor. When the differences became acute it promptly filled every municipal office with its own friends. Through committees of safety and correspondence it organized in all the towns, and with an iron hand and by mob and vigilance committees it suppressed all symptoms of Toryism, drove every Tory from office or compelled him to resign, and by its lawless and violent acts so intimidated the citizens that they did not dare to express Tory opinions if they held them, and so compelled them to maintain silence or to espouse the popular side. In a word, the Whigs immediately seized all the instruments of power formerly held by the opposite party and used them remorselessly for the extermination of their enemies.

Worcester County probably contained as few loyalists as any section of New England. The conduct of the patriots in that part of the State towards the English sympathizers may be taken as a fair example generally of the action and attitude of the two organizations towards each other, and the temper and feeling of each side toward that of the opposite faith. Where the parties were more evenly divided, the feeling was more bitter.

Before 1774 there had been many acts of violence which intensified the hostilities of the two divisions, but after the several acts relating to the colonies, passed by the British Parliament in 1774, the colonists visited their wrath upon their enemies wherever found. Some details of their conduct will illustrate the strong tension of the time. One of the first objects of popular anger was the Mandamus Councillors of whom four — namely, Timothy Ruggles, John Murray, Timothy Paine and Colonel Abijah Willard — were from Worcester County. This Council, which previously had been chosen by the retiring Council and State Assembly, was, under the Parliamentary Act of 1774, appointed by the royal Governor and paid by the Crown. With the approval of the Governor, the Council appointed the sheriffs and the sheriffs selected the juries. When the appointments were known, the people of the county took the matter in hand. They visited Colonel Ruggles, in Hardwick, attacked his house in the night time and ordered him to depart. He promised to do so when the sun was an hour high in the morning, which he did, and was never seen again in Hardwick. Meanwhile the mob closely cropped the mane and tail of his horse, painted its body and maimed and poisoned his cattle. John Murray, of Rutland, was a colonel of the militia and the largest real estate owner in the county. The town Committee of Safety, accompanied by five hundred men from Worcester, who were joined by one thousand others, visited him to demand his abandonment of the office. Not finding him at home, they left word that unless his resignation appeared in the papers within so many days they would visit him again. Colonel Murray quailed before the gathering storm and fled to the British army in Boston and never again saw his Rutland home. A crowd of fifteen hundred people, of Worcester, met and chose a committee to wait

upon Timothy Paine at his home in that town and demand his resignation. After some hesitation he wrote it out; he was then told to read it with his hat off, which was done, and he was not again molested. Colonel Abijah Willard, of Lancaster, had been a distinguished officer in the war of 1745, commanded a regiment in the French and Indian war and was one of the most eminent men in that part of the province. After he had been sworn in as Councillor, he was arrested in Union, Connecticut, whither he had gone on business, taken to Brimfield, where a mob of four hundred people condemned him to imprisonment. On the way to jail they released him on his signing the following humiliating retraction:

Sturbridge, August, 25, 1774.

Whereas, I, Abijah Willard, of Lancaster, have been appointed by Mandamus, a Councillor for this Province, and have without due consideration taken the oath, do now truly and solemnly declare that I am heartily sorry that I have taken said oath, and do hereby solemnly and in good faith promise and engage that I will not sit or act in the said Council, nor in any other that shall be appointed in such manner and form, but that I will, as much as in me lies, maintain the Charter Rights and Liberties of this Province; and do hereby ask the forgiveness of all honest, worthy Gentlemen that I have offended by taking the above said oath; and desire this may be inserted in the public prints.

Witness my hand.

Abijah Willard.[1]

This bitterness of feeling between the contending parties was based on intense political convictions and the questions at issue, as the people understood them, went down to the foundations of government itself. A writer in the *Massachusetts Spy*[2] in 1775 thus delineates a Tory and Toryism:

The word means, one who is a maintainer of the infernal doctrine of arbitrary power, and indefeasible right on the part of the sovereign, and of passive obedience and non-resistance on the part of the subject. The Tory maintains the King holds his crown by none but God, while the people were made entirely for him, and that he had a right to dispose of their fortunes, lives and liberties

[1] *Military Annals of Lancaster*, 196.
[2] *Massachusetts Spy*, March 9, 1775.

in defiance of his coronation oath, and the eternal laws of reason, without the subject having any right to demand redress of grievances or their being denied to seek it for themselves.

It may be doubted whether the Tory himself would agree with this definition, but it was certainly very near King George's understanding of his royal prerogative.

The action of the Worcester County blacksmiths in 1774 showed the lengths to which the people were determined to go in defence of their cause.[1]

We, the subscribers, being duly impressed with the sense of our duty to our Country, paternal affection for our children and unborn millions, as also for our personal rights and liberties, solemnly covenant, agree and engage to and with each other, that from and after the first day of December 1774, we will not according to the best of our knowledge, any or either of us, nor any persons by our directions, order or procure for any or either of us, do or perform any blacksmith work or business for any kind whatever for any persons or person whom we esteem enemies of this country, commonly known by the name of Tories, viz, all Councillors in this Province appointed by Mandamus, who have not publicly resigned said office; also persons who publicly addressed Gov. Hutchinson on his departure from this province, who have not publicly recanted; and also every officer exercizing authority by virtue of any commission tending to carry any of the late oppressive acts of Parliament into execution in America; and in particular we will not do any work for Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, John Murray of Rutland and James Putnam of Worcester, Esquires, nor for any person or persons cultivating, tilling, improving, dressing, living on or occupying any of their lands or tenements. Also we agree to refuse our work of every kind as aforesaid to all and every person or persons who shall not have signed the non consumption agreement, or have entered into a similar contract or agreement, or that shall not strictly conform to the Association or covenant agreed upon and signed by the Continental Congress lately convened at Philadelphia.

We further agree that we will not work for any mechanic, tradesman, laborer, or others that work for, or in any ways, or by any means whatever, aid, assist or promote the business or pecuniary advantage, pleasure and profits of any of the said enemies to this country.

Resolved, That all lawful ways and means ought to be adopted

[1] *Mass. Archives*, CLXXXI. 369.

by the whole body of the people of this province, to discountenance all our inveterate political enemies in manner as aforesaid. Therefore, we earnestly recommend it to all denominations of artificers that they call meetings of their respective craftsmen in their several counties as soon as may be, and enter into associations and agreements for said purposes. And that all husbandmen and laborers, etc., do the like; and that whosoever shall be guilty of any or either of the articles or agreements be held by us in contempt, as enemies to our common right.

While many of the things were done without authority of law, statutes were early passed which gave full power to the local officials to suppress all disloyal sentiments. On October 26, 1774, the Provincial Congress,[1]

Resolved That the committee of Safety shall watch carefully and diligently inspect and observe all persons as shall at any time attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of this province and whenever they deem necessary to alarm and muster the militia.

Again, by the Act of February 9, 1775, it was made the duty of the Committee of Safety,[2]

To most carefully and diligently inspect and observe all and every such person or persons as shall at any time attempt to carry into execution by force, an Act of the British Parliament for regulating the government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay or an Act for the Impartial administration of justice or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of the Massachusetts Bay.

The Second Provincial Congress, which met in May of the same year, after setting forth the disloyal acts of divers persons,[3]

Resolved That it be and hereby is recommended to the several committees of correspondence in the several towns and districts where such committees have been appointed, and to the selectmen of such towns and districts as have not appointed them, to inquire into the principles and conduct of suspected persons and that they cause all such to be disarmed who do not give them full and ample assurances, in which they can with safety confide, of their readiness to join their countrymen on all occasions in defence of the

[1] *Journals Provincial Congress*, 32. [2] *Ib.*, 89. [3] *Ib.*, 205.

rights and liberties of America; and likewise that they take effectual steps to put it out of the power of such persons to obstruct, by any means whatever, the measures which shall be taken for the common defence.

Two years later, in 1777, the State Assembly enacted a law [1] directing the selectmen forthwith to call a town meeting and elect some person firmly attached to the American cause to procure and lay before the Court all evidence against any individual showing him to be inimical to the American cause, and whose residence here would be dangerous to the State. The selectmen were required to lay before the voters a list of all known to be disaffected towards American liberty. A citizen could move to have the name of any person inserted in the list. This list was to be delivered to the justices of the peace, who were to issue their warrants of arrest against a suspected party and bring him before them. There was a jury trial, and if convicted the defendant was sent to the Board of War, which could transport him.

By another act [2] passed May 9 the sheriff was directed to arrest any person deemed by the Council dangerous to the State. The sheriff was authorized to break the doors of the dwelling or building, in the day or night time, of the person named in his warrant and convey him to jail, to be held without bail until released by the Council or court. The Test Act [3] passed in 1776 required every male person over sixteen years to declare his allegiance to the colonial cause and to repudiate the sovereignty of King and Parliament. If he refused, he was to be disarmed and disqualified from holding office; twenty-four hours were given him to sign, and if he then refused, his arms were seized and he was arrested and brought before the Court. The militia could be called upon to assist in enforcing the law. If an official refused to act, his office was declared vacant and the town was forthwith to select his successor. One so refusing was denied the right to vote, and if a minister or teacher, he could not recover his salary. Still another enactment compelled every official,[4] civil and military, and attorneys to take the oath of allegiance. On refusal they were denied the right

[1] *Province Laws*, 1776–77, ch. 48, 648.
[2] *Ib.*,1776–77, ch. 45, 641.
[3] *Ib.*, 1775–76, ch. 21, 479.
[4] *Ib.*, 1777–78, ch. 18, 770.

to hold their offices longer, and if an attorney, he could practice in the courts no more. If one furnished aid,[1] comfort or intelligence to the enemy, he was at once disarmed and disqualified from holding office afterwards. Where one had absented himself for three months or joined the enemy, on notice from the selectmen or Committee of Correspondence, the Judge of Probate could[2] order his estate seized and inventory thereof made. The agent was to pay the debts of the absentee and turn the balance into the State Treasury. The Superior Court could order the real estate sold. If the family of the absentee remained on the estate, the Court could make an allowance out of the proceeds for their support. Where the absentee had conveyed his estate before his departure, such deeds were pronounced null and void. And finally it was enacted that,[3] when anyone had levied war on the colonies, or conspired so to do, or had fled to the British lines, or had abandoned his home and joined General Gage in Boston while he was in possession of the place, he was adjudged to have forfeited his allegiance, and all his goods and estate were declared escheated to the State. The Attorney General was to report the names of all such and to order their property seized.

These laws fairly reflect the public opinion of the period and were the embodiment of the people's will. They express better than any other words can do the intensity of the political feeling and the grim resolution of the people to prevail at any cost in the battle joined. Under them free speech was denied, the right of suffrage taken away from everyone who refused to declare for the colonies. Attorneys were debarred from practice, ministers and teachers were driven from their desks and every citizen was turned into a spy and informer. The boycott was commended and a system of espionage, the most searching and humiliating, was legalized and established over every word said or act done by the people in every part of the Commonwealth. Seldom has a more drastic code of legislation ever been enacted in a civilized State; and it was faithfully enforced. The people demanded it and the public officials, even if otherwise inclined, did not dare to

[1] *Province Laws*, 1775–76, ch. 21, 483. [2] *Ib.*, 1776–77, ch. 38, 629.
[3] *Ib.*, 1778–79, ch. 49, 968.

refuse. A few examples will show their oppressive character in practical operation.

Early in the war the Committee of Correspondence for Northborough resolved that Thomas Billings, Silvanus Billings, John Taylor and John and James Eager were unfriendly to the colonies and had been holding private meetings. They were ordered to be confined to the limits of their respective farms and not to depart therefrom except to attend church or a funeral.[1] The case of Thomas Billings[2] illustrates the severity of the people's dealings with Tories. He was crippled so that he could not dress or undress himself, having a dislocated shoulder, and besides was affected with rheumatism and asthma. He was charged with being inimical to his country, was arrested, brought before a magistrate, tried and convicted by a jury and sent to the Board of War, which ordered him imprisoned. His physician protested that his physical condition was such that he ought not to be sent to prison, but without avail. Billings repeatedly petitioned for release, but the Board turned a deaf ear to his prayers.

Jonathan Danforth, of Hardwick, had been arrested in 1775 and thrust into jail and his estate sequestered. On December 7, 1776, he petitioned the Council to be admitted to bail.[3] He alleged that in the previous July he had gone to North Yarmouth, Maine, to work and so continued until the first of the following November, when he returned to Hardwick, bringing with him his proper credentials that during said time he had behaved well; that he had been charged with being in the British army, which he vigorously denied, and asked for bail. A committee was appointed to investigate these claims. In their report the action of the Council in arresting him was fully approved, and they charged him with having refused to pay money to the State Treasurer as required by law, with lending the town's money out to other parties and, after being published as a public enemy with having broken his confinement and gone to New York to confer with the enemy. He was also charged with several other disloyal acts. His prayer to be admitted to bail was denied.

Benjamin Hickox, of New Braintree, was indicted for en-

[1] *Massachusetts Spy*, July 17, 1776.
[2] *Mass. Archives*, CLIV. 177.
[3] *Ib.*, CLXXXI. 362–373.

listing into the British army in New York.[1] He pleaded guilty and was sentenced to sit one hour on the gallows with a rope around his neck and recognize in the sum of £100 for seven years.

Gentlemen of the cloth received no favors. Rev. Aaron Whitney, of Princeton, prayed diligently for King George for eight years. In 1774 his flock voted neither to bargain with him nor hear him preach, and he was compelled to withdraw from the pulpit. Similar treatment was dealt out to Rev. Ebenezer Morse, of Boylston, then a part of Shrewsbury. Rev. Eli Forbes, of Brookfield, was driven from his church, and Rev. Thomas Goss, of Bolton, had a long quarrel with his people over his political views, though in his case the trouble was complicated with other questions.

A poet of Petersham thus expresses his opinion of local Tories in the *Massachusetts Spy:*

With minds eclipsed and eke depraved,
As meek as any lamb,
The wretches who would be enslaved
That live in Petersham,
For you, ye worthless Tory band,
Who would not lawless power withstand,
The scum and scandal of the land,
Be endless plagues and fetters.
Ye want abilities and brains,
Though headstrong as a ram,
And seem to mourn the want of chains
Ye tools of Petersham;
For slaves like you the rod of power
Is pickling for some future hour,
The taste will prove austere and sour
E'en to the wretch that flatters.

Thus the patriots made Tory life miserable. Under the forms of law the committees exercised inquisitorial powers over the conduct of every citizen. If suspicions of loyalist sympathies were held against anyone, regardless of his character or professional position, he was promptly brought before the magistrate, always a staunch patriot, and examined. He was generally convicted and either sent to the Board of War for transportation, or confined to the limits of his farm, boy-

[1] *Records Supreme Judicial Court*, 1783, 83.

cotted and watched, treated as a public enemy and regarded with contempt. Sometimes the patriots took the case into their own hands and administered to the victim a coat of tar and feathers, as they several times did to Joseph Wilder, of Ashburnham.

Another method of dealing with British sympathizers was by prosecution in the Superior Court of Judicature. In 1780 Ezra Houghton, of Lancaster, was indicted for using the following language:[1]

"I have sworn to be faithful to King George, and there is nothing but I will do to serve him. It would be a capital stroke if we could destroy the currency. I am determined to do all in my power to do it!" On being asked if he justified the making and passing of counterfeit money, he replied, "No, where it is done on a selfish principle to build up, but when it is done on the more noble principle, with a view to bring the war to an end, and to prevent the effusion of human blood, I do not view it so bad; that the money that was passing was not made by any authority; that one person had as good right to make money as another. We are all as it were a wheel. Your spoke in the wheel is up now, but it will soon be down."

He was found guilty of using the foregoing language, fined £50, and ordered to recognize for his good behavior in the sum of £6000.

At the same term of Court,[2] Dr. Ephraim Whitney, of Princeton, was charged by the Grand Jury with saying, "I do not care anything about your law. Your law is Treason and your Government is Treason." He was also charged with refusing to pay his assessment for not serving in the army, and saying, "I will go to jail. I am not going to pay money to support a rebellion." He, too, was found guilty and was sentenced to pay a fine of £40 and costs.

To cite one more case,[3] Oliver Witt, of Paxton, was indicted for saying, "It is against my principles to fight. It is very reasonable to accept these offers [by King and Parliament] of pardon. That if you would not go into the army any more, you might be pardoned. That he had a pardon in his desk. That the Congress were designing men and contrived to keep

[1] *Records Superior Court Judicature*, 1778–80, 225.
[2] *Records Supreme Judicial Court*, 1783, 85.
[3] *Ib.*, 1780.

the war along to maintain themselves. That England had offered as reasonable terms as we could desire and we had better accept them. That he always expressed pleasure when the enemy gained a victory, and said that England would have the upper hand in a year and we had better not hold our Independency." The indictment also charged that "he endeavored to prevent the Continental Army being raised, and procured some persons not to enlist into the Army." He also was convicted, fined £40 and costs, and was ordered to recognize with sureties in the sum of £100. Eight others [1] were indicted, tried and convicted for the same offence in the Court of General Sessions for Worcester County and suffered heavy fines.

In 1781 Witt was again arraigned on the charge of circulating counterfeit money, put on trial, but was acquitted.

The language above quoted from these indictments is a fair sample of the Tory talk of the day. The colonies were contending against desperate odds, and the action indicated shows how keenly they realized what would ensue to them in case of defeat. The aim was to suppress relentlessly all forms of loyalist opposition by every means possible, and to create a reign of terror for all those who did not support the colonial side. The patriots fired bullets through the Tories' windows, tarred and feathered the offensive friends of King George, burned royalist literature at the stake and either barred the church doors or nailed up the pulpits of the Tory preachers and refused to listen to them.

The Confiscation and Banishment Act was passed April 30, 1779. It names 309 persons who by the statute were banished from the State and their property declared forfeited to the Commonwealth. Of this 309, thirty-one were from Worcester County. Besides this number, Timothy Ruggles and Thomas Oliver had already been proscribed by a special enactment, and Joseph Moore and Solomon Houghton, of Lancaster, were subsequently added. Of these, six each were from Worcester and Hardwick, four from Rutland, five from Lancaster, three each from Shrewsbury and Northborough, two each from Princeton and Petersham, and one each from

[1] *Records Court of General Sessions for Worcester County*, IV. 295, 394, 403, 415, 427, 465, 439, 540.

Leominster and Oakham. Of the number, seven are described as yeomen, two as blacksmiths and three as traders. The rest are "gentlemen" and attorneys. Thirty-five estates were sequestered.[1] As a class, the lawyers were the most loyal of all. Of the ten in practice in Worcester County at the beginning of the conflict, nine took the English side. The one exception was John Sprague, of Lancaster. Undoubtedly his sympathies were with the mother country at the outset, and early in 1775 he went to Boston to consult with friends as to his future course. There he met Colonel Ward, of Lancaster, an intimate friend and strong patriot, who advised him to go straight home and stay there. Sprague wisely did so and was not molested, but he was regarded with suspicion, and it was some years before his townsmen would trust him with any local office.

The estates so confiscated netted a comparatively small amount to the State. The assets of the banished were largely in real estate; they were heavily in debt, and after the debts were paid and allowances made to the families who still remained in the State, not much was left. The following is the return of the estates seized and sold in Worcester County under the statute:[2]

Abel Willard's	estate	netted	the	State	£1238	2*s.*	
Thomas Mullin's	"	"	"	"	15	15	3*d.*
John Bowen's	"	"	"	"	258	14	8
Michael Martin's	"	"	"	"	233	9	7
Thomas Bennett's	"	"	"	"	329	7	2
Adam Walker's	"	"	"	"	156	16	10
James Putnam's	"	"	"	"	3945	5	6
Daniel Murray's	"	"	"	"	1070	10	6
James Craige's	"	"	"	"	165	17	11
John and James Eager's	"	"	"	"	394	2	2
Theophilus Leslie's	"	"	"	"	225	13	6
Abijah Willard's	"	"	"	"	74	4	6

Making a total of £8108, 3*s.* 7*d.*

The favorite method of Tory attack was the manufacturing and circulating of counterfeit State and Continental bills. It was an insidious and deadly weapon to use, and the loyalists

[1] *Mass. Archives*, CLIII. 330. [2] *Ib.*, CLIV. 324.

employed it just as far as they dared. There had always been statutes against circulating counterfeit money, but in 1777 the State strengthened the law and increased the penalties. The offence of counterfeiting was made punishable by death; and for passing the spurious paper the prisoner was to be set in the market place an hour, usually it was on the gallows with a rope around his neck, to have one of his ears cut off, the thumb of his right hand cut off at the root of the nail; stripes not exceeding forty could be inflicted; he was liable also to a heavy fine; to treble the amount of the counterfeits he had circulated to the party defrauded, and further could be imprisoned not more than six months without bail. The informer was entitled to a reward of £50.

Under this statute the criminal courts of Worcester County did a large business for several years, and trials under it occupied the chief part of their criminal sessions. In some cases very heavy penalties were imposed. Ezra Houghton, of Lancaster,[1] in 1777 was indicted for passing upon William Whitney a false and fraudulent bill of credit, of the value of 7*s.* 10*d.*, and money of the United States to the value of 4*s.* He was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of £4000. Three years later he was tried and convicted of the same offence, was sentenced to pay a fine of £200 and costs, and triple damages to the one defrauded.

Jotham Bush,[2] of Shrewsbury, was condemned to pay a fine of £20, to be set on the gallows for one hour with a rope around his neck, to pay treble damages and costs to the party he had defrauded and to suffer three months' imprisonment. The *Spy* of November 27, 1777, says that "yesterday Jotham Bush sat on the gallows for one hour for passing counterfeit money." He was not heard from in Shrewsbury again. He was sent to the Board of War in Boston, which confined him on a ship in the harbor. In the following January, 1778, he petitioned the Assembly, praying that, being seized with smallpox, he be immediately removed on shore, and requesting that his son be allowed to go on shore to attend him. This seems to sustain the tradition which prevails among his descendants that he died of smallpox in Boston and was buried in the old Granary Burying Ground. His sons,

[1] *Records Superior Court Judicature*, 1778–80, 171. [2] *Ib.*

Jotham, Jr., and John, were subsequently convicted of passing counterfeit money, and his son David had his estate confiscated. Altogether the Bush family experienced the full weight of colonial wrath.

The only physician, besides Dr. Ephraim Whitney before named, convicted under this statute was Dr. Abraham Haskell,[1] of Lunenberg, who was arraigned for counterfeiting and also for passing counterfeit money. He was found guilty of the second, but acquitted on the first offence. On the charge of circulating the "queer" he was sentenced to pay a fine of £30, to sit one hour on the gallows with a rope around his neck, to suffer five months' imprisonment and to pay £26 to the one he had defrauded.

Samuel Burnham,[2] of Bolton, was sentenced to stand one hour in the pillory, to pay fines to the amount of £238 and to be whipped forty stripes. There were two other indictments against him for the same offence, on one of which he was fined £90. In the case of many of the convicts whipping was a part of the penalty imposed.

James Jewell,[3] of Sterling, was sentenced to be set in the pillory one hour, whipped twenty stripes on the bare back and to have the under part of his right ear cut off, and also to pay costs. These are fair illustrations of the penalties imposed. Altogether, there were thirty-nine convictions of the crime in Worcester County. The courts were organized to convict and did so in nearly every case. Seven of the offenders were from Shrewsbury, more than three times as many as from any other town. This is explained by the fact that Jotham Bush's hotel was a station on the Tory route from Londonderry, New Hampshire, to New York, over which the loyalists travelled to British headquarters to get their supplies of counterfeiting tools. It was a sort of distributing centre, and Bush was an active agent in the business.

It was, however, the Committee of Safety and Correspondence, organized in nearly every town, that told heaviest upon the Tory. Edward Clark, of Rutland, was convicted of selling tea and was immediately voted an enemy of American liberty. For a similar offence the people of Lancaster were warned to

[1] *Records Superior Court Judicature*, 15. [2] *Ib.*, 78.
[3] *Records Superior Judicial Court*, 1785.

have nothing to do with Solomon Houghton, except in acts of common humanity. In Barre, John Caldwell and John Black, for getting a town meeting called to consider Lord Howe's offer of Conciliation, "to the great grief of the people," were held up to view as public enemies, and it was recommended that they be disqualified from holding office. Out of many, these are typical incidents which show the thoroughness with which the laws were enforced.

Later in the war the Tories employed still another method of attack, namely, resistance to the collection of taxes. In 1780 and 1781 the currency of both State and nation had become practically worthless. Assessments were heavy and the people had become impoverished by the war. It is not surprising, in view of the Tory attitude, that the loyalists should bitterly oppose the collection of taxes, assessed illegally, as they claimed, to continue a struggle to which they were opposed. There were riotous outbreaks in several towns, in Petersham, Paxton, Sturbridge, Douglas and Dudley. The authorities suppressed these riots with a vigorous hand and brought the participants to the bar of justice. In the indictments the defendants were charged with being "seditious and turbulent persons, hostile to the United States of America and the government, opposed to the independency of the United States and to the measures taken by Congress for the independency of the United States, also for preventing the collection of taxes, and stirring up disaffection and riotously preventing the execution of the law." In a single indictment found at the April term, 1783, and tried in the following September, eighty citizens of Douglas and towns in the vicinity were presented by the Grand Jury for the above offences. At the same term fifteen, and at a former term twenty-three, from Dudley were also indicted, seven from Petersham, twelve from Sturbridge and several from Paxton.[1] Those found guilty were fined in sums varying from thirty shillings to eight pounds each.

The procedure of the Tories in these riots was much the same in all cases. Where the collector had advertised a sale, it was their habit to send notices to all their friends in the neighboring towns and adjoining State to assemble at the auction, and there, when the sale was called, create a disturbance, rescue

[1] *Records Supreme Judicial Court*, 1783, 212.

the property and drive away the auctioneer and collector. Altogether one hundred and forty-three were indicted for these offences. A large majority of the defendants either pleaded guilty or were tried and convicted.

No trace has been found of any secret organization of Tory sympathizers, and to what extent they had passwords or secret signs of recognition is not known; but they often held clandestine meetings for consultation and to plan methods of obstruction and hindrance to the colonial cause. The patriots were quick to break up these assemblies, and when any such were suspected, the participants were discovered and brought before the committee and dealt with. The penalty, in addition to holding them up to contempt as public enemies and commanding the people to have no dealings or associations with them, usually was to forbid more than two of them associating together, and to limit their movements to the farm they occupied, except for the purpose of attending church or funerals. Some of them did adopt secret signs or marks of recognition, placed usually in a conspicuous place upon their houses; for they confidently awaited the day when their cause would triumph, and by these signs their persons and property would be spared from the violence and general destruction which they believed would certainly follow.

The Toryism of Worcester County was largely in spots. One centre of influence was Lancaster, the oldest and then one of the largest and richest towns in the country. Five estates were confiscated. Several persons were prosecuted for passing counterfeit money, and others fell under the inquisition of the Committee of Safety. Mr. Nourse names thirteen who received official attention for Tory sympathies. Hardwick was another Tory centre. Here lived Colonel Ruggles, who himself and all his family clung to the English side. There were, besides, six others who fell victims of the people's wrath. In Worcester the Chandler family[1] and their kinsmen, the Paines, were Tories. In all, fifteen were publicly recognized and dealt with as loyalists. Rutland was the home of Colonel John Murray, and it was also the home of six or eight loyalists who received official attention. Besides these places were the towns of Northborough and Shrewsbury, each of which had a

[1] See Davis, *The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate.*

number of the same complexion. Some of the towns did not have any, at least existing records do not so show, while most of them had from one to thirteen each. In all, there were about two hundred and fifty Tories in Worcester County who were subjects of official action. To sum up, thirty-one were banished by the Act of 1779, two by a previous act and two afterwards. Thirty-five estates were confiscated, thirty-nine were prosecuted for passing counterfeit money, besides several more who were arrested for the same offence and thrown into jail but not tried. Eleven were convicted for using treasonable language and heavily fined, and many more — there is no complete record of their names or number — were convicted of disloyalty, in addition to those riotously resisting the execution of the laws — not a very great number out of a population of thirty thousand. But this does not show the real extent of British sympathy. Unfortunately, the records of the State under the Test Act were not preserved. In New Hampshire, however, which contained as few Tories in ratio to the population as any State of the thirteen, the name of every one who signed the Test, and of every man who refused, is preserved. Eight thousand five hundred and sixty-seven accepted the Test Act and seven hundred and eight-nine, or almost ten per cent, refused to sign. It is entirely safe to say that ten per cent of the county population openly or secretly hoped for the final triumph of King George III, and would have been found active on his side had the circumstances been favorable for positive action. But the patriot party had possession of every office, state and local, in the Commonwealth; and the timid, the indifferent, the time-server and the crowd which always joins the strongest side, but whose secret sympathies are with the other, did not dare to whisper their real preference for the English. It is well known that the British generals counted very largely on Tory aid to their armies in the different campaigns, which in the New England states did not materialize. General Burgoyne especially thought that the loyalists would flock to his camps as soon as he crossed the border, and he depended strongly on their assistance for the success of his invasion. It is needless to say that he was grievously disappointed. The patriots of the New England States had so overcome and crushed the loyalist element within

their borders that it was unable to render him any effective assistance.

Some of the loyalists were among the ablest and foremost men of the county at the outbreak of the war. Notable among them was Colonel John Murray. Another prominent man was James Putnam, of Worcester. He was born in Danvers in 1725, graduated at Harvard in 1746 and opened a law office in Worcester in 1749. He speedily made his way to the head of the bar, and was appointed Attorney General of the Province in 1773. His biographer says of him that he "was the best lawyer in America." John Adams studied law in his office. He was one of the first to cast in his lot with the Crown, and his estates were confiscated. Afterwards he was a judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick and died in 1790. He never saw Worcester after his flight in 1775.

But the most prominent Tory of all was Colonel Timothy Ruggles, perhaps the ablest man in the county. He was born in Rochester, Massachusetts, in 1711, and graduated at Harvard in 1732. He kept tavern, tended bar and was in the livery stable business in his earlier life. Going to Hardwick in 1753, he opened a law office and rapidly won high place. He was a keen wit, and his manners and speech were blunt and profane.[1] In the French and Indian war he commanded a regiment, and in the battle near Lake George, in which the French commander, Baron Dieskau, was killed, he was second in command under General Johnson. When the battle was over he told his commander, "General, I hope the damnable blunders you have made this day may be sanctified to your spiritual and everlasting good." In days prior to the war he was the leader of the Tory party in the legislature, as Otis was of the patriots. He presided, in 1765, over a convention of delegates from eight States to consider the grievances imposed by Parliament, but refused to assent to the action of the Assembly and was severely censured by it. Appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1773 and chosen a Mandamus Councillor in 1774, he adhered to the Crown and went to the British army, where he was active through the war recruiting for the army and organizing the Tories into regiments. The angry colonists confiscated his estates. He

[1] He is satirized in Mrs. Warren's *The Group* as Brigadier Hateall.

went to Nova Scotia at the end of the struggle and died in Halifax in 1798.

One of the saddest tragedies in the history of Worcester County was connected with his family. The three sons followed the father on to the English side and were proscribed and banished. His daughter, Bathsheba, married Joshua Spooner, a man considerably older than herself and not of attractive personality. She was of remarkable personal beauty, educated in the best schools of the time, but haughty in manner and of an imperious and demanding temper. Tiring of her husband, she plotted his murder and engaged three men to do the deed. All four of them were arrested, tried and convicted of the crime and sentenced to death. She was in a delicate condition, but said nothing about it until after she was sentenced, when she demanded a trial to have the fact determined. A jury of midwives was summoned, which decided against her claim. On the morning of her execution, just before she left her cell, she was baptized and professed belief in her Saviour. As she stood upon the platform awaiting her turn, she said to the sheriff, "My dear sir, I am ready; in a little time I will be in bliss, and but few years must elapse when I hope I shall see you and my other friends again." She was indifferent to her fate, made no request for life and constantly refused to beg for mercy; she acknowledged her sentence was just when standing on the gallows. After her death it was found that the claim as to her condition was true. It was July 2, 1778, that she went to her doom, amid a terrific storm of rain and lightning.[1] The circumstances of her execution sent a thrill of horror through the community, and she was the last woman ever executed for murder in Worcester County.

There is much to be said in criticism of the treatment of the loyalists by the colonies. To the acts of personal violence and the destruction of property there is no defence for the patriot party. But in confiscating the property of Tories who fled to the enemy, in the banishment of their leaders, in the suppression of treasonable talk, in the rigid surveillance of all suspected of disloyalty and in curbing their movements, the people were justified. It was a desperate struggle, and up to the capture of Burgoyne, at least, the chances of the final

[1] See *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, v. 430.

issue were four to one in favor of Great Britain. It is as legitimate to cripple and destroy the domestic enemy's power and resources as to fight the foe on the field of battle. All countries have done it in time of war; we did it, though less generally and effectively, in our Civil War. It must be remembered, too, that the Tories were equally vindictive and cruel, and had they possessed the power or had they finally prevailed, they would have done the same. A perusal of the literature of this phase of the Revolution makes that clear beyond a doubt. Of those who fled or were banished, very few ever returned. The families of some of them remained at home, and others, after the death of the father or husband, came back and lived and died in their native town. The story of their hardships and sufferings in exile is one of the most pathetic episodes in American history, but neither time nor space permits their recital here.

Letters of William Pynchon.[1]

The first entry in the *Colonial Records* of Connecticut, April 26, 1636, concerned the trading of a gun with the Indians for corn, a transaction against the interest of the English settlers on the Connecticut River, but indicating in a measure the importance of corn to the new communities in that region. Land had been set apart to the Indians, and they agreed to pay an annual tribute to the English in corn. That grain supplied the local currency and was sent to Boston and the Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam, there to be exchanged for supplies or to be sold for cash or wampum. The economic life of the Connecticut River settlements centred on corn, and the supply in the first years being insufficient, purchases were made of the neighboring Indians. That this trade might not suffer by the misdeeds of irresponsible traders, who would rather antagonize the interests of both settlers and natives, it was early regulated. At a court held at Hartford, February 9, 1637–38, the following order was passed:

Whereas vppon serious Consideracon wee conceiue that the plantacons in this River wilbe in some want of Indian Corne, And on the same Consideracon wee conceiue if every man may be at liberty

[1] A note by the Editor. See also Mason, *Springfield*.

to trucke with the Indians vppon the River where the supply of Corne in all likeliwood is to bee had to furnish our necessities, the market of Corne among the Indians may be greatly advanced to the preiudice of these plantacons, wee therefore thinke meete and doe soe order that noe man in this River nor Agawam [Springfield] shall goe vpp River amonge the Indians or at home at theire houses to trade for Corne or make any Contract or bargaine amonge them for corne either privately or publiquely vppon the paine of 5 *s.* for every bushell that hee or they shall soe trade or contract for; this order to endure vntill the next Generall Courte and vntill the Courte take other order to the contrary, and at the saide generall Courte there wilbe a setled order in the thing.[1]

When this order was taken only six members of the Court were present; but one month later, March 8,, 1637–38, at a better attended Court, full regulations were framed and the administration placed in the hands of William Pynchon, a member of the Court. He contracted to deliver at Hartford at least five hundred bushels of good merchantable corn at five shillings a bushel, and might charge 5*s.* 2*d.* a bushel for whatever additional quantity be returned. The restraint on going up the river to trade with the Indians was continued, but any corn brought down by the Indians might be sold at four shillings a bushel. In addition the Court imposed the following conditions:

In case of necessity, any family or familyes doe complaine of present necessities they are to repaire to 3 magistrates which may advise them for the supply, although it be to the dispensing with this order; prouided alsoe that if the said Mr. Pincheon bee inforced to raise the price with the Indians of sixe sixes of Wampum a pecke then the plantacons are to increase the pay of 5 *s*, per bushell, if he can abate any thing hee will sett of soe much of 5 *s* per bushell. The payment to be made in wampom at 3 a penny or marchantable beaver at x *s*. pounde.[2]

That the trade required regulation and that authority was given at this same Court to trade in corn with the Narragansett Indians,[3] the profits to belong to the "public," may be interpreted as good evidence that the grain raised in 1637 had not been sufficient for the immediate needs of the settlers. The

[1] *Conn. Col. Rec.*, I. 11. [2] *Ib.*, I. 13. [3] *Ib.*, I. 14.

loose traders had bought corn on speculation and put up the price by their bargaining with the Indians, and the corn on the River did not meet the demand. The recent death of John Oldham [1] had removed one whose irregular dealings with Whites and Indians and whose greed for gain had been shown on every occasion; but the lessons to be derived from the careers of such unscrupulous traders had thoroughly been learned, and the regulation was justified. In this the River settlements only followed the example of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, where the trade both in corn and with the Indians had been placed under restraint for the good of the commonweal, to assure a supply for the settlements and to protect the Indians from fraud.

The arrangement actually made did not at first work smoothly. Pynchon seems to have doubts of his being able to carry out his part of the contract, and the Court authorized Roger Ludlow and Captain John Mason "taking likewise such with them as shalbe meete, shall trade [in corn] to supply theire owne necessities and the necessities of some other that are in want." [2] The time at which this concession was made is not given, and no conjecture is possible. Then, too, the Indians did not trust the English so far as to trade freely with them. Perhaps the natives, confused by the presence of the newcomers and hardly knowing what was really expected of them, planted no more than for their own consumption. They had bargained away their best lands, and, practically on reservations set apart for their use, were expected to contribute to the general needs. The Warranocke Indians, for example, asserted that they were afraid of the English. The Court sent to know why they had made this assertion, and "if they will not come to vs willingly then to compell them to come by violence, and they may leaue 2 of the English as pleadges in the meane time and to trade with them for Corne if they can." [3] Captain Mason headed this mission which has all the appearance of a threat, intended to dispose the Indians to yield on every point, and trade away their corn whether willing and able, or not.

This was in April, 1638, and some time must elapse before

[1] See Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation.*

[2] *Conn. Col. Rec.*, I. 16. [3] *Ib.*, I. 17.

the new harvest. Winthrop noted a severe winter and a late spring, and added "the spring was so cold, that men were forced to plant their corn two or three times, for it rotted in the ground." The fishing stations on the coast sent to the Bay for supplies, and at Plymouth corn "wente at a round rate, viz. 6 *s.* a bushell."[1] It would thus be seen that Pynchon had made a bad bargain and the course of the market tended to his disadvantage. The Court offered some relief, by raising the price of corn to "5 *s.* 6 *d.* in money, in wampum att 3 a penny, 6 *s.* per bushell, or if in beaver according to the order att 9 *s.* per pounde, yett this is not any way to infringe the bargaine formerly made with Mr. Pincheon for soe much Corne as he bringes in." Receivers of corn were appointed in each town, who should hold the grain till the needy people would pay the official price.[2]

Events followed one another in such rapid succession that it is difficult to place them in their proper sequence, or to measure the influence of each incident. The mission was sent to the Warranocke Indians to "settle a Trade between vs and them aboute Corne," Mason, a soldier, in command. Already Pynchon had fallen under suspicion of undue practices; "for that as was conceiued and vppon proofe appeared he was not soe carefull to promote the publicque good in the trade of Corne as he was bound to doe." This agent, exercising his function under a monopoly created by the state, was fined forty bushells of corn, or nearly one twelfth of the more certain part of his trade — the five hundred bushells, assured of a market.[3] Here the record ends, and the letters and papers now printed for the first time give Pynchon's side of the controversy with reasonable though not satisfying fullness. They explain the operation of the endeavor to regulate the trade in corn, and supplement the colonial records of Connecticut where they are defective.[4]

To John Winthrop, Jr.

June 2, 1636.

Mr. Wintrop our deere love and affection remembred with thanks for the care to send away my goodes which I have Recd and also

[1] Winthrop, *History*, I. 265; Bradford, II. 269.
[2] *Conn. Col. Rec.*, I. 18.
[3] *Ib.*, I. 19.
[4] These letters are in 81, D; 71 E; and 1 W., 114.

paid all the fraight: but 3*li* doth still remaine dew to you. I am now preparing to goe to the Bay and have settled vppon a plantation at Agawam: and cannot [*torn*] Towne without both ste[ ] for the best ground at Aagawa[m is so] incombred with Indians that I shall loose halfe the benifit yearely: and am compelled to plant on the opposite side to avoid trespassing thereon: so when I see you I shall talke more.

I Recd. your letter: and think it a pore shift for the Indians of long Iland to lay all the fault vppon a Pequot sachem: so

blesse you, your most loving Friend

W. Pynchon.

I have no good pen.

I Recd the wampum you sent.

Addressed: To the Right Worshipfull Mr. John Winthrop at the Rivers Mouth.

Edward Hopkins to William Pynchon.

Hartford the 16th of Janu. 1638–39.

Sir, — With remembrance of my best Love and respectes I kindly salute you, etc. I receaved yours per Goodman Lewis, with the 5 *lb.* you sent by him onely one hollands dollar which you Count att 5*s.* is nott worth nor will passe in payment att above 4*s.* 6*d*, att most. I can say little to the Reconing with Mr. Whitney, he onely writt me to receave soe much money of you, having taken soe much up of mine in the Bay. I am perswaded att his returne he will give you a rationall answere for what he doth. I have transscribed out the *order* which was made in Court for your payment of the 40*lb.* I thought to have transcribed it againe, butt tyme will nott permit, and I hope you will read it as it is. I was ordered by the Court to write to you about the five that is due from you and for such moneys as are coming to the Cuntrey for such Bevar as you have traded according to the order made with your owne consent. You may please by the next oppertunity to give me an answere, for it will be expected from me. I pray you also send me word how you will deliver me 100 Bushells of good Corne in Aprill here at Harford. If you or any of your plantacon will deale uppon indifferent tearmes I shall give ready mony for it. I shall want some for my owne occations. I doubt not but you heare of the death of Mr. Harlackenden [1] and others in the Bay. I shall not add more at present but the remembrance of my best regard and love to

[1] Roger Harlakenden, born in Earle's Colne, in Essex, October 1, 1611, came to New England in the *Defence*, 1635, with wife Elizabeth, daughter of Godfrey Bosseville, of York. He died of the smallpox November 17, 1638.

Mr. Moxon [1] and Mr. Smith,[2] but take leave and rest yours in what I may

Edwa. Hopkins.

Addressed: To the worshipful his very loveing friend Mr. Wm. Pincheon at his house att Aguam d'ld.

William Pynchon to [John Haynes].

Agaam this 2d May, 1639.

Mr. Governor my respective love remembred to you and to Mr. Wells and to the rest of the magistrates with you. I recd a letter from you by Mr. Moxon the 20 April, 1639, which is by order of Court: But I perceive it is not intended for an answer to my apologie to the Elders of Windsor.[3] But only you tak up some things for a case that are so darke that you can hardly make true English of: and you rank them into 7 or 8 particulars: But the truth is I did look for a convincing answer in the maine grounds of the Courtes proceedings wherein I have wronnged the Country so as may stand with the censure of a court of equity:

But I doe ingeniously confesse I can conceive no such convincement in any of thes particulars: But if it please the Court to take into consideration this defense of my apologie following.

1. You say I have charged myselfe short of that which the Court charged me with all. But I professe to the vttermost of my memory and of all the helpes I could get from Mr. Moxon or my sonn: I have not favored myselfe in the full substance of any thinge: but if I have I shall be glad to see any materiall adition if the court please to expresse it to the full.

2. To the 2d my consultinge with Mr. Moxon and my sonn about the matter of Corne is not the sole reason I aledg for myselfe. But you may remember to what purpose I alledged my Consulting with them: I was charged in the matter of corne with unfaithfulnesse, self seeking, dishonest dealing: my answer to this was that I did nothing therein but with advise from Mr. Moxon and my sonn: now bring my profe to the matter for which it was intended, and you see how farr it will goe thus. he that counsells with Mr. Moxon and my son Smyth (for want of better) cannot be presumed in a court of iustice to be vnfaithfull, dishonest, self-seeking in the matter of Corne but rather desyrous as they can

[1] Rev. George Moxon, first minister of Springfield, who followed Pynchon to the Connecticut, and in 1653, to England.

[2] Henry Smith, who married Ann, daughter of Pynchon. His mother, Frances Sanford, married Pynchon.

[3] Perhaps the paper on p. 48, *infra*.

give light to him to goe the best way for the publike. But Mr. Pynchon etc.

3. To the 3d supposed contradiction, viz. that I tould the Indians the Captains[1] price was lesse than mine, and yet hold forth in my apologie that my price was lesse than the Captaines: 1. I grant that there is our appeerance the Captaines price was somewhat lesse than mine as it was held forth among us. 2lly. whereas it was vrged against me by the Court and Mr. Hooker that the Captain traded at an vnderprice therefore I was in my price eather deceitefull or vnfaithfull or both: In my apologie I plead that the Captaines vnderprice was not so much and so great as to prove that which was argued against me: yea in my apologie I plead that it is doubtfull whether the Captaines price in the issue, difference of waight and measure of corne considered, would prove lesse than mine if not more however it appeared to us at first, and if it did prove lesse yet it was uncertain to him, and therefore that difference of price was not a sufficient proofe of my dishonesty and unfaithfulnesse in my price of corne: and what contradiction is in this manner of pleading?

But you say the Captains price to the plantations was cheaper than mine to my owne house and this you say is a great mistery: but if it be a great mistery to the Contry it is none to me that know the course of trading with the Indians and their fearefull disposition as well as some others in the contry, and the rather because mine eyes have seene their often tremblings about that corne the Captaine bought of them till they had paid it, and mine eares have heard their often relations of their feare of the Captaine, and of the Sachims in the river and that the Captaine would have them take wampum which they would not have taken: and it is not a vsuall way of commerce with the Indians for many more 3. 4 or 5, to goe as it were armed and to make open Declaration of their wates and in the name of all the Sachims in the river and to put wampum vppon them vppon trust: and when much corne went by us they declared their feare and therefore refused to land any with us tho the need was great till they had satisfied the Sachims in the River: and this satisfies me in the vnderstanding of the mistery though I know not how it will satisfie the Country.

The Corn Trade.[2]

G. F. a magistrate is by order of a generall court intrusted to trade corne with the Indians for the Countries need and all others prohibited: within 7 nights after or there about sundry of the

[1] Captain Mason.

[2] A paper in the writing of William Pynchon.

members of the generall court together with some 3 or 4 others, being no members thereof, in the tyme of the adiournement of the generall court did meete uppon a day that was not appointed by the generall Court: when and where contrary to the Reasons and groundes of the order above mentioned, another deputy is chosen to trade with the Indians for corne in the Countries behalf And is sent out in the name power and authority of a generall court: and all this is don without the knowledge consent or release of the magistrate first ordered by the generall Court.

This 2d deputy thus deputed in his trading of corne with the Indians occasionally meetes with a Sachim (with whom he is desyrous to trade but answers he dares not for feare of the said magistrate first deputed when the 2d deputy comes with the said Sachim thus pretending feare to the house of the said magistrate first deputed and requesting him to take off feares from the said Sachim that he might trade with him whereto the said magistrate answers: I will neather make nor medle.

Now for this last clause of his answer he is complained of by the 2d deputy and is sommoned by a warrant from 2 magistrates to appeare at the next Sessions of the Generall Court: where he is taxed for the said speech as a breach of his oath of magistracy and is fined therefore.

Touchinge the last wordes viz I will neather make nor meddle the said deputy and another with him depose that those wordes were in answer to his request made to the said magistrate viz that he would take away feares from the said Sachim: but the said magistrate and his servant (who was a present witness heering all passages and speeches betwixt the said magistrate and the said deputy) are ready to depose that the said speech was in answer to another request which the said deputy propounded to the magistrate: viz that he would further him in such a particular way of trading corne with the said Sachim: which way of tradinge the magistrate disliked in his iudgment as not conducinge to the Common good.

And further the said magistrate imediately after the deputies cominge to his howse sent for 2 neighbors with whom he desyred to consult what course to take about the said deputies request: which 2 neighbers doe affirme thes 2 thinges. 1. that after their comminge the maine thing therein the said deputy desyred the magistrates furtherance was his helpe to bring the said Sachim to trade corne with him on such and such tearmes without any request at all of taking away feares: 2ly. what arguments or other meanes was thought of by the present company and propounded, if they were iudged by the said company usefull and furthering to the deputy in his design of tradinge, the said magistrate (being best

exercised in the Indian tounge) spake accordingly to the said Sachim in the Indian language: and that enough was said to the said Sachim to take away his feare if any were: and the 2 neighbors conceive that the argument used to the Indian might have bin sufficient to take away his feare, if any were.

ANSWER.

Mr Pynchons answere to the first Article

That he could not trade so vnlesse for some small parcell at that tyme when he wrote that letter.

Which answere we take not sufficient, for that his experience in one day was not sufficient to bottom such a passage from him to the court.

In pursuance of his answere Mr Pynchon affirmed he had power to raise the price of the 500 bushells directly contrary to the words of the order.

Also that he sent but one letter about the price of corne before the captaine came up, while brother Philips undertakes to prove 2 letters sent up.

*[1] To the 2d he answeres Captaine Mason came not up according to the reson rated in the first order.

to the 1. clause. Relation being had to the record its there apparent that Captaine Mason came up by order of Court: here mr Smith was produced and witnessed that he saw amongst the orders and rolles lying upon the table in the generall court an order where in power was given to C. Mason to trade for corne, to the which order were only three hands of Mr Hooker, Mr Stone and Mr Whiting together with the hands of the magistrates and committees of the generall Court.

2. To the last clause, he answeres that he and his servant then present are ready to depose that those words were an answere to other words and a request that mr Pynchon would further him in a particular way of trade with the Sachim which way mr Pynchon disliked as not conducing to the publique good: but that they were not spoken to the former request mr Pynchon sayth he leaves.

Here brother Haukes spake a relation of particulars as he thought, but missed the Circumstances and spake contradictions, yet nothing to the purpose.

2d answer. Mr Pynchon sayth he sent for Mr Moxon and mr Smith to advise about the C. request, and they can witnesse they heard no speach of the indians feares but that his whole request was to have Mr Pynchons help in the trade to their best apprehensions.

[1] The meaning of the asterisk is not clear. See p. 45, *infra*.

To this our returne was, the C speakes expressly that those words NEITHER MAKE NOR MEDDLE were spoken as soone as mett in mr Pynchons house before they came to the wardhouse or those 2 men came.

Mr Pynchon sayth when the C. was willing to trade in a way mr P. did approve that then he tooke away the indians feares to the best he could, but while the Captaine went his owne way which Mr. Pynchon sayth he was unwilling to meddle or make.

Heere Mr. Moxon and mr Smith testifie the C. expressed himself satisfied though after breakefast he departed in discontent.

to the 3. Article, Mr. P. answereth The Indian from the beginning was unwilling to trade with the Captaine on the Captains terms: to which our returne was that here is oath that he was willing before he came to Mr. Pynchon and also that his comming with the Captaine to get leave assigned his willingnesse to trade with leave.

2d answer to the last clause. That mr Pynchon never used any words to discourage the indian from trading with the Captaine in mr Pynchons any[1] way: but what discourse [or] argument he might take by the measuring of the basket or otherwise I cannot tell. but for the Captains way he answered not.

To the 4th Article mr Pynchon answereth: for his word concerning his man he remembreth no discouragement given by him but he thinketh he might seeme unwilling that his servant should act for that there was some clause in the order respecting tribute and a compelling way of trade which he was ever against.

To the 2d clause. He doth believe they had made promisses of corne to him and that he might speake of such promisses being engaged by the Country to make what provision he could and that his light was for a free trade with them. And others that were sent seemed to go another way, so that his iudgment being against their way he thinketh he did not do amisse.

To the 5 Article, he answereth that it was a great griefe to him that he could not answere the necessitie of the river being seated so conveniently for it, but it was occasioned hereby that others having after comissions granted he was hindered in the way of trade and thinketh the comission so grannted were a discharg to him in that trust. Yet it was his desire to further the service what he could.

Our retorne is that nothing was done by any by way of power or compulsion the C. used nothing but love nor goodman Stebbins and the others used any thing but love: and that mr Ludlow in his letter before any commissioners came up had satisfied you that no

[1] A word underlined.

hostilitie was intended at this tyme and that the Indian was peremptory not to trade with the Captaine, what fear then of power. And that power seemes used by mr P. who punished him.

* That there was more interim before the Captaine went up appeareth; the conclusion was upon the 4th day and they went forward upon the 5th day, and the provision of necessaries required some tyme so that they went not the next day: And when they went they addressed themselves to Messacho first and at Pequannock they traded their wampum away and were forced to come home for supply.

Matthew Mitchell [1] to William Pynchon.

[1639?]

Sir, — I received your letter by Judah and this yesternight by your men and have spoake to Goo. Hubbert at both times: but I know noe safe meanes of Conveyance of a letter till now, beeing not within when Judah came and went. and I heard of yoo. Cables occasion of coming downe and hoped I might as now I may, write and send by some of your people. Goo. Hubbert is full in his test[imony] about raising the tearmes of the Contract hee well remembers even that of raising to 5*s* or what it was. if the Indians did raise it so much to you hee saith noe body will denie it but the magiestrates. all grant that but saith hee they conceive he for his own ends would have had the price raised with the Indians whereas hee having such interest in them might have had so much at ould prise. and Capt. Mason saith hee swore hee thought hee might, and hearin his unfaithfullnes to the Cuntrie in their trust and neede appeared, and mr Hooker said hee could not believe but soe wise a man as mr Pinchon knewe how to procure and had such power with the indians that hee might have performed. els hee would not have promised and ingaged him selfe on this manner doth Gev.

[1] Matthew Mitchell is described by Increase Mather as "one of the old Nonconformist Puritans, who left England and transported himself and Family for *New-England*, purely on the account of Religion, in 1635." He was of Halifax, in Yorkshire, and came to New England in the *James*, of Bristol, with his wife and children, and Rev. Richard Mather, and passed through the tempest which nearly wrecked the vessel. He removed to the Connecticut, and in 1636, joined with Pynchon in the plantation "at and over agaynst Agaam," later Springfield. Four years later he united with others to form a new plantation at Rippowams, afterwards known as Stamford, the cause of his departure probably being his unjust removal by the General Court from the office of recorder (or town clerk) of Wethersfield. *Conn. Col. Rec.*, 1. 48. In 1642 he and John Whitmore were admitted members of the General Court of New Haven and "accepted the charge of freemen." *New Haven Col. Rec.*, 1. 69; Huntington, *History of Stamford*, 37. He accompanied Rev. Richard Denton to Hempstead, Long Island, but returned to Stamford, where he died in 1645.

reason and so did they you know in the Court. and I believe they will doe soe still: but I as fully beleeve that in your owne Conscience you are Cleane and that your arguments to an understanding man not preiudiced will Cleare it and you, and that you will not neede to his testimony nor would I advise you to be at so much Charges. nor do I doubt but with the Church of Rocksberie you will easilie come of and if you do the Experience of some saith, your Charges will be but in vaine and long and tedious Travells in your honest cause but in vaine except you could suite other mens apprehentions all will not doe. if you could but have the probation of Rocksberie and mr Moxon and your neighbours satisfied I doe beleeve it would be your best to make hast into argument that you may [*torn*] all the ordinances and so lett other mens example shew you what the profitt of [*torn*] and Chargable debates and delayes will bring out, they will begett [*torn*] and the cause will degenerate and new offences grow and as [*torn*] end as at first I would be glad if you were settled on the Co[nnecticut *torn*] was out of England now is good and probable to be true for what wee [*torn*] now by mr Winthorp Confirmed and he saith he doth beleeve it it was [brought] by the fishing shipps as afore by the Desire Cutting came in haueing laded in France brought sum newes of it but they bring it full. the partickulers I leave to your men whom I tould as well as I could. if this be soe there will com but some passingers over. and if not, men do not incline northward winters are so Teedious and many places on the coast to fill up and long Iland and Delayware bay intice men thinke of it. I doubt I shall not gett soe much spare time as to see you befoore I goe. if I can I will, for my love would and dutie and your exceeding love to meward hath oblidged me. I do acknowledge my selfe much be houlding to you and know not how to make recompence. you have beene aboundant in love. my wife was now ataking those you sent formerly because of the could shee deffered. but now shee may continue a good while in her course of takeing shee findes good by them they worke kindly, and I hope do her much good and shee is very thankfull to you desire if shee had it to show her selfe and my selfe thankfull god may give an opportunitie and meanes together. in the mean time wee are like to rest much behoulding to you. with our love to your selfe and mrs Pinchon kindly remembered and to mr Moxon, mr Smith and their wives and to Sam Hubbert, and so with our dayly well wishes and prayers to god for you wee rest your much indebted and loving servant to his power,

MATH. MITCHELL.

Addressed: To his very loving and much Respected frend Mr. Wm. Pinchon. DD.

STATEMENT.

In the tyme of my tryall I was impleaded for unfaithfull dealing in the trade of corne, and mr Hooker was sent for by the Court to give his iudgment whether I had not broken the oath of a magistrate and he delivered his iudgment peremptorily that I had broken my oath but I being unsatisfied how he could mak his charge good have often caled up pon him to make it good and he hath often promised and yet delayed to doe it to this day: and yet the Elders of winsor Church have wrote to the Elders of Roxbery that mr Hooker hath acquainted them with it and therefore they must have mr Hookers challeng: and I conceive that the Elders of Roxbery will expect that as you have given them intelligence that I am charged by mr Hooker with this foule offence that either you will see mr Hooker mak it good or acquit me of the guilt: for if mr Hooker do not mak it good many wronges will follow. 1. his credit is wronged by vndertaking to mak that good which yet he hath not don in a long distance of tyme. 2ly. I am wronged in my Cause and made a grieved magistrate vniustly. and 3ly the general Court are wronged to ground their censure vppon his iudgment. But I must expect to see this Charge demonstrated by positive proofe such as may stand with the iust censure of a Court of equity, for certaine punishment must be grounded vppon certaine proofe, and not vppon surmises or preiudice or the like mistaken groundes, or els it is but a deceiving of the Court in their proceedings which is a dangerous thing to the Court as in the example of the ould and present misguiding the young prophet he trusted to his iudgment and counsell but it cost him dere.

In another thing also I was charged with breach of oath as a magistrate for it was alledged against me (by mr Hooker as well as by others) that I should have bin so ready to further the Indians in transportation of their corne from woronoco that I should have but my Care which I manifested that I did offer to send the best I had and such a one as they like well of at another tyme. but because the Indian refused that and would only have a neighbors cano: I was charged that I ought to have borrowed it. which gapped I also stopped and manifested that I intreated mr Moxon livinge at the next door to borrow it. But the owner refused to lend it because notwithstanding his dayly need of it the Indians would not promise to bring it vp againe till fishing tyme, which was about 6 weekes after: Then I was charged with neglect of my duty and breach of my oath because I did not presse the cano for the Indians vse: A strange reason to prove the breach of my oath: If mag-

istrates in N. E. should *ex officio* practise such a power our mens proprieties, how long would Tyrany be kept out of our habitations: Truly the king might as legaly exact a loan *Ex officio* of his subjects by a distresse on mens proprieties (because he pleades as greate necessity) as to presse a Cano without a legall order. The lawes of England count it a tender thing to touch another mans propriety and therefore many have rather chosen to suffer as in a good cause then to yeeld their goods to the king *ex officio:* [1] and to lose the liberty of an English subject in N. E. would bring woefull slaviry to our posterity: But while governments are ordered by the lawlesse law of discretion, that is transient in particular mens heades may be of dangerous consequence quickly if Mephibosbeth had but the lawes of an English subiect to defend his right Siba could never have enioyed ½ his bed. as though I am necessitated to speek much of this for my further clering in the breach of oath yet [illegible] may serve for a gentill caution to those whom it may conscerne.

I thinke it needful to put you in mind of one thing more: when I desire of you the dismission of my cause to the C[hurch] of Roxbury the Elders of that Church did write to the Elders of the Church of Roxbury. you allege this as one R[eason] why you could not dismisse it as mr Hooker.

To the Church at Windsor.

[1640.]

Reverend and beloved: I rec'd your letter: but am necessitated to proceed in my journey this day: for I have appointed with severall Friends to meete them in the Bay this week upon weighty occasions and some heere have waited on me this 5 or 6 dayes to goe with me: and the Reasons which you aledge of the brethrens unwillingness to put it from them seem not to me sufficient. My Cause hath bin agitated in the Court and witnesses produced, and if there be any further testimony magistrates can take their testimony in writing and Elders also so as it will be accepted and I conceive it is usual in such cases I have no witnesses but in writing: neather seemes it faire to me that the greved brethren having delayed me so long should now put me of having so faier an opportunity of issuinge the matter. I know not when nor where to have the like suppose I had given you a meeting now and we could not close to the satisfiing of each other then the greved brethren must

[1] Se Sr John Fortescue in his treatise of Rights. — *Note by Pynchon.*

be necessitated to lay their hands of and to refer it to the Church at Roxbury therefore why not now: and what can they doe more eather then or now but signifie their grievances to the Church whereof I am a member, and seeing you cannot but conceive me sick in the 2 y[ears] delays and my mind stand prest to give satisfaction to the Church at Roxbury, and as you shall advise according to rule to others also: I hope vppon 2d thoughts I shall find you will answer my desyre to the Church of Roxbury this next week. So Jehovah cause his face to shine vppon your councills. Your ever assured in the L[ord]

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

I have sent this return by a speciall messenger for I may not occasion delay but would give you all tyme that may be against next week.

Addressed: To the Reverend Elders of the Church of Windsor, Mr. John Wareham, pastor or Ephraim Huit Teacher, d[eliver] this.

TO THE REVEREND ELDERS OF ROXBURY CHURCH.

23 March 1640 [41.]

REVEREND AND BELOVED my desyre and endevor with other godly persons among us hath bin continued longe for Church condition but hither to have bin lett, cherfuly but sinefull thinges have bin imputed to me, but I notwithstanding stand to defend my inocency in the thinges whereof I am accused therefore as duty bade me I mak bould to crave your advise and counsell in this case: the maine matter is about faling from the Goverment of the River to the Bay Jurisdiction: my son Smyth is only calld by the Church to answer in this point, but one of the Elders tould me that this matter did cheifly conserne me, and also that it conscerned Mr. Moxon as much as my sonn, but they would choose to deale with my son in this matter but he was their member and therefore they had more power over him then over me, and in their determination they have concluded against us in generall as you may perceive by the coppie of it: now this is the point of counsell that I request at your hands, whether uppon scanning of all particulars you will iudge me guilty of those sinefull imputations I would walk by consell and by my selfe by your iudgment, for as yet the light of my conscience is much differing from the churches determination, they determine many grosse sinns against us for doing that which we conceive we have don out of consceit of our duty: The particulars now sent by which you may iudge in this

case are these. 1. The Churches determination: 2ly. my sons Replie to the Churches determination. 3ly my sonns letter to Mr wareham a weeke before the determination. 4ly the manner of our ioyning and faling from the River. 5 The coppie of the commission which brother Johnson sent me from mr Nowell: by all those particulars I conceive you will have full light to iudge whether you apprehended me guilty of those sinfull imputations: As for my sonns leaving the Church without leave: (tho it was when the Church was parted half in the River and half in the Bay) that is particular to him. But the point of Councill that I desyre is in the other things wherein I am a sharer. [in that letter [1] we only rite such passages as the Church makes use of to prove our full dismission from the Bay, and we desyre the Court to expound their meaning in those passages, but you may see in my sonns answer to the Churches determination how we understand and expound the meaning of those passages: but we cannot fully conclude that the court will make the same interpretations till we try their exposition. neather can they conclud that their expositions are right till the minde of the Court be further tryed.] [2]

for though I am not yet caled by the Church to answer, yet I expect to be shortly caled and therefore I desyre your counsell beforehand but I would gladly attend the Church in such a way of satisfaction as may be according to justice and truth: and this is my maine scope in desyring your faithfull concill herein and as speedy a return as you can.

A second thing wherein I desyer your advise is touching a letter to the generall court which is sent unsealed on purpose to intreat your advise whether you iudge it every way convenient to be delivered in case there be a generall court at present: or whether your advise is to suppresse it for a tyme: I am intreated by the rest to intreat you to weigh circumstances of and mr Moxon hath writ to mr. Mather to helpe with his advise: but I leve that to you and if your advise be to deliver it to the Court then I conceive it meete that after you have given your advise so to doe that some other should take the letter and attend the Court for their answer and I know noe fitter then our brother Johnson: and to him I have writ that in case you advise to deliver it that he should attend the Courtes answer: and in case there be no generall Court till the Election Court then we conceive if your advise be not contrary to acquaint some of the Councill or the magistrates as you shall think fitt if possible you may set (?) any further light thereby to iudge

[1] The letter to the General Court, mentioned below.
[2] The portion between brackets was struck out.

and advise what may be meete for me to do further in our case and how I may be able to answer the Church when I am caled: I am loth to troble you further and [rest] your brother in Christ [ ]

W. Pynchon.

Land Purchase.

Thes presentes witnesseth this 20 day of Aprill 1641 a bargaine betweene William Pynchon of Springfield on Quinettecot River on the one party and Nippumsuit of Naunetak in the name and with the consent of other Indians the owners of certaine grounde hereafter named viz. with name and behalf of Mishsqua and her sonn Saccarant and Secausk and Wenepawin all of Woronoco and Misquis the owner of Skep and other grounds adioyning and Jancompawm of Nanotak on the other party witnesseth that the said Nippumsuit with the consent and in the name of the rest for and in consideration of the sume of fifteene fathom of wampam by tale accounted and one yard and three quarters of double shagg bages one how seaven knifes seaven payer of sessars and seaven aules with certaine fish hooks and other smale things given at their request: all thes being in hand paid to the said Nippumsuit in the name of the rest: and for and in consideration of the said goods paid before the subscribing hereof hath barganed sould given and granted and by thes presentes hath fully and cleerely barganed and absolutely granted to the said William his heires and assignes for ever all the groundes meddowes and woodlandes lieng on the East side of Quettcot river from the mouth of Chickoppy River vp to another smale Riveret caled Wollamansak sepe which Riveret runs into Quinnettecot River with the meddow and planting groundes caled Paconemisk and all other meddowes that are wet and hassocky lyeing betweene the said Riveretes. Also all the woodlande lieng about three or fower miles vp Chickuppy River and the meddow there caled skep alias skipnuck, or by what other name or names the said groundes be caled with all the pondes waters swampes or other profitte adioyning to all the said premises with all the Ilandes in chickuppy River and the meddow and swampes caled Pissak on the south side of Chickuppy river near the mouth of the River: The said Nippumsuit with the consent of the Rest above named hath absolutely sould to the said William his heires and assignes for ever: to have and to hould the said premises with all and singular their appurtenances free from all incombrances of other Indians: and the said William doth condition that the said Nippumsuit shall have liberty of fishing in Chickuppy at the usuall wares that now are in use: In witnesse of these pres-

ents the said Nippumsuit with the consent of the Rest hath subscribed his marke the day and yeare first above written being the twenty day of the second month 1641.[1]

(Facsimile of signatures on opposite page)

given to Wenepawin at the subscribing one yard and ½ for a coate of broad Bayes: and 1 pair of brieches to Misquis and 6 knifes to them all: also I trusted Misquis for a coate which he never paid and he was trusted vppon respect of setting his hand to this writinge.

May the 24th 1641. When Secousk sett her hand to this writting Mr. Pynchon gave her 12 handes of wampom and a knife.

8t mon: 9 day 1643. When Jancompowin sett his hande to this writtinge in the presence of us and Coe Mr. Pynchon gave him a coate and a knife. He came not to sett his hand to this writtinge till this day. Witnesses

Geo: Moxon.
Henry Smith.
John Pinchon.

The woman caled Secousk above said who was the widdow of Kenip after she had 12 handes of wampum and a knife: came againe to Mr. Pynchon the 27 June 1644: desyringe a further reward in respect she said that she had not a full coate as some others had: thereuppon Mr. Pynchon gave her a childe coate of Redd Cotton which came to 8 hande of wampum and a glasse and a knife which came to above 2 hande of wampom more: in the presence of Janandua her present husband: witnesse my hand per me William Pynchon and she was fully satisfied.

Also Nippumsuit had another large coate for his sister that he said had right in the said land which came to 16*s*.

Also the wampom within named was current money pay at 8*s* per fathom at the tyme it was paid, per me.

William Pynchon.

Know all men that I William Pynchon of Springfield gent doe assigne sett over give and grant all my right in the land within named which I bought of Nippumsuit and divers other Indians 1641: to my son John Pynchon of Springfield gent and to Capt. Henry Smith and to Ensigne Holioak all of Springfield to them and their heires and assignes for ever to be disposed by their discretion for Farmes belonginge to Springfield at such rates as in their cous-

[1] The body of the document is in the writing of William Pynchon.

Coppie Sept 30 1690
Boroughs Book

Nanepashemet [illegible] 18
the mark of the Sagamore: The said Nippumsuit with the consent
of the rest above named Eek absolutely sold to the said William
Coddington & assigns for ever: to Have & to Hold the said premises
with all & singular their appurtenances free from all encumbrances
of other Indians: & the said William doth promise that the said
Nippumsuit shall give possession of premises in Quiet peaceable manner
when ever required: In witness of the premises the said
Nippumsuit with the consent of the rest Eek subscribed his marke
the day & year first above written being the twenty day of the
second month 1641.

Sarravaent
his marke

Nippumsuits
his marke

Missqua
her marke

Wenepawin
his marke

Witnesses to the premises
George Moxon.
Henry Smith.
Elizur Holyoke
John Pinchon

Wauspashad
his marke
of Monotasset
a witnesse

Missquis alias Weesquashawen
his marke

Tantour Gowin
his
witnesse
marke
Geo: moxon
Henry Smith
Scr

Seroussokakho wife
of Kenny
her marke

John Pinchon

tome they shall iudge to be Reasonable: witnesse my hand and seale this 17th day of April 1651.

William Pynchon. [Seal]

Sealed and delivered and possession given in presence of

Thomas Cooper
Henry Burt
Simone Bernard.

Rec'ed in Courte Septr. 30 1670. attest
Sam'll Partrigg *Clerk.*

Endorsed: The purchase of the Land of Chickuppy up to Wallamansock scape: and ot Skeepmuck and the land adjoyning, with Father's Deed of Gift of it.

[To Edward Hopkins].

28 December, 1644.

Mr. Governor I have Rec'd your letter and thank you for your loveinge discourse about your purchase of the forte with the appertenances at the Rivers mouth: and it seemes the payment is to be made by an impost vppon corne etc for 10 y[ears] and you think also that we will readily yield to beare our share therein bee it hath bin and may be a great Benifitt to the River and so to us as a part of the River for the charges past while we were of you we paid our part in a large Rate that way: what benifits it may be to us for tyme to come I do not yet see. I must leave that to be further manifested by the wise disposing providence of god: I suppose you cannot expect us to come in amonge you as ioynt purchasers, neither do I think that you will laie any impost vppon our goodes as beares with you in the charge having no considerable benefit: for if you should it would be the 1st president you know we are vnder the Bay iurisdiction, and it were a point of vnfaithfulnesse in vs to yeeld to such a thing without their advise and consent and indeed if I may speake in the plainesse of my apprehensions I apprehend that the purchase tendes now to expresse their lovinge respecte to Mr. Fenick (whome I consceyve deserves much love) then to their own benifitt for I conceive that the forte will be a very great charge and litle or no benefit to the River in regard of any defence against potent and malignant shipps: for I think no ship is so hardy as to run vppon the danger of such flattes as the Rivers mouth is barred vp with all: tho it may be some friend may attempt to doe such a thing for friends sake, and as for pinaces I thinke that any towne or two in the River is sufficent to resiste the force of two or three pinnaces by taking advantage with one or two drakes if once they dare be so bould as to come up the River neere the place. But yet I that there is good use of the forte for the saftie of the Inhabitantes there in case of Indian warrs or in case of skulkers:

As for newes out of the Bay there is none from England: but the 19 of this month was kept as a day of fasting for England through all these plantations and as soone as that was over both Mr. Fowles [1] ship and Mr. Pilgrim [2] were to set sayle: in both were many passengers also the Lady Latore had hired Capt. Richardsons ship [3] to carry her home and 2 shipps of the Bay went in company laden with a great quantity of victuall commodity and other wares, and yet by report of a m[aste]r of a pinace that came lately from thenc Latore was well victuald before and had made a forte at the mouth of his River and the said master reported (who traded with Dalny [4]) that he thought Dalny was not able to sustain the Charge of those 2 shippes that did attend them for surprisall of the Lady Latore and Capt. Richardson said he feared them not.

Mr. Wilson of Boston was then very sick of a feaver. But my son Davis [5] was well receaved and marid about 5 days before the messenger came.

As for a parsell of Corse wampum which you would bye: I had a great parsell of Mr. Williams many years since at 3 a penny: I sould 200 fathom of it to Natano at 5 a penny: and still I have I thinke about 200 fathom left besides a quantity of coarse blue which was had near double the rate of the former I am loath to sell at the rate that wampum is ordinarily sould lest I shall lose half in half by it. I hoping in tyme I shall put it of by litle and litle to Indians at lesse losse, neither can I get any quantity of fine wampum to you.

As for my advise about the wife [6] my iudgment in phisike is but smale what experience I have I brought with me out of England. I have had no tyme to try any conclusions since I came hither: If it would please god to afford you the advise of such an one better experienced I should be gladd the Case is so intricate. I make no question but Mr Moxon and Gibson mite be ready to do any office of love for her that they can, but if I undertake any by her I can

[1] Probably Thomas Fowle, to whom two small guns were granted by the General Court, November, 1644, "provided hee give security to returne them by midsommer next." *Mass. Col. Rec.*, II. 79.

[2] Master of the *Gillyflower*. *Mass. Col. Rec.*, II. 83, 84, 90. His controversy with Lady Latour is related in Winthrop, *History*, II. 199.

[3] Some merchants of Boston, who had had a ship taken in Wales by the King's party, sought to get compensation by attaching a Dartmouth ship, then in Boston harbor. The master delivered the ship into the hands of the magistrates, pending a decision of the claim, and she was taken by Captain George Richardson, master of a London ship and bearing a commission from the Lord Admiral. See Winthrop, *History*, II. 194.

[4] On Aulnay see Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*.

[5] William Davis, of Boston, who married, December 6, 1644, Margaret Pynchon.

[6] Ann, daughter of —— Yale, was insane for a period of fifty years.

direct as much in absence as if I were present with her, if you can prevaile with her to stick close to rules of direction: yet I must tell you that that hot subtell vapor which hath taken possession of her brain is hard to be removed though it may be much helped through gods blessing uppon the event. I wish that she may as much as may be observe a plaine thin and diet: that will make least crudities and so lesse matter for those subtle vapours: let her not use to eate milk except it be turned into thin posset drink and if she will you may soake it with sugar wherein a little saffron and may be mixed viz to every ounce of sugar good 3 grains of saffron made into fine powder and a little scraped :
and she may use of this eather in posset drink or in warmed bere: by the use of this and other attenuating drink her body will be brought to a sweating temper which I conceive will be a good help to nature: and a good helpe to the opperation of other phisik.

And for phisik I shall cheafly advise to the compleat rest of pills if she will be perswaded to take them often and orderly and lastly gentle nosing in the spring of the yeare and in short tyme will open the brain and give some refreshment provided it be don by gentle means: but nosing powder tobaco and the like are to violent: but if lettuce leaves could be had nothing is so good as that :

As for pills she may begin with them at the begining of March next :

Did I understand that Mris. Moxen is to lie in at the begining of March.

Mr. Sanborn exhibited some interesting papers of Lord Sheffield and gave a description of them.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. Green, Stanwood, Norcross and Davis.

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

By M. A. De WOLFE HOWE and CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Charles Eliot Norton was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June 14, 1860. Born November 16, 1827, he was then not quite thirty-three; his tastes and accomplishments had, however, already shown him exceptionally eligible for participation in the work of the Society. At a previous election, five months earlier, Dr. Samuel Abbott Green had been chosen a member. For him and for Mr. Norton it was in store farthest to carry the traditions of an earlier day through the century of their birth into the next.

The recently published *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton* give so extensive a record of his life and spirit that it would be superfluous in this place to present a memoir dealing in detail with what he was and did. It is enough to bring forward only the salient facts. First among them are the fortunate circumstances of his birth and education. His father was a scholar, Professor Andrews Norton of Harvard College. Soon after his marriage, he and his wife, Catharine Eliot, acquired the Cambridge estate of Shady Hill, at which their only son who grew to manhood was born and died. The place afforded a social and intellectual background of the highest moment in the development and exercise of Charles Norton's qualities. Mr. Henry James has recently referred, in his *Notes of a Son and Brother*, to Shady Hill and "the Nortons" as "that institution and its administrators." No phrase could more happily state the case. The very permanence implied in an "institution" relates the earliest of Mr. Norton's years to his

latest, and gives to his life a unity seldom found in the biography of Americans.

The Cambridge boyhood came to an end with young Norton's creditable graduation from Harvard College with the Class of 1846. The Rev. Dr. John Pierce, who attended and made notes upon forty-six consecutive Commencements beginning with 1803, wrote in his journal for August 26, 1846: "A Dissertation, 'Santa Croce,' by Charles Eliot Norton, son of Professor Norton, was among the best exercises both for composition and elocution." [1] The charm of Italy was thus early exerting its spell over the young student. His graduation was followed by a few years of service in a Boston counting-house. In the employ of the firm of Bullard & Lee, he sailed in May of 1849 as supercargo of the ship *Milton*, bound for Madras. The voyage gave him an opportunity for reading, which he turned to remarkable advantage. The opportunities of travel, both in India and in a leisurely return to America by way of Europe, were no less steadily improved. As in all his later years, he gave himself everywhere to the study of the life which for the time surrounded him, in its political, artistic and social expression. In Paris, London and elsewhere he formed personal relations with many of the most interesting men and women of the time — Ary Scheffer, Lamartine, John Kenyon, Crabb Robinson, the Brownings — and, best of all, began a friendship with George William Curtis, fresh from his "Howadji" experiences, a friendship which in a life of many intimacies became one of the most vital. At the beginning of 1851, with his twenty-third birthday only two months behind him, he found himself at home again, with the choice between the careers of a merchant and a man of letters still to be made.

For a time there was a division of allegiance to the two pursuits. But the office on Central Wharf in Boston, where Mr. Norton undertook some ventures in East India commerce, was visited less and less frequently, until by 1855 his mercantile career may be said to have ended. Already, in 1852, he had published his first book, *Five Christmas Hymns*, and the death of his father, in 1853, had filled his hands with the editorial work involved in the posthumous publication of the elder Norton's writings. In 1853, also, he brought out his own

[1] 2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, v. 249.

Considerations of Some Recent Social Theories, a thoughtful study of new tendencies now grown old, in which for the first time he appeared as author rather than editor. During his foreign travels the Norton family had become summer residents of Newport, and there, as at Shady Hill, the only son found much to engage him as the head of a household naturally drawing to itself all that was most agreeable in the life of its time and place. Mr. Norton's own friendships — with Lowell, Child, Stillman, Clough and others — began to take an important place among his interests. The friendship with Clough, especially, foreshadowed many intimacies with Englishmen of congenial spirit. It began with Clough's brief stay in America, in 1852–53, and was continued in a correspondence of nearly ten years, revealing Norton's keen interest in the events which led to the Civil War.

For about two years of the fifties, 1855–57, Norton, under medical orders for the strengthening of his health, was again in Europe. This time he was accompanied by his mother and two sisters. In Italy he made the beginnings of the studies of Dante which occupied him to the end of his life. There and in England he increased the circle of his lasting friendships, chiefly through his meetings with Mrs. Gaskell and John Ruskin. To many volumes of English and American biography the letters written to Norton by his friends have contributed an important element. His own published letters to them have filled out the picture, showing what a wealth of appreciation, wise counsel and affectionate service he brought to each of these relationships. It was during this second visit to Europe, for example, that he learned from Lowell's letters that the *Atlantic Monthly* was about to be established under his friend's editorship. Norton at once set himself to promote its success by securing contributions from English writers of the first order to whom he could appeal on personal grounds — Clough, Aubrey de Vere and Mrs. Gaskell. To the early numbers of the new magazine, moreover, he was himself a frequent contributor.

From his return to America in 1857 until 1868, when he went again to Europe, his own activities were largely editorial. His close relationship with Lowell brought the interests of the *Atlantic* constantly near to him. The approach and progress

of the Civil War gave ample opportunity for the exercise of his powers as a student of public matters, a moulder of public opinion — for to these fields of usefulness his personal tastes always directed him as strongly as to the pursuit of letters. The chief manifestation of this interest was made through Norton's editorial work for the New England Loyal Publication Society. The object of this organization was to supply the newspapers of the North with the best expressions of loyal sentiment, issued in "broadsides" conveniently printed for republication. "In this way for three years," as Norton himself put it, "we did a good deal of the editing of several hundred journals, — and some of the articles to which we gave circulation must have been read by not less than a million of people." To this important service he added, for about five years from the end of 1863, the editorship of the *North American Review*, undertaken in collaboration with James Russell Lowell. Both as editor and as a frequent contributor he rendered valuable service in bringing the ancient quarterly to the warm support of the Union. When the war was ended he gave so much of his sympathy and active coöperation to the establishment of the *Nation* that Godkin wrote to him, after the journal had continued for a year: "If the paper succeeds, I shall always ascribe it to you, as without your support and encouragement I do not think I should have been able to endure to the end."

On May 21, 1862, Norton was married to Susan Ridley Sedgwick of Stockbridge and New York. They established themselves at Shady Hill, passing the summers from 1864 onward at Ashfield, Massachusetts, where Norton made for his family a second home. With all that concerned this typical New England hill village he identified himself from those early days, less in the spirit of a summer visitor than in that of a resident, bringing his friends, notably George William Curtis, to make it, with varying regularity, their own summer home, and, as time went on, enriching the life of the community in many ways. From 1865 to 1873, however, there was a long interruption in the American life of Norton and his family. These years were passed in Europe, chiefly in London and in Italy; and years of extraordinary fulness they were, both in human relationships and in the broadening of horizons for such

a student of art and letters as Norton had now become. Their overshadowing calamity was the death of Mrs. Norton at Dresden in February, 1872. The termination of a most congenial married life brought upon the survivor the care of six young children — a care which, in spite of all that their grandmother and aunts could do to lighten it, must have been well-nigh overwhelming. Yet Norton took up his life with a fortitude which made it through all the remaining years no mere compromise with circumstances, but a far-reaching force.

Nothing stands out more definitely in the record of these European years than the enrichment of Norton's life through the growth of old and new friendships. The letters to Lowell, Curtis, Chauncey Wright and others at home show clearly how little the ocean separated him from true intercourse with these friends. The correspondence is full of the friends he was seeing abroad — Ruskin, Carlyle, Leslie Stephen and a host of others. Supplementing these chronicles is a journal of daily doings, richest of all in its reports of conversations with Carlyle. They reveal the gentler aspects of Carlyle's nature, and contribute so much to a true understanding of him that the final portrait of this unique figure can hardly be painted without recourse to the colors on Norton's palette. Of Ruskin, too, there is so much of intimate and sympathetic characterization that the record is an invaluable contribution to literary biography. Indeed all these personal pages of Norton's writing bear evidence to the liveliness of his historical sense. Whether the possibility of the ultimate publication of his journal presented itself to him or not, he wrote as one conscious that good fortune had given him facts and impressions which it was his duty to preserve. The spirit was that of the true collector who will not permit a rare or beautiful object once within his grasp to elude him. In all his travels Norton collected not only ideas, but books, pictures, memorials of every sort related to the persons, thoughts and things in which his interest was enlisted.

Thus it was, when he returned to America, in the spring of 1873, not quite forty-seven years old, that he had prepared himself for the work of a teacher that lay before him. His cousin, Charles W. Eliot, then in the early years of his long administration of the college, had already made the needed

provision for this work, partly as an essential feature in his plan of a comprehensive university programme and partly, it may be surmised, to secure for Harvard the services, in a wholly new field, of one who, as he had good reason to feel assured, was both naturally adapted and, as it chanced, adventitiously equipped for the task proposed. This peculiar professorial work, with which Mr. Norton's name is most associated, occupied him virtually the rest of his life. It constituted his mission.

Yet it may fairly be questioned whether in 1874, when President Eliot invited Norton's entrance into this field, either of them fully appreciated the situation or realized the nature of the call. To have done so would have been prophetic; for, as we now see, the conditions then existing were without precedent and the riddle of the future was one no man could read aright. Only eight years before, the Civil War had come to a close. The waters, political and financial, so long and sorely troubled had not yet found their level of repose. With minds and memories still full of the experience through which their generation had passed, men, even the most far-seeing, could not measure the forces at work, as potent as they were novel, or fully take in both the ethical and material tendencies of the time. With ideals vague as lofty, Americans aspired; faith in themselves, in their country and its future, was practically unlimited. A general spirit of optimism prevailed. That the world was then passing into a new era — that of rapid development through applied science — was not realized; nor was the sobering fact appreciated that in a period of pronounced commercialism types of character of the higher order rarely manifest themselves. Thus, sympathizing in the main with a community just emerging from its trials into the triumph which marked the close of the Civil War, Norton could hardly have looked forward to writing of that community as follows to an English correspondent a quarter of a century later: "The rise of the democracy to power in America and in Europe is not, as has been hoped, to be a safeguard of peace and civilization. It is the rise of the uncivilized, whom no school education can suffice to provide with intelligence and reason. It looks as if the world were entering on a new stage of experience, unlike anything heretofore, in which there must be a new dis-

cipline of suffering to fit men for the new conditions. I fear that America is beginning a long course of error and of wrong, and is likely to become more and more a power for disturbance and for barbarism. The worst sign is the lack of seriousness in the body of the people; its triviality, and its indifference to moral principle."

So, when he entered upon his mission, Norton probably did not anticipate, any more than his kinsman at the head of the University anticipated, that the new professor's message was to be largely one of reaction against a present materialism and a species of mechanical intellectualism, to earlier and more mediæval conditions. Yet a vague, instinctive perception of the fact clearly possessed Norton himself; for he thus wrote, even at the commencement (1873): "This generation is given over to the making and spending of money, and is losing the capacity of thought. It wants to be amused, and the magazines amuse it." This to Carlyle; and again, to another correspondent, Russell Lowell: "And here, in this flourishing land of ours, you and I and the few men like us who care for the ideal side of life, are left from year to year in a smaller and smaller minority. . . . We stop at the high-school level." Finally (1895), referring long after to his own field of activity, the Fine Arts, he retrospectively wrote: "And nowhere are such study and knowledge more needed than in America, for nowhere in the civilized world are the practical concerns of life more engrossing; nowhere are the conditions of life more prosaic; nowhere is the poetic spirit less evident, and the love of beauty less diffused. The concern for beauty, as the highest end of work, and as the noblest expression of life, hardly exists among us, and forms no part of our character as a nation. The fact is lamentable, for it is in the expression of its ideals by means of the arts which render those ideals in the forms of beauty, that the position of a people in the advance of civilization is ultimately determined."

Thus, whether President Eliot at the outset realized it, or Professor Norton more than theoretically philosophized over it, the latter was to be, so to speak, a protestant — in a sense, a reactionist. It was for him to preach character and culture in a plutocratic world given over to eager scientific development. Mere money-making and vulgar ostentation were to

become more and more the end and aim of life. Norton's mission was thus forced upon him; but it was a very essential mission: and by those best acquainted with the world as it then was and the course of events that marked its subsequent progress, it will scarcely be denied that the message was delivered faithfully and courageously. What the voice of Ruskin was in Europe, Norton's, in a way, was in America — a protest against tendencies to the material constantly creeping on, an appeal, perhaps at times unconscious, from the Street to the Cloister. While the message was in itself of moment, the method of delivery is not to be lost sight of. That Norton fulfilled his mission with judgment as well as persistence will scarcely be denied. While he occupied the chair of Fine Arts at Harvard, it could not be said that the appreciation and pursuit of art for art's sake were not constantly preached and in fitting terms; nor could it be asserted that the seed thrown by the sower in this case fell by the wayside or in barren places. It did bear fruit. Yet, from the beginning to the end, the voice, though not that of one crying in the wilderness, was a voice pleading for art and culture, proclaiming sweetness and light, to an undergraduate generation, insensibly, perhaps, but more and more tending to the banker's counter, with an ultimate aspiration to a seat in the Stock Exchange.

There is, however, nothing new here. From time immemorial men of a certain stamp have deplored the "tendencies of the times," sternly denouncing what they are pleased to term the "spirit of the age," with its constantly deteriorating ideals. Nor in this has Harvard been in any way exceptional, or from it exempt. For instance, in 1696, Dr. Increase Mather, then President, announced in a discourse delivered to the students in the college hall that it was the "Judgment of very learned Men that in the glorious Times promised to the Church on Earth, *America* will be *Hell*"; while it was reserved for New England "to be the wofulest place in all *America*"; and, moreover, when the foregoing result in due time came about "this little Academy [will be] fallen to the ground." That indulgence in forecasts of this uncheerful character is in no respect fruitful, is hardly necessary to say; and Norton's merit lay in the fact that, while fully alive to the existence of tendencies he deplored, he never had recourse, in his classroom or else-

where, to the jeremiad. On the contrary, addressing himself to his audiences in a mood kindly and considerate, he sought to influence what he felt he could not control. Thus, though his personal relations with Ruskin were close, and the influence of the Englishman on the American was apparent, he did not permit himself to indulge in Ruskinian denunciations. Norton's efforts were exerted in an altogether different direction. He sought to educate, elevate and assimilate. And therein he showed insight; for in the body of American youth as represented at Harvard, while there is indisputably held in solution a large element drifting insensibly into "business," that element can yet be very perceptibly affected in the direction of art and public usefulness; it admits of refining. The late Gardiner Martin Lane constituted a striking case in point. Lane, after graduation, devoted himself to "business"; but his success therein was always subsidiary to higher ideals and a realizing sense of obligation at once controlling and abiding.[1] The teaching of Norton was therein reflected. Nor, though illustrative, was Lane's case exceptional. Thus, accepting unwelcome conditions, Norton's continuing effort was to influence them in the direction of loftier aims and purer ideals; and, in adopting this policy, not only did he evince worldly wisdom, but his efforts were in reality crowned with a degree of success not the less pronounced because unacclaimed.

Mr. Norton's occupancy of the chair established for him in 1874 continued until 1898, when he became Professor Emeritus; and, during the ten years that then remained to him, giving himself less directly to the instruction of youth, he maintained, none the less, his distinctive place in the American community. A lover of his country, he was not infrequently distressed that his countrymen were not, in his belief, drawing from the past all that it had to yield; but he none the less continued constantly eager to bring them into vital relationship with what he regarded as the purest and loftiest ideals of char-

[1] Born at Cambridge, April 30, 1859, G. M. Lane was a son of George Martin Lane, Professor of Latin in Harvard College. Graduating in the class of 1881, Mr. Lane became a member of the banking firm of Lee, Higginson & Co. in 1892. In 1907 he became President of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He died, aged fifty-five, October 3, 1914.

acter and conduct. This was the gospel he preached; and the descendant of many of the earlier-time preachers could best deliver it to the college generations of the closing quarter of the nineteenth century. His eldest son once defined his college courses as "Lectures on Modern Morals as Illustrated by the Art of the Ancients" — and it was precisely because the definition had a basis in fact that what Norton preached had its far-reaching, vivifying effect in the field of ethics as of art. As Mr. Howells has recently written, "his make was essentially religious, Biblical, Puritanical, and, however he would have imagined himself Hellenic, he was in his heart Hebraic. That is, when he thought he was supremely loving beauty, he was supremely loving duty, the truth which is in beauty and is inseparably one with it." Nor is this otherwise than true and discerning of a man whose education began two centuries before his birth, and who later (1902) thus wrote of himself: "The greatest spiritual change in ourselves which the past forty years have wrought is, I take it, the change in our conceptions of the relation of man to the universe, and of the possibility of knowledge of anything whatsoever that lies outside the narrow limits set for us by our senses and by the constitution of our mental powers. For us at least, faith in human fancies about invisible things long since died away; and, for my own part, I have no sentimental regret at its vanishing. Without it, I find myself more in harmony with that exceedingly minute section of the universe to which I belong; not, indeed, in closer intellectual agreement with most of the good men and women my contemporaries, of whom all but an insignificant fraction are still living under the Ptolemaic dispensation, undisturbed in their practical conviction that this earth is the centre of the universe, and man the chief object of creation."

Viewed as a whole and through the fast lengthening perspective of the years, it is difficult to measure the enduring value of Norton's influence, ethical and artistic. It was sympathetically viewed to a certain extent by one of his disciples in a recent Phi Beta Kappa poem,[1] but influence of the kind exercised by Norton is elusive, largely because spiritual. Even so far as the record is concerned, few notable facts emerge from the annual round of academic duty. Yet Norton, a

[1] *In Memoriam:* by George Edward Woodberry, June 21, 1913.

writer before he was a teacher, never permitted his teaching to absorb all his interest or to become the sole fruit of his extraordinary industry. The list of his publications contains a large number of contributions to the periodical press and an enviable array of important books. In the field of pure scholarship his additions to the literature of Dante — the chief of which was his prose translation of the *Divine Comedy* (1891–92) — gave him a high, individual place. His more important other books were *Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages* (1880) and the notable succession of biographical volumes, in which his friendships went hand in hand with his labors. Chief among these were the *Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson* (1883), *Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle* (1886), *Correspondence between Carlyle and Goethe* (1887), *Reminiscences of Thomas Carlyle* (1887), *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (1894), *Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton* (1904). The six volumes of his *Heart of Oak Books* (1894–95), "a collection of traditional rhymes and stories for children," must be placed among his definite services in the relating of literature to the daily life of his country.

The patriotic impulse was never absent. The apparent discrepancy between the motives which made Norton so strong a supporter of the war for the Union in 1861 and so persistent an opponent of the war with Spain in 1898 was apparent only. Behind both manifestations was a single ideal. In the first war he felt it realized; in the second, obscured or overthrown. The vitality of his ideal brought him into opposition with many of his countrymen, who failed at first to place a true value upon the need in a republic for the utterances of dissent. Especially was the Spanish War repugnant to him by reason of his own repugnance to the ideas with which the word "imperialism" is associated. It was often dissent from accepted public opinion which found vigorous expression at the series of "Ashfield Dinners" organized and directed by him through many summers. In the nature of the case, this expression was frequently unpopular. Hardly less inevitably, the independence of personal opinion for which he stood, and which he evoked in others, seems a more precious thing, a more stimulating ideal, when it becomes a memory.

Full of years and honors, Charles Eliot Norton died October 21, 1908. If he had only served his country as he did; if he had only implanted in many minds a new apprehension of beauty and obligation; if he had only been the friend and helper he was to a multitude of men and women, he would have held a special place in memory and affection. Holding it by virtue of all these claims, and more, he stands in remembrance a loved and separate figure, blending in itself the associations of the richest past with a personal force and benignity all too rare.

Francis C. Lowell

MEMOIR

OF

FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL.

By FREDERIC JESUP STIMSON.

Francis Cabot Lowell, the son of George Gardner and Mary Ellen Parker Lowell, was born in Boston on January 7, 1855, of ancestry well known to us and of national distinction; a line of ministers, judges, diplomatists, poets, soldiers, distinguished citizens; loyal New Englanders; in politics consistent Whigs, Federalists and then Republicans; of origin, like most such, in Essex County, one a well-known member of the Essex Junto; loyal to their country in war, but with feet as firmly planted on the soil of Massachusetts as any Randolph of Virginia on hers.

So many of them have been members of our Society that even the mention of them becomes a repetition. The first John Lowell graduated at Harvard in 1721 and was clergyman at Newbury. His son John, Harvard 1760, was Judge of the United States District Court when it was first formed after the adoption of the Constitution, and made a member of the Circuit Court when that was created in 1801. A great-grandson of this Judge was the John Lowell, Harvard 1843, also a Judge of the United States District Court, from 1865 to 1878, and in the Circuit Court from 1879 to 1884. The first Judge Lowell was a Fellow of Harvard College. His second son was the Francis Cabot Lowell, Harvard 1793, who, together with Patrick Tracy Jackson, started the cotton manufactories at Waltham and gave his name to the city of Lowell. His son Francis Cabot Lowell, Harvard 1821, was a merchant and actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company; and his son again, George Gardner Lowell, was the father

of Judge Francis C. Thus our recently deceased member was third in a line of Judges of the same Federal court, and the second Fellow of Harvard College in direct descent. He was also an Overseer of Harvard from 1886 to 1893, and served in the Boston City Council for three years, and in the Massachusetts Legislature for three years, where he was the leading figure in the House of Representatives, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and undoubtedly would have become Speaker, but that he was appointed by President McKinley United States District Judge in 1898, so that John L. Bates, later Governor, was chosen Speaker instead. In the domain of practical politics the spoilsman has so far left the bench to merit alone, the one of our three branches of government not open primarily to political merit or as a reward of party service. For that very reason, perhaps, it is sometimes a preferment conveniently designed or indicated to the practical politician for a competitor of higher calibre. We still recognize that judicial office requires a special character and an arduous equipment, while anyone may lift the eye of ambition to the legislative or even the executive chair. May we only hope that the spirit of direct nomination and recall — both ideas ardently abhorred of our Judge Lowell — may not make havoc of even this distinction.

Judge Lowell had none of the tricks of the politician, unless party loyalty be one. I well remember how a classmate, after he had served three years at least in that not too formal body, the City Council, remarked with amusement that no one member had ever ventured to call Frank by his first name. It was to his unbending rectitude, his high standard, which in politics men recognize even when they do not follow, and his fair and judicial temperament that he owed his rapid political preferment. Yet had he not gone upon the bench, in all probability he would have become Governor, after the usual hieratic probation and promotion then in vogue in the councils of his party; but I doubt if he would have preferred this. A seat in a high court was far more congenial, and he lived to see his name mentioned for the highest of all such promotions. And then again his character was shown in that, as it was rumored, doubt was expressed in high places whether, in the application of our Constitution to the difficult problems of the insular

policy on which we were already embarked, he might not, though by no means an anti-imperialist, lean back too far.

No one doubted his qualifications for the place. Rarely has a judge been so seldom overruled. In the thirteen years of his services he rendered more than three hundred opinions, which were deemed worthy of printing in the *Federal Reporter*, where they may be found in volume 85 to volume 182; and of all those, only four times was he overruled by the Circuit Court of Appeals, and only once by the Supreme Court of the United States, which in one of its many affirmances expressly commended his "careful opinion." Perhaps the best known is the famous one *in re* Halladjian, 174 *Federal Reporter*, 834, decided in 1909, which broadens the definition of races capable of naturalization from the narrow limitation contended for by the government, under which negroes, Anglo-Saxons and western Europeans alone could become citizens, to the interpretation, both more liberal and more scientific, under which the definition "white" was extended to the Armenians of Turkey and Asia, later to the Syrians, and presumably may now include other races of Asiatic alien stock. For, by the accident of history, our Constitution as amended as a result of the Civil War only in terms permits and requires the naturalization of white and black races, not black and yellow; the red races, being indigenous, are born citizens, if not in tribal relation. Judge Lowell's line of reasoning was followed recently by a judge in California, in the case of a high caste Hindoo, yet several judges have refused to naturalize the Mexican, or at least the Mexican Indian. Uniformity of decision is to be desired; but until Congress further acts, our growing common law under Lowell's guidance places the possibility of naturalization on the sensible ground of race and civilization rather than color or religion. Lowell's opinion in this principal case, though only ten pages long, was a model of historical and ethnological learning. In other decisions he vindicated the right of state courts to interpret the common law of their own state and apply it against a contrary doctrine obtaining in United States courts, especially when real estate or matters of local application were concerned. His also was the decision making possible the existence of the Worcester Art Museum, by permitting it to take the three million dol-

lars devised to it by the will of Stephen Salisbury, although only chartered to hold five hundred thousand dollars. Perhaps his longest decision was that in the *Underwriter* case, where he settled the relative jurisdiction of local common law courts and United States Courts of Admiralty — but this is not the place for a legal criticism of his professional service.

He was not a frequent or facile writer. Unlike most lawyers or certainly judges, he contributed little to legal periodicals. He collaborated with his partner, now President Lowell of Harvard, in a textbook on the transfer of stock, which remains a standard work. Otherwise, besides an early anonymous novel, which, like many of us, he wrote for fun, when young, his only bound volume is a valuable and carefully written monograph on Joan of Arc, particularly discussing her trial from the lawyer's point of view, with regard to the rules on evidence then and now prevailing. He wrote the memoir of Senator George F. Hoar in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* in 1905, of Judge Horace Gray of the United States Supreme Court in the proceedings of the Academy of Arts and Sciences,[1] an article on the Free Church of Scotland in the *Columbian Law Review* of March, 1906, and a much quoted study of "The Boss," with other political essays, in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He delivered an oration before the Beverly Historical Society in April, 1896, and wrote the "Memoir" of General Francis A. Walker in December, 1897, published in our *Proceedings*.[2] In January, 1901, he paid a tribute to Governor Wolcott,[3] and a letter to Mr. Rantoul in March, 1911, concerning his friend John Noble, late Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, is appended to Mr. Rantoul's memoir,[4] but already too ill to write, it is signed by his wife, who survives him.

He was married on November 27, 1882, to Cornelia Prime Baylies, of the well-known family of New York City and Taunton in this state; her ancestor, Judge Baylies, Judge of Probate, prominent, as was also a Lowell, in and about the Hartford Convention. One may read of both in the recent biography of Harrison Gray Otis by his great-grandson, Samuel Eliot Morison.

[1] Volume xxxix.
[2] *Proceedings*, xiii. 303.
[3] *Ib.*, xiv. 388.
[4] *Ib.*, xliv. 561.

Much has been said that may not be said again, however deserving of repetition, in our associate Mr. Moorfield Storey's tribute published in our *Proceedings:*[1] "A gentleman in the best sense of the word, brave, frank, pure and courteous; an able judge, a public-spirited and most useful citizen. . . . He drew out what is good in men and repressed what was bad." These words at least we may say over again.

It is his personal character that the writer would most like to describe, his personality and his life. Yet it is difficult in that it was in a certain sense uneventful. Serene, not dramatic; he had no accidents of flood or field, nor unusual travel, nor wide acquaintance with men and cities. In later years, when his health was already failing, he much enjoyed a summer with his wife in Greece. He was passionately fond of his country in a literal sense; that is to say, the hills and shores of Massachusetts. Sailing his boat from his home at Cotuit, long driving excursions to the nearer mountains, or, when time permitted not these, even daily bicycle trips in the environs of Boston made up his greater pleasures. He was not a sportsman and he played no games. A Unitarian in faith, somewhat of a Calvinist in temperament, both qualities summed up in the schoolboy epithet one's playfellows so readily invent and apply — "the blameless." But if blameless in conduct, in imagination, there was nothing of the mollycoddle about his intellectual make-up. He was a strong party man and secretly, I think, believed that those of the opposing party should not have too much recognition, certainly should lay no hand on the helm. He was a partisan without being narrow; strong in his adherence to a religious denomination without being in the least bigoted; strong in his adherence to a political party without losing his fair-mindedness. He was a Federalist of New England, hence he could combine the democratic belief of local self-government with the less democratic one that those who are best fitted should rule. He would, not too flippantly, discuss with you whether the buying of votes was not justifiable. His whole mental make-up was that of the eighteenth century Whig, intolerant of the modern Tory democrat. He only once followed the will-of-the-wisp of mugwumpery, and then he had orthodox companions. The Republican

[1] *Proceedings*, XLIV. 580.

and Independent Club was composed of John F. Andrew, President; Roger Wolcott, Vice-President; John T. Wheelwright, Secretary, and Francis C. Lowell, Assistant Secretary — all four later to become steady party men. But even in 1884 Judge Lowell's character was shown in that, being delegated to write an attack on James G. Blaine justifying the independent revolt, he wrote so fairly that the attack became an exoneration and the mugwumps could not use it as campaign material (see Boston *Daily Advertiser* files, 1884); and in 1889 we find him conducting the campaign of Edward L. Pierce against John F. Andrew for Congress. For this was his one political escapade: he believed in the necessity of a party machine and would have recognized the two party whips of Trollope's parliamentary novels as performing a necessary if not elevated function. Yet with all this, he was of serene good temper, tolerant if not intelligent of other minds; in short, a man whose temperament and convictions led him to act with a definite organization of men without impairing his judicial temperament.

Speaking as one who has known him more than forty years, he well represented all that is Massachusetts at her best. She never bred a man in conduct and in judgment to be more trusted.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; VICE-PRESIDENT JOHN D. LONG, in the absence of PRESIDENT ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported a list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the acquisition of a number of medals, by purchase and by gift, from Messrs. Holker Abbott, H. B. Mansfield, Ernest W. Roberts, B. W. Rowell, Mrs. Bertrand E. Taylor, Dr. Storer, the A. D. Club, and the Whitehead and Hoag Company, also by a deposit by the Bostonian Society; and gifts, of fifty-six half-dollars, 1806–1875, from Hon. Horace Davis, a Corresponding Member; of a piece of glass dug up many years ago near Shubael Gorham's house in Barnstable, bearing in relief: "S. Gorham 1733," from Mr. Francis W. Sprague, of Brookline; of a gun taken from a dead British soldier at Bunker Hill by a Captain Merrill, from Mrs. Selah Merrill; of seventy engravings of Americans, from Prof. Guernsey Jones, of Lincoln, Nebraska; of photographs of crayon portraits of Elijah Vose, of Milton and Boston, by Samuel W. Rowse, and of Rebecca Gorham Vose, his wife, by Denison Kimberly, from Mr. Francis H. Manning; of twenty-five photographs and engravings of former Resident Members of the Society, from our associate, Mr. C. P. Greenough; of one of the flags of the frigate Constitution used in her voyage around the world in the forties, from the children of the late William Peter Cherrington (1835–1909), of Boston, in his memory; and the purchase of sixty-five photographs from original paintings of Massachusetts persons.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From Mr. Frederick J. Ranlett, of Boston, the records of the Colonization Society of Massachusetts, 1841–1903, when the Society ceased to have a corporate existence. The records

contain the minutes of meetings and the correspondence of the Secretary, and has much on the attempt to support a college in Monrovia, Liberia.

From Mr. Stanley W. Smith, early deeds of Edgartown, 1752–1754, containing signatures of well-known members of that community. Also a list of Winslow Mss. prepared by John Davis in 1792.

From Dr. Loring W. Puffer, of Brockton, a letter of Francis Baylies, January 24, 1814, and one of William Baylies, February 26, 1849.

Mr. Alexander Sedgwick deposits with the Society a letter of Alexander Hamilton to Theodore Sedgwick, dated New York, July 10, 1804 — the day before the duel with Burr. What gives it great interest is the opinion expressed on disunion projects, then beginning to be mooted in New England. He wrote:

> I will here express but one sentiment, which is, that Dismemberment of our Empire will be a clear sacrifice of great positive advantages, without any counterbalancing good; administering no relief to our real Disease; which is DEMOCRACY, the poison of which by a subdivision will only be the more concentred in each part; and consequently the more virulent.

The letter bears an endorsement by Catherine M. Sedgwick, stating that, " Mr. John Hamilton (the biographer of his father) told me (C. M. S.) that this was the last letter, excepting a short one to his mother [Elizabeth Hamilton] which his father wrote."

Samuel Eliot Morison, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Recording Secretary communicated two memoirs: one of Henry Williamson Haynes, by Mr. C. P. GREENOUGH, and one of Samuel Lothrop Thorndike, by Mr. STANWOOD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of Mr. William Endicott and spoke of him as the highest type of citizen, and mentioned in detail his connection with the Society and its meetings. Major HIGGINSON, who was unable to be present, submitted the following characterization:[1]

[1] This had appeared in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, November 11, 1914.

Coming downtown to-day, a good man spoke to me of Mr. Endicott's funeral and career, and added: "If I were younger, I might profit by his example." I did not reply that Mr. Endicott never considered such points, but always helped other people whenever and wherever he could.

In 1846 Mr. Charles F. Hovey, who was already a man of business, set up his shop of dry goods in Winter Street and established the principle of "one price." Before that the customers at various shops of all kinds in our town regularly "dickered" for their purchases. Mr. Endicott went to Mr. Hovey as a boy, proved his value and later became a partner. If I am not misinformed, his especial department was the management of the finances of the firm, although no doubt he considered all the other affairs. In that way he came to understand the value of a high credit, and when, in the panic of 1857, his firm paid its bills promptly with Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co., in London, while many other people failed or delayed payments then due, he proved that he had learned his lesson.

Mr. Hovey and his partners were from the first anti-slavery men, and their shop was shunned by some good people who thought otherwise; but they held to their faith.

Later, when our Civil War came, Mr. Endicott was an excellent adviser in the financial matters of the country. He was very clear about the greenback question, insisted that our nation had agreed to pay gold for its United States paper and bonds, and that it must do so, and was sure that such a course was not merely honest and honorable but also wise, for our nation needed good credit. It was because he and such men as he won that fight that the nation was enabled to drop the rate of interest paid on United States bonds from 7.3 per cent to 2 per cent.

Mr. Endicott was often called on to help in every emergency during the Civil War, and was an excellent adviser of Governor Andrew, who himself gave his time and life to the cause just as much as if he had been in the field.

Mr. Endicott was one of the organizers of the New England Trust Company and a prominent director from the outstart. During the panic of 1873 he and another director, who is no longer living, gave much time and thought to the affairs of that company, which had just started and needed care.

Of course Mr. Endicott helped to establish the Institute of Technology and the Boston Art Museum, of which he was at one time the president. In short, wherever education in any form came up Mr. Endicott came at once to the front with his advice, his work and his money. Whether he was rich or poor, I do not think any

man ever considered, but only whether he would help — and the answer was always prompt.

After the great fire of Boston in 1872 he was one of the men who moved quickly and strongly for the necessary relief all around and for the help of the firemen.

The house of Messrs. C. F. Hovey and Co. had long been known everywhere for its high tone, for its honesty in goods and in conduct, and thereby had drawn to itself an excellent and large custom. Common sense ruled in that house, as was shown by its quality in every respect, and during the great fire it was a partner of that house who, by the simplest means, checked the fire from the Hovey building and, therefore, checked the fire in that direction. The work of the partners all seemed of one piece, and Mr. Endicott was not the only man who had the spirit of the firm.

As a wise and successful merchant, as a patriotic, able and high-minded citizen, as a helper in every cause large and small, Mr. Endicott was prompt and hearty, and he was sought as a friend by the best men of our community. Apparently he never considered himself or his own interests but only that which was good for others. But the one thing he did seek was the respect and affection of his fellows and his friends, and he certainly had it in full measure and running over. He is a great loss to the community in which he had lived, as he had been a great help during his lifetime. Such men make a country such as we all wish for — men who remember men and women as God made them.

One of the pretty instances of his life was his constant affection for his old father, Mr. William Endicott, Sr., who used to await him in the Beverly station as the train passed by. William Endicott, Jr., would go out and greet William Endicott, Sr., then get into the train again and go home.

He was always young, and when he died no doubt he was young still, and his memory will be green in the minds and hearts of all of us.

Mr. Thayer read a paper by Mr. C. F. Adams on

Again, "The Tissue of History."

With the exception of the Editor and myself, few, I apprehend, of those now present will recall a certain paper submitted by me at the meeting three years ago corresponding to the present — that held on Wednesday, the 11th of October, 1911. The paper in question was entitled "The Tissue of

History" — a phrase drawn from *Sartor Resartus*, Carlyle likening the immediate present — the passing Now with an eternity on its either hand — to a "living link in that Tissue of History which inweaves all Being: watch well, or it will be past thee, and seen no more."

I then made mention of the fact that, since my occupancy of this chair began, I have as October approached almost invariably found myself looking back over the time elapsed since the last meeting of the Society, and endeavoring to make up my mind whether, during those four intervening months — representing the Now — anything had anywhere occurred which might be termed of true historical importance; that is, either in this country or abroad, some event which would probably stand forth unmistakably in the perspective of the past — a milestone, possibly a landmark. I then enumerated four occurrences between June and October, 1911, which not impossibly might, it then seemed to me, deserve the careful consideration of thoughtful men, as occurrences of which history would scarcely fail to make note.[1] Three years have since elapsed, and already those occurrences seem somewhat insignificant as well as sufficiently remote. I will not enumerate them; but if doubt exists as to their abiding historical importance, or that of any one of them, no doubt, I think it may safely be affirmed, can possibly exist as respects what has occurred since the Society last met — the course of events which, with its fast following sequences, now absorbs attention. The course of events referred to is, moreover, closely associated with one of the four incidents to which detailed reference was made in my former paper; I refer to what, three years ago, was known as the "Morocco Incident." Otherwise well-nigh passed out of general memory, the Morocco incident has a grim present significance; for it is as closely as it is obviously connected with developing events. To quote at length from one's own previous utterances is a practice more honored in the breach than in the observance. Savoring of senility, it is suggestive of prosing. Nevertheless the "Morocco Incident" of 1911 has, to my mind, such a close bearing on the event of August last that I venture now to repeat what I said in October, 1911. Referring to what had then happened

[1] *Proceedings*, XLV. 15.

as something of which we had not yet heard the last, I ventured a belief that "a truce only had been established." The underlying situation had failed to develop itself, and the conditions then existing had, it seemed to me, "much future significance." Finally, I thus summed up my conclusions:

In the Morocco incident, the attitude of Germany was at the outset, to say the least, menacing. Under conditions formerly existing, the way in which this attitude was met by France could hardly have failed to lead to hostilities. It did fail, however, and the course pursued by Germany in, so to speak, modifying its demands, if not desisting from them, is to be accounted for. So far as is now apparent, this "backdown," for it was a backdown, was the result solely of financial pressure brought to bear from Paris and London, acting in combination. Had Prussia, or Germany, persisted in the line of policy clearly foreshadowed, such action would have been met by a financial and commercial crisis, the point of concentration of which would have been Berlin, of a nature closely resembling a general bankruptcy, with the accompanying industrial unrest. In other words, a financial panic and labor disturbance would have been precipitated, the possibility even of which caused the imperial government first to hesitate and then stop, accepting the situation practically forced upon it. Looked at from our point of view, the question next suggests itself, What does this signify so far as the future is concerned? Has the world, by a closer interlacing and combination of interests — financial, commercial, industrial and economical — entered upon a new phase of development, in which wars of the old description must cease? Here, manifestly, is a problem of first-class historical importance, presented since our June meeting. While to-day it would seem not improbable that, under former conditions, a struggle of the old-fashioned description was contemplated, a continental power of the very first class, when it came face to face with what hostilities now necessarily would and possibly might involve, found itself under heavy bonds not to break the peace. To express it in a different way, in the forty years which have elapsed since the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, commercial relations have so expanded, financial conditions have so internationalized themselves, and economical and industrial threads have become so interwoven in the tissue, that it is questionable whether, in spite of manifest naval and military preparations, a war of the character of those so frequently and even lightly entered upon in the nineteenth century, yet more in the eighteenth, is longer probable. Its possible and remote con-

sequences are too considerable. Local struggles and hostilities of a minor character must, of course, be anticipated in the future, as in the past; but is it not fairly open to question whether anything even remotely approaching the Napoleonic period is longer to be apprehended? It has thus become a question of the budget and of industrial order.

In his poem Browning makes Paracelsus sneeringly remark to Festus

> Your prophecy on the whole
> Was fair enough as prophesyings go;
> At fault a little in detail, but quite
> Precise enough in the main;

and of this, in the case of my utterance of three years ago, I submit the time now gives daily proof. Acting, there is reason to infer, on a mistaken understanding of the controlling facts of the situation, the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary, assuming the initiative in the struggle which opened in the closing days of last July, ignored or set at defiance the conclusions above set forth. So, though neutral in the conflict which has ensued and is now going on, we are in our own daily lives and personal affairs receiving illustration almost unlimited of the degree to which in this world of steam, electricity and the applied sciences things have "internationalized themselves, and commercial and industrial threads have become interwoven."

While my premises set forth three years ago still seem correct, and the conclusion drawn from them plausible, yet, during the last ten weeks the world has undeniably found itself precipitated into a war exceeding in magnitude and complexity of methods any the world ever before witnessed. At the same time, is there not reason to infer that this most portentous conflict was precipitated by those on whom the responsibility for it will rest as a direct outcome of the Morocco experience? The interval since 1911 has been availed of as a time of preparation; the issue then so threatening has since been carefully considered, in the nature of an object lesson. It is now already apparent that the German government proceeded with the infinite attention to detail and precaution characteristic of it. Accepting the premises in full, recognizing the interwoven character of relations and the

vital importance of financial confidence, it proposed to dominate the situation, and secure results through action at once sudden and final. With untiring prevision it forestalled every foreseeable contingency, relying for its justification on early established supremacy. Its vanquished opponents were to make everything good financially and from a business point of view; and this as the result of a campaign limited to a few weeks at furthest. Thus Germany on full deliberation and by design challenged all the conditions and consequences set forth as the outcome of the "Morocco Incident." It will, for instance, be remembered that, some eighteen months ago, a special war tax was levied, of five per cent on all property, representing in fact a year's income of the Germanic community. This, it was openly proclaimed, was to provide for armament, both defensive and offensive, of a permanent character. The significance of the move is now apparent.

Whether in making this challenge and incurring well-nigh incalculable risks in confidence on its great preparedness, financial as well as military, Germany was well advised, yet remains to be seen. That question is not now and here to be considered; for our standpoint is historic. So viewed, it is obviously as yet altogether premature to attempt to pass judgment upon motives and policy, much more to venture on forecasts. Events can here only be considered in perspective. So I have no intention of now indulging in criticism, much less in prophecy. Quite irrespective of any opinions that may be held either by me individually or by those composing this Society, "the Tissue of History" will be woven into patterns not of our devising.

Nevertheless, there is a standpoint from which I feel I may properly enough have something to say — something historic in tone; and, unless I greatly err, not wholly devoid of interest. Reverting to my own personal experience of half a century back, it throws light on passing events. In 1864, exactly fifty years ago, I, then being attached in a very subordinate capacity to the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, took part in Grant's advance upon Richmond — the advance through the Wilderness, as it was at the time designated. Now constantly recurring to it as I read of what is occurring in France, I have been deeply impressed by a resemblance I have thought

to exist between the two general situations. Almost day by day experience has seemed to be repeating itself, though always on a tenfold scale — a continuous front of battle of one hundred and fifty or even three hundred miles instead of fifteen, with combatants counted by the million instead of by the hundred thousand. A money outgo at least ten times as great has also to be provided for. As to consequent industrial and commercial disturbance, the difference of scale simply confounds computation. Grant's entire army, for example, never equalled in numbers at any one time the comparatively small but important contingent contributed by Great Britain to the allied array. On that head, it is true, we have no authentic information; but it is currently supposed that Field Marshal Sir John French entered on what he has designated as "his job" with some 125,000 men of all branches of the service. A larger force than Grant could ever muster at any one time during the campaign of 1864, this has been but a minor factor in the army of French defence, currently supposed, including the Belgian contingent and the French reserves, to have aggregated upwards of a million and a half. It is also supposed that the German force actively involved in the western field of operations, including garrisons and the protection of lines of supply, amounted more nearly to two million effectives than to a million and a half. Such figures are bewildering. The losses, too, must have far exceeded anything pertaining to Grant's famous campaign, though that could not be said to have been free from reckless blood expenditure. Nevertheless, allowance being made for numbers and scale of operation, the two situations in other essential respects seem curiously alike.

Anyone acquainted, either by personal experience or as a reader, with what occurred in 1864 must realize that Grant then entered upon his campaign in much the spirit in which the Kaiser obviously entered upon the operations commenced two months ago. The force under Grant's command had been prepared for action all through the preceding winter. There was nothing either unexpected or theatrical in the opening of operations. Both his army and that of Lee simply left winter cantonments and entered on work in the field. Those composing Grant's army did so, however, with supreme confidence in themselves and in their leader, and with a firm belief gener-

ally prevailing that at last the Union side was on the threshold of a movement which was to prove at once short and decisive. The initial blow was to suffice.

It is manifest and, I believe, undenied that the German general staff had framed their program in a similar spirit. In the language of the ring, the first round was to be a "knock-out"; and all the indications at the time, as well as the subsequent disclosures, lead to one conclusion: the overrunning and practical conquest of France was to be effected within a brief period, numbered in weeks, thus releasing the German strength to be turned, in conjunction with that of Austria-Hungary, against Russia.

In neither case did the course of events move in conformity with the program. In France as in Virginia, the army assuming the aggressive met with a resistance far more stubborn than had been anticipated. Military results then developed in both cases on lines almost precisely the same. That is, the force on the defensive proving itself not altogether unequal to that attacking, on both battlefields movements and results similar in character developed, always proportioned to the numbers engaged. In 1864, after the battle of the Wilderness, Grant had recourse to a system of frontal assaults. They resulted only in a useless loss of life, quickly followed by the practical demoralization of his army. This manifested itself at Cold Harbor. The futility of further frontal assaults became manifest to the men in the ranks, and the attacking army went to its work as to its doom. Without expectation of success, they did not succeed. Recourse was then of necessity had to a system of flanking operations, which, with conspicuous poverty of result, involved a fearful expenditure of life and material. In other words, the struggle degenerated into a series of tactical movements, from which nothing decisive resulted. Finally, it became a question of exhaustion. One of the two parties to the strife had got to drop from sheer inability longer to stand up. Under an expenditure of life and material, incessant and unavoidable, which could hold out longest?

Judging by the manifestly censored reports and returns reaching us, this is the precise situation now reached in Europe. At this writing the conflict has been in active progress some

seven weeks. During those seven weeks the expenditure of life and material has been something difficult to imagine and impossible to estimate. But that struggle has apparently assumed a definite shape — the shape it assumed in Virginia in June, 1864. Now, as then, which side can longest stand the strain? In our case the blockade — maritime supremacy — at this stage became the ultimate controlling factor. The Confederacy was shut up within itself. As the field of operations eventually shaped itself, Grant's army depended on its base of supplies secure at City Point for a successful outcome of the prolonged grapple; it breathed and its strength was replenished from the sea. One by one through the closing months of 1864 and the beginning of 1865, as our blockade was perfected, the inlets to the Confederacy were closed. Wilmington, the last of them, was captured by the Fort Fisher assault January 16, 1865. Thenceforth, the Confederacy, shut up within itself, simply gasped. The supplies absolutely necessary to a continuance of the struggle — its breath of life — could only be drawn over unreliable railroads, traversing regions themselves without sufficient sustenance. I have heretofore had occasion to deal with this aspect of the military problem as it presented itself in the winter of 1864–65, and in so doing I have used concerning it a figure of speech to which I am tempted again to have recourse. It has an obvious bearing on what is now taking place on the other side of the Atlantic. History seems to be repeating itself:

> The Confederate cause sank in failure. It did so, moreover, to the complete surprise of a bewildered world. How was this wholly unexpected actual outcome brought about? The simple answer is: The Confederacy collapsed from inanition! Suffering such occasional reverses and defeats as are incidental to all warfare, it was never crushed in battle or on the field at large until its strength was sapped away by want of food. It died of exhaustion — starved and gasping!
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> Take a living organism, whatever it may be, place it in a vessel hermetically sealed, and attach to that vessel an air-pump. Set that pump in action; you know what follows. It is needless to describe it. No matter how strong or fierce or self-confident it may be, the victim dies; growing weaker by degrees, it finally collapses. That was the exact condition and fate of the Confederacy. What

had been confidently pronounced impossible was done. Steam put in its work, and the Confederacy was sealed up within itself by the blockade. Operations in the field then acted as an air-pump, the exhausting character of which could not be exceeded. . . . The blockade was gradually perfected. The fateful process then went steadily on. Armies might be resisted in the field; the working of the air-pump could not be stopped. And day and night, season after season, the air-pump worked. So the atmosphere of the Confederacy became more and more attenuated; respiration sensibly harder. Air-hole on air-hole was closed. . . . Lee realized it was only a question of time. The working of the air-pump was beyond his sphere either of influence or operations. Nothing could stop it.[1]

The situations are to-day undeniably analogous. The military deadlock is on in Europe. A question of endurance, consumption proceeds with a rapidity and to an extent both unprecedented and inconceivable. On this head I do not propose to enter into details or make pretence of statistical information. Under existing conditions I place small reliance in figures. Meanwhile, take simply two articles — both essential to military operations. Napoleon is said to have observed that an army was like a serpent — it moved on its belly. This in a way is true; but the feet of the units composing the army, whether those feet be shod in leather or by iron, have none the less to be always borne in mind. Those better informed than myself in such matters tell me that when an army is engaged in active operations, especially in wet weather or in winter, a pair of shoes a month to each soldier is within the requirement. If such is approximately the case, allowing the numbers ordinarily accepted for the various armies now in the field, whether in Belgium or in France, in Germany or in Austria, what consumption of shoes must be anticipated and provided for? A calculation can readily be made; the result would be expressed in millions. Whence, especially in a region limited to its own resources, is such an amount of footwear to come? The air-pump is here in pronounced operation. Will history record a repetition of Confederate experience?

Again, the matter of transportation. The rough rule-of-thumb estimate accepted in my time was that an army required a horse, on an average, for every three combatants.

[1] *Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity*, 156–160.

In this allowance provision was made for cavalry, artillery, and quartermaster and commissariat trains; also for ammunition and hospital services. If, then, as asserted, there are some twelve million active combatants now in the field in Europe, it would imply for its continued movement a steadily maintained body of four million horses. Are there as many horses available? I have made no special study of this question, nor do I know if any reliable statistics are accessible. Meanwhile, during my active army life of fifty years ago, it was stated that in active operations the life of a horse averaged some six weeks. He, moreover, to sustain his strength, must be fed with the regularity of clock-work. In the case of men food admits of a certain amount of condensation. It can be given even in tabloid form. With the horse it is not so. He has to have his forage as regularly as the sun rises and sets, or he is unable to do his work; and upon his doing his work army movement depends. If, then, the average life of a horse in active field operations, especially field operations of the unremitting and altogether pitiless character recently carried on in Europe, whether west or east, is to be estimated at, we will say, two months, it would imply a horse-flesh renewal of two million animals a month. We all know that during the South African war the horse-market of the United States was depleted. We also learn from the papers that the buyers of the belligerent governments, or such of them as have free access to the sea, are now everywhere in America. The shipment to Europe of horses, whether from Canada or our own ports, is perceptibly increasing. These horses, however, are utterly unfitted for immediate active military work, and, when thrust into it prematurely, their lives and usefulness are limited. Without venturing on estimates, it at once becomes apparent that the supply of horses to meet the requirements of modern warfare is somewhat confounding. Yet here, too, the operation of the air-pump knows no exemptions.

The indirect effects of such consumption, also, cannot be lost sight of. When every active man, as has recently been the case in European countries, is called from the industrial field into military service, the loss to the laboring element does not need to be dwelt upon. Nevertheless, in this case, the immature and the old, including women, may be made to a cer-

tain extent to supply the place of the more able bodied. The horse is, however, just as essential to gathering the harvest and doing much of the ordinary work of life as he is to military movement; and if an undue proportion of horses is to be commandeered, so to speak, it is difficult to see how the harvest and other work at home, absolutely necessary to be done, can be otherwise than severely crippled. Especially would this prove the case in countries cut off from external sources of renewal.

In the case of horses it will, of course, at this point at once be objected that the introduction of the motor has here again materially affected conditions. The horse is to a degree a thing of the past. This, however, I fancy, will not prove to be the case in warfare any more than it has been the case in peace. Unless experience is wholly at fault, the motor as a military appliance will prove to be merely new and additional, not a substitute. In the first place, the motor cannot take the place of the horse in cavalry. Next, the increase in weight as well as number of the impedimenta, including artillery and ammunition trains, has been such as to call for additional motive power, not less probably in amount than the new appliance can contribute. Finally, the motor is largely dependent for its usefulness on road conditions; and the front of battle must be somehow or other supplied, quite irrespective of pavement. It has a way of being extended over fields, morasses and hillsides. So it remains to be seen whether, under conditions of modern warfare, the old proportion of horses to combatants has been materially affected. If it shall prove to have been affected at all, I should apprehend it not unlikely to be in the direction of an increase rather than diminution. The introduction of the motor has not tended, on the whole, to the extinction or even the cheapening of the horse.

Moreover, new complications and considerations continually suggest themselves. Take, for instance, again, the motor. As the horse is dependent on his forage, the motor is dependent on power. That power consists largely of petrol. Whence is the supply of the material drawn from which petrol is manufactured? In the case of a community artificially confined within its own limits, where within those limits is the necessary supply to be found? And if it exists, is it in regions unoccupied by

the enemy? What is the case in this regard in Germany and Austria-Hungary? Whence can an adequate supply of the motor's power be forthcoming? This query I suggest merely. But here, also, the action of the air-pump has to be reckoned with.

Thus, studied in the light of the experience of the Confederacy, the present European situation is at least indisputably interesting. Merely one of scale, the difference of scale is so enormous — so appalling even — that all inference becomes unsafe. The analogy of the air-pump is, however, again undergoing illustration; though we are now apparently to study the several steps marking its process, so far as the contents of the receiver are concerned, under conditions rendering what took place fifty years ago hardly comparable. In place of a crude, agricultural, under-populated, self-feeding and sustaining community, two of the oldest and most populous nations of the world — both powers of the first class — are now enclosed; and the air-pump is in full action! A population of one hundred and twenty-five million, instead of six million as in our case, comprising differentiated industrial communities, are suddenly cut off from outer-world commercial intercourse. Directly and indirectly, they are exhausting themselves at the rate of some twenty million dollars a day. This in material; the loss of life is a secondary matter. Men can assuredly be got to fill depleted ranks; for there are probably within the two countries, Germany and Austria-Hungary, not less than ten million military effectives. But to feed, move, equip and arm those men, keeping them effective while dependent exclusively on internal sources of supply, constitutes a problem in contemplation of which experience is at fault. Meanwhile, what is to become of the sustaining communities? Enclosed within the receiver, they are not, as was the case of the Confederacy, composed of agriculturists only.

So, irrespective of magnitude, will the 1865 analogy of the air-pump hold true in 1915? If it does, each new levy from this time on will only render the German and Austria-Hungary situations the more unendurable. The difficulty of respiration will be by so much enhanced. What, in that case, is to be the outcome? How soon is the inevitable final result — inanition — to be brought about? When, collapse?

In military operations more than in most other experiences, both human and animal, it is the unexpected which is wont to occur; and it was at the close of his second Silesian experience that Frederick the Great, then only thirty-three years of age, pronounced himself on what he termed "luck in warfare." So great a factor therein did he consider "luck," or pure chance, that he said that never again would he voluntarily expose himself and his throne to it. "I would not," he forcibly declared, "henceforth attack a cat except to defend myself." The unexpected, however, may enter into the solution of the problem in favor of one side or the other engaged, quite as much as luck. The dealing of the cards is by no means all; and not unseldom the outcome sets calculation at defiance. Thus we in America should long hesitate before venturing conclusions, recalling the historical fact that in 1864 the European world was fully and firmly convinced that the independence of the Confederacy was an accomplished fact. A restoration of our Union was pronounced the one simply impossible result of the struggle then in progress. Yet the independence of the Confederacy was not achieved; the old Union was restored. Remembering this, I for one certainly feel no disposition now to indulge in forecasts. On the sea or under the sea, as on the land and over the land, almost anything seems in these days possible. So I simply desire to call attention to the analogy existing at just this stage of operations between what occurred in 1864 and what is now occurring. As I have already stated, at present the difference is one of size only. In other respects history to-day is so far simply repeating itself; what novel pattern the tissue now emerging from the loom of fate may to-morrow take on is yet to appear. Possibly, the receiver may be shattered.

In our case, however, we know what happened. When the spring of 1865 came, the Confederacy collapsed. At the end of its resources, it fell from exhaustion. The demonstration had been brought to a successful close. Present indications seem to foreshadow a similar result as not now improbable. The question then remains, — How much longer can the existing pressure be sustained — the demand met? In face of severe industrial disturbance and complete commercial paralysis everything is involved — men, money, material. When in

process on such a scale, consumption cannot be figured. We are reduced to guessing.

In an earlier part of this paper I spoke of the fact that in our daily lives and personal affairs we are now receiving illustration almost unlimited of the degree to which in this world of steam, electricity and applied science things have internationalized themselves, and commercial and industrial threads have become interwoven. Our Society has not in this respect been exempt from the general fate. Already its activities have been seriously interfered with. Not only, as the Editor to-day informs us, have investigations instituted in England, in the hope of recovering some at least of the lost Winthrop papers, come to a standstill — the thoughts of all being otherwise occupied — but at home the present is no time for the issue of new publications. Their cost has been considerably enhanced, and it becomes necessary for us to modify our program to make it conform to conditions thus forced upon us. How long is this likely to continue? Often put, the question admits of a wide margin of response, invariably reflecting the circumstances and temper of him venturing an opinion. I should, therefore, altogether refrain from even suggesting such a topic, were it not that our policy and activities as a Society are to a degree affected. Under these circumstances, feeling to a certain extent responsible for results, I have instructed our Editor and others in any way affected to assume that at least fifteen months will yet elapse before a settled order of affairs can be reasonably anticipated. If this forecast should prove measurably accurate, it remains still to consider what state of affairs will confront us in the year 1916. The present conflict is roughly computed to entail a money outgo on all concerned of not less than fifty million dollars a day — this apart from the inevitable destruction wrought in war and the indirect consequences of commercial and industrial disturbance. If the estimate is even approximately correct, fifteen months of conflict yet to ensue will, in addition to the time already elapsed, represent a public expenditure of approximately twenty-five thousand million dollars. Such figures are astronomical. Comprehension halts. What industrial, financial and commercial readjustment is involved in a disturbance so measured others bolder than I

can perhaps venture to estimate. All I can say on behalf of this Society is that, in the possible presence of such a future readjustment, it behooves us to proceed prudently and in the exercise of much caution.

In any event, however, a spectacle of absorbing interest is immediately on view. Enclosed literally in an air-tight receiver, two of the most complex and considerable organizations of our modern world are subjected before our eyes to the action of an air-pump, the movement of which never stops, while its energy defies estimate.

At once a gladiatorial show and a scientific demonstration, what is in process affords a dramatic, if not an altogether fitting, close of the century just rounding out since Waterloo and the fall of Napoleon. We at least are fortunate in being spectators only of a tragedy, a repetition possibly on a large scale of that in which we were ourselves concerned at the milestone marking just half-way in the progress of that century. What is about to occur will assuredly be memorable. The curtain is up; the show is on!

Secure good places — 't will be worth your while.

Col. Thomas L. Livermore followed:

The resemblance between the campaign now in progress in France and Belgium, and the Virginia campaign of 1864, to which our attention has been drawn by General Adams' paper, which has just now been read, is most interesting. The resemblance is exact between certain periods of the campaign, but the comparison of the Kaiser's aim at the outset of the present campaign with Grant's aim in May, 1864, seems less exact. It is said that the former's object was to capture Paris, but Richmond was not Grant's object. Neither does it seem to me that the Kaiser's confidence in completing the conquest of France in a term of weeks, founded in part on underrating his enemy, can justly be said to resemble Grant's expectations. Grant probably did not estimate Lee's ability as great as it was afterwards proven to be. Immediately after Gettysburg the latter's military reputation was somewhat clouded, and his attack, ten months later, on Grant's army as it moved through the Wilderness will, I think, be adjudged by history to have shown more courage than wisdom.

If General Humphreys, who planned the movement into the Wilderness, was right, neither Grant nor his army thought an initial blow would be sufficient. General Humphreys wrote: "But move as we might, long continued hard fighting, under great difficulties, was before us, and whatever might be the line of operations adopted, the successful execution of the task of the Army of the Potomac could only be accomplished by the vigorous and untiring efforts of all belonging to that army, and by suffering heavy losses in killed and wounded, and that the whole army well understood. . . . Lee's army being the objective, the first question was by which flank should the Army of the Potomac move." [1]

This seems sufficiently to establish the fact that Grant's campaign was not for the possession of Richmond, which in itself could be of little value to the Union arms, and that his march towards that city was intended to bring Lee to battle out of his intrenchments.

In the Virginia campaign there was no strategic error like that which exposed the flank of the German army on the Marne and resulted in the battle, followed by the retreat of seventy miles northwards to the river Aisne. For comparison of the two campaigns, the latter should be taken from the point when the armies, at the end of the retreat, faced each other on that river, September 12. They then resorted to the practice of our Civil War, begun in 1864, of methodically throwing up hasty intrenchments to cover each position gained on the field during, as well as while preparing for, battle. On the Aisne, the Germans had to protect the railways coming to their rear and serving as their line of supplies. From June 15, 1864, the Confederates had to defend the railways from the south to their rear which brought their supplies. Two of them, the "South Side" and "Weldon," converged at Petersburg, and by able strategy Grant, without discovery by Lee, placed in front of the Petersburg fortifications a force ample to take the place; but although eleven redans, and the adjacent trenches, with fifteen cannon, were taken, the capture of the city failed, through faulty leadership of subordinates. Upon the failure of this attack Grant resorted to extending his line by the left flank to gain the railways, or to bring Lee

[1] Humphreys, *The Virginia Campaign of '64 and '65*, 9, 12.

out of his intrenchments for their defence. The movements for this purpose were as follows: June 21, an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Weldon Railway, and August 13 another attempt, in which this was accomplished; one on September 29-30, which extended his intrenchments to Peebles Farm; one on October 27, which failed in an attempt to surprise, and was relinquished after a Union victory at Boydton Plank Road; and one in February, in which the intrenchments were extended to Hatchers Run.

By these movements, Lee was forced to extend his line to a total length of more than thirty-seven miles, a part of which was covered by rivers, but the rest of which — about twenty-seven miles in length — was heavily intrenched. At this point the resemblance to the situation on the Aisne and north of it, disappears. While after Grant's last extension above referred to, there still remained beyond the Confederates' right ample room for further flank movements, if it is true, as is reported, that the German line has been extended to the North Sea, no further movement by land around their right flank by the Allies is possible.

Grant also sent expeditions which destroyed sections of railways as follows: July 7, under Sheridan, against the Virginia Central, north of Richmond; July 22, under Wilson, against the Weldon, Lynchburg and Danbury railroads; August 22, under Hancock and Gregg, and in December under Warren, against the Weldon Railroad south of the Union lines. A movement north of the James, on August 13, was made to draw back the troops which had gone to oppose Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley; and another, on September 29, had the object of preventing the despatch of further reinforcements there. An expedition, July 5, under Hancock and Sheridan, against the railways north of the James, had for one object the prevention of sending reinforcements to Johnston's army in Georgia, and for another, the detachment of Confederate troops from the Petersburg front to thus lessen the force which might oppose the proposed assault through the breach to be made by the mine under Elliot salient in the Confederate works. This assault was made July 13 at a loss of 3,798, and only added to the proof given at Spottsylvania in May, that the old practice of carrying a breach in an enclosed fortifica-

tion by an assault in mass cannot accomplish much against an open line of works defended by a force strong enough to cover the front with fire, and resolute enough to deploy against the heads and flanks of the assaulting column within the works. Thereafter Grant made no such assault, if we except that of September 9, north of the James, which, made in expectation of finding the works weakly held, captured Fort Harrison and other works but failed to penetrate to Richmond as intended. Lee made such an assault disastrously at Fort Stedman in March, 1865. The Germans seem to be trying them on the Aisne.

In June, Grant had 120,097 men "present for duty"[1] against Lee's 65,562. In August, the discharge of men as their terms expired, casualties, and the despatch in July and August of the Sixth corps and two cavalry divisions to Washington and the Shenandoah Valley, had reduced Grant's number to 69,206 against Lee's 55,622.[2] It is conjectured that one motive of Grant's activity in August and September was to conceal from Lee this reduction of the Union force to an extent which was hazardous to the beleaguering army.

Lee was quick in detecting or anticipating nearly all the attempts against his flanks or railways, and they almost always resulted in his giving battle to oppose them. For miles the opposing intrenchments were under rifle range — for long distances within a few yards — of each other. The result of this was the exchange of infantry and artillery fire every day, between works covering the lines for about eight miles; but it was very rarely, if ever, that such fire was relied on to accomplish the capture of works, or was wasted in sufficient volume and duration to answer to what the reports from the lines in Belgium and France are entitling "battles."

Grant's losses in all the operations above noted, beside the 13,798 in the attack on Petersburg June 15–18, and at the mine, were 15,515 killed and wounded, and 12,337 captured or missing,[3] a total of 27,852 which, as compared with the loss of 28,000 in three days at Gettysburg does not seem extravagant. The published returns of the Confederate losses are incomplete.

[1] *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts*, VI. 461, against June 30 erroneously gives the number present for duty May 31.

[2] *Ib.*, 461; *War Records*, 81. 542–552.

[3] *War Records*, 80. 218 *et seq.*; 85. 135 *et seq.*; 95. 63 *et seq.*

There is ground for estimating their ratio to numbers at least as great as that of the Union losses. In strategic wisdom, the skillful use of intrenchments and resolute opposition with smaller numbers, Lee, in the period covered by these operations, gained rank among the first, and perhaps became the first, of generals in modern defensive war.

In view of the obvious preponderance in Grant's numbers (in fact, 115,000 effectives against 54,000 Confederates) in March, 1865,[1] Lee foresaw the danger of an early flank march by Grant; and with the object of dislocating the latter's projects, he, on March 25, the next day after Grant had issued an order for the final movement, ordered the assault above referred to, by half his army, under Gordon, on Fort Stedman, which was only one hundred and fifty yards from the Confederate works on the Petersburg front. The battle was a counterpart of that at the mine, with the contestants' parts reversed. The Confederates entered the fort with a rush and then were driven out. In this, and the counter attacks on the Confederate lines in other parts of the line on the same day, the Confederates lost about 4,000 and the Union troops 2,200.

On the Aisne and to the north of it, like Grant at Petersburg, the Allies have repeatedly extended their line to the left in their effort to pass around the right end of the German line, and these attempts have always resulted in battle, at the end of which each side has rested in new intrenchments covering the extension. There also has been daily firing between intrenchments. If the reports from the field of frequent assaults by infantry against intrenchments are true, the campaign in this respect differs from that at Petersburg described above, where during the later months of the campaign such assaults were avoided by Grant.

The flank movement projected by Grant which, undelayed by the attack on Fort Stedman, was begun on March 29, carried his moving column so far beyond the right end of Lee's intrenchments that the latter was led to send 24,000 out to oppose them, leaving only 11,000 men to hold the Petersburg intrenchments over twelve miles long.[2] After three battles be-

[1] Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War*, 136, 137.

[2] *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts*, VI. 485, and map at end.

tween the forces on the flank on the three following days, Grant judged that so many Confederates had left the Petersburg intrenchments that an assault on them would succeed. This assault, made by his order on April 2, penetrated the line, and cut the Confederate army in two, with result that Lee abandoned his whole line and marched in retreat for North Carolina, too late. The Union army, overtaking, engaged it, en route, in three battles and several minor engagements, and compelled its surrender on April 9 at Appomattox Court House at the end of a retreat of one hundred miles.

In the campaign of twelve days, the Union army captured 40,534, and killed or wounded about 6,266, who, with about 3,800 who deserted and 3,400 who escaped, constituted the whole army with which Lee started in the campaign. The Confederates inflicted on the Union army a loss of 9,066 killed and wounded, and 1,714 captured or missing,[1] which fact, with the extraordinary endurance of the Confederate soldiers on the long and rapid march in retreat, forbids the belief that they were the subjects of inanition — an excuse which, be it said, they did not make for their defeat.

The evidence is that it was through the waste, rather than the enfeeblement, of the men of the Confederate army, that they were vanquished. The records show that they were reduced to the point of surrender by the casualties which every army, however well fed and supplied, must suffer in a campaign abounding in battles, in which it marches far, and fights hard, against a resolute adversary — and the more so if it is largely outnumbered, as were the Confederates. In *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War*, published fourteen years ago, I invited criticism and amendment of its contents, which included an estimate of the United States War Department that there were 1,000,000 men in the Confederate army first and last, together with my computations, running from 1,227,890 to 1,406,048,[2] based on the census and the number and average strength of regiments noted to have been in the Confederate army. These computations involve assumptions which are not so well established as to admit the adoption of either of the results as the indisputable number of individuals in the Confederate army, but they show that the estimate of the War De-

[1] Livermore, 136, 137.

[2] *Ib.*, 40–63.

partment was within possible bounds. The Index of the *War Records*, since published, strengthens the proof.[1] It has been frequently alleged that my statement of the number in the Confederate army is too large, and that in fact the number was only 700,000. I have not seen any criticism that the estimate in the book was too small. Some of these criticisms, and other facts and computations which further confirm the estimate of 1,000,000, are noted in the papers printed by the Military Historical Society in its volume XIII. 317–341.

The records supplemented by Confederate estimates show the following casualties in the Confederate army:

Killed	94,000[2]
Deserted	100,000[3]
Surrendered at close of war	173,576[4]
In Northern prisons in April, 1865	70,130[5]
Total	437,706

There were 249,457 deaths from disease, and 285,545 discharges for disability in the Union army.[6] The total of these casualties is 34.318 per cent of 1,556,000, the number of men who, serving for three years, would be equivalent to the actual number for the actual terms of enlistment in the Union army.[7] The same per cent of 1,082,000 which I have computed, on the same basis, as the number for three years service in the Confederate army, is 372,000,[8] which added to the above total gives 809,706. Besides the 70,130 above noted in Northern prisons, there remained over 200,000 on the Confederate rolls who were not included in the surrender.[9] Many of them may have been men who were in no sense disabled by inanition. This undoubtedly was the case with more than 50,000 belonging to the force west of the Mississippi — where there is no question of sufficient food. In addition, undoubtedly, there

[1] *Papers of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts*, XIII. 332.
[2] Fox, *Regimental Losses*, 22, 47, 554.
[3] *Ib.*, 139, 141; *War Records*, **129**. 1119.
[4] *War Records*, **121**. 772.
[5] *Ib.*, 1001.
[6] *Regimental Losses*, 527; *Medical and Surgical History of War of the Rebellion*, XLII.
[7] Livermore, 50.
[8] *Ib.*, 61.
[9] Livermore, 46; *War Records*, **129**. 1182; **94**. 632.

were more who died of wounds than were ever accounted for under this head.

Upon the assumption that there were only 700,000 in the Confederate army enlisted for an average term of three years (the terms were four years for a good many), 34.318 per cent for deaths from disease and discharges for disability would be 240,000, which added to the above total of 427,706 would give 678,300 as the number accounted for out of the supposed 700,000.

There is further evidence against the theory that inanition subdued Lee's army, in the statement of Colonel Taylor, of his staff,[1] that but for the Confederate government's "inflexible purpose to hold the City of Richmond" Lee's policy would have been to unite with Johnston, with the purpose of falling on Sherman in the hope of destroying him, and then, with the united armies, returning to confront Grant; also in the statements of the Confederate Commissaries of Subsistence in the winter of 1864–65.[2] In December the Commissary General says that there is no deficiency in subsistence for the armies outside of Virginia, and he states the daily ration to the armies in that state (for 100 men, 100 lbs. flour or meal, 100 lbs. fresh meat or 33⅓ lbs. bacon, 10 lbs. rice, 1 gallon vinegar, 2 quarts salt, and for troops in the trenches 6 lbs. sugar and 3 lbs. coffee) which does not suggest starvation; January 23, Chief Commissaries for Virginia say that plenty of meat can be had if the purchase money is supplied; February 9, the Commissary General complains that the neglect of measures to accumulate supplies in Richmond has made the army in Virginia "live from hand to mouth," that for lack of money large available supplies of meat were not secured, and that the retention of many thousand prisoners of war in Richmond has caused the consumption of the reserve of flour, and he mentions among sources of supply "various contrivances to draw supplies from beyond our lines" and "secret arrangements with the enemy turning on their anxiety to get cotton;" and March 10, affirms his opinion that a surplus of supplies remains in Virginia, the Carolinas and East Tennessee, sufficient for the Confederate armies there, which, with adequate military protection, could

[1] *Four Years with General Lee*, 146.

[2] *War Records*, **129**. 930, 1031, 1032, 1137; **96**. 1211–1216.

be obtained by a prompt supply of funds for their purchase, but for the Army of Northern Virginia would have to be brought by "distant railroad transportation."

Deficiencies which had existed or been feared, the Commissary General attributed to depreciating currency, destruction of the "fruits of the earth" by the enemy, the failure of the Government regulations to induce blockade runners to import meat, against their preference for "freight of great condensed value and little specific gravity," and the failure of the War Department to stop all private travel and freight until supplies should be forwarded; and to insure adequate supplies he urged impressment of them and measures for repairing, and insuring efficiency of, the railroads.

In addition to the foregoing, there is much evidence that there were supplies enough in the Confederacy to sustain the armies given in Rhodes' *History*, Volume v.

There is no question that the blockade maintained by the navies seriously obstructed foreign importations, but the foregoing proves that it was not wholly — and I am persuaded that it was not mainly — due to the blockade that there was a scarcity of army supplies in Virginia, or elsewhere. In fact, the blockade of Wilmington was never effective, and a lively foreign commerce was carried on between that port and foreign parts until the Army and Navy together closed it in January, 1865.[1]

It may be fairly argued that opening the Mississippi, and forcing the Confederate armies out of Tennessee, in 1863, by which about one-third of the military strength of the Confederates, and vast supplies, as well as foreign importations by way of Mexico, were cut off from the rest of the Confederacy, did more than the blockade towards diminishing the military power and vitality of its armies.

It is also conceivable that the injury to the railways in the expeditions from the armies facing Petersburg and Richmond, above noted, and the destruction of the crops stored and standing, wrought by the Army, might prove equal to all that the blockade did towards the success of the Union arms, if their effect on the efforts of the Confederate armies could be measured.

[1] *Papers of the Military Historical Society*, IX. 355.

I cannot escape the conclusion that the cause of the final surrender of the 173,576 brave men, who remained in the field, under arms in opposition to the Union army of 600,000, in April, 1865,[1] was the disparity of numbers, and that their ranks had been reduced, not by inanition from want of food, but by other, and ordinary, casualties, exposure, and hardships of war.

Col. W. R. LIVERMORE then said:

It was kind in General Adams to send me a proof of this paper and to invite me to take part in this discussion. I fully agree with him in thinking that this war marks one of the great epochs of history, and that the situation now bears certain resemblances to that in the Campaign of the Wilderness. The opposing forces are now intrenched behind long lines confronting each other at close range as they were around Richmond and Petersburg. How far the situations are alike in other respects I cannot answer without violating the President's wish that no officer on the active or retired list shall discuss the present war from either a political or a military standpoint. I can only say that our first duty is to keep out of it, and our second duty is to be prepared for such a war when our turn shall come around. I shall not, then, occupy much of the time available for the discussion of this paper. I have already, at the meetings of this society for the past seven years, and elsewhere for at least fifty, spoken of the present war and expressed my opinion about its probable results with especial reference to its effect upon the balance of power in Europe; and I shall confine what I have now to say to a discussion of the military situation in America in 1864.

It is very true, as General Adams says, that when Grant was placed in command of all the Federal forces, those composing his army "entered on their work . . . with supreme confidence in themselves and in their leader, and with a firm belief generally prevailing that at last the Union side was on the threshold of a movement which was to prove at once short and decisive."

It is also true, as he says, that in military operations sometimes it is the unexpected that happens. The belief was that

[1] *War Records*, 126. 137.

Grant and his officers would use their troops to good advantage. This they failed to do. With an army of nearly twice the size of Lee's, he should have been able to outflank him, and either capture him or send him precipitately back to Richmond. If with Grant's superiority in cavalry, he had kept it on Lee's flank and rear, it would have been hard for Lee to escape. Instead of that, he resorted to the war of attrition, and settled down at Petersburg with the loss of fifty-six per cent of the best of his army, and tried to surround Lee at Richmond with the rest. There the two armies confronted each other for nearly a year, when the Confederacy collapsed, perhaps, from inanition.

General Adams has contributed much to this phase of the history of the Civil War. He has called attention to the heroic part played by the Navy in maintaining a partial blockade over thousands of miles for so long a time, to the utter amazement of the civilized world; to the effect of this blockade in exhausting the strength of the Confederacy; and to the wise and skillful conduct of our foreign relations in holding back the hands of our doubtful friends abroad.

But because the Confederacy was exhausted by the air pump it does not follow that it could not have been suppressed if its armies had been defeated in the field as they should have been.

If with the troops at Grant's disposal in the east he was unable to surround Lee and cut off his supplies, he should have reinforced them from other theatres of operations.

If Lee's army at Richmond had been supplied by railroads from the south, Grant's could have been supplied by those from the north, as well as by sea from City Point. Lee would have been forced to yield as Pemberton did at Vicksburg; or, if he should escape, Grant's army, reinforced from the defences of Washington and Baltimore, could have swept down the coast and taken possession of the country without being forced to devastate it. In this way, at every step, it would have met scattered forces of the Confederacy to better and better advantage, and ended the war more rapidly and with far less loss to the victors as well as to the vanquished.

Warfare by exhaustion is admissible as an auxiliary; but when practicable, as it was with us, it would have been prefer-

able to dispose of the armed forces of the enemy rather than make war upon old men, women, and children.

Mr. A. C. COOLIDGE spoke briefly on war and the exhaustion of nations.

Mr. RHODES read letters he had received from two of the Honorary Members of this Society, one in England and one in Germany, expressing their views on the great war now in progress. Mr. RHODES connected the two letters by giving some of his own experiences in France during the month of August.

The Editor submitted the following paper by Mr. Lincoln N. Kinnicutt on

THE PLYMOUTH SETTLEMENT AND TISQUANTUM.

That the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth was only accidental is almost an established historical fact, and the conclusions so far drawn, from the documents obtainable pertaining to their early history, all tend to confirm this decision. I think, however, there is some indirect or circumstantial evidence which possibly leads to another conclusion. In order fully to understand the situation we must go back to 1606 and bear in mind the various events which finally led to the colonization of New England, and also try to analyze those events which directly or indirectly may have influenced the Pilgrims in their final selection. I will therefore briefly review the previous attempts to colonize, which led to the settlement at Plymouth.

The charter originally granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, and on his death transferred to Sir Walter Ralegh by Queen Elizabeth in 1584, having lapsed to the crown, James I issued a charter April 10, 1606, to two companies, known as the London Company or first colony, and the Plymouth Company or second colony, often designated as the south and north Virginia Companies. In August of that year Sir Ferdinando Gorges sent a ship under the command of Captain Henry Challons to North Virginia for purposes of exploration, with the idea of immediate colonization. This expedition, owing to the disobedience of instructions, was a total failure, and the ship was finally captured by the Spanish. At about the same

time Chief Justice Popham, coöperating with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, both being associates in the north Virginia Company, sent another ship under the command of Captain Martin Pring, with the same orders as given by Gorges to Challons. The two ships were to join each other on the coast of Maine. Captain Pring's voyage, to which I will refer later, was very successful and the result of his reports led to the earliest settled colony on the New England coast, in 1607, at Sagadahock, known as the Popham Colony and named Sabino. In the meantime the south Virginia Company had sent in January, 1607, a ship with colonists under the command of Captain Newport, and before the Popham colony had started from England, had begun a settlement at Jamestown. It is only with the north Virginia Company that this narrative has to deal, and the above event is mentioned only to show the beginning of the rivalry which later led to important results.

The Popham colony, although starting in some respects under much better conditions than the Plymouth settlement of 1620, — having erected a fort, church, storehouse, and a number of dwellings, three ships from England having arrived with supplies and probably with more settlers — was abandoned in August or September, 1608, on account of inadequate leadership, George Popham having died and Ralegh Gilbert, who succeeded him, having been obliged to return to England on account of the death of his brother. This was a severe blow to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the north Virginia Company. The council of the south Virginia Company, hearing of this failure, endeavored to persuade the north Virginia Company to join them in their efforts of colonization, emphasizing the greater advantages of the southern location, and for the time being attempts at northern settlements were abandoned, although Gorges and Sir Francis Popham still continued to send ships, for fishing and trade, to the north Virginia coast.

In 1614 Captain John Smith, in the interests of certain English merchants, undertook a voyage with two ships to Sagadahock for whales, and to explore some mines. On this voyage he explored the coast of New England from Maine to Cape Cod. On his return Sir Ferdinando Gorges was so impressed by his glowing account of New England that he opened negotiations with him to attempt a colony there, although only

the year previous he had sent a vessel with Captain Hobson to the New England coast, which voyage had proved a failure. These negotiations led to Captain John Smith being given command of two ships in 1615 to undertake a settlement. This proved also a failure, one ship returning to Plymouth, England, after being captured by the French, but leaving Captain Smith a prisoner. In 1616 Gorges sent another ship under command of Richard Vines and this enterprise was still another failure. In 1617 Captain John Smith succeeded in persuading certain members of the north Virginia Company to give him command of three more ships for another attempt at colonization, but the vessels were windbound for three months and the enterprise abandoned. Sir Ferdinando Gorges then ceased to have any further relations with Captain John Smith. About this time twelve hundred persons went to Virginia, as settlers under the south Virginia charter, to the colony which had been started in 1607.

Even after all these failures Sir Ferdinando Gorges was not discouraged, and his faith in the advisability of planting a colony on the shores of New England was not shaken.

In September, 1617, the first steps were taken by the Pilgrims to obtain a patent of land from the south Virginia Company, and John Carver went to England from Holland, probably twice, on this mission and negotiations were continued until June, 1619, when a patent was finally issued. This patent, however, was never used and the conditions or the extent of its grants were never known. On February 2, 1619 (o. s.), another patent was given by the south Virginia Company, and the terms and conditions of this grant also are unknown and it was probably surrendered; for the records of July 16, 1621, of the south Virginia Company state that as a "patent had been taken from Sir Ferdinando Gorges of the north Virginia Company by the Pilgrims their patent might be called in."

The relations between the London Company and the Plymouth Company had gradually become rather strained and about this time (1617 to 1620) they had actually become antagonistic. The London Company had grown very strong and, in fact, had received two additional charters settling their bounds and excluding interference from others, and were trying to encroach on some of the privileges of the Plymouth

Company, which so far had failed to establish any colony in the new world. In self-defence the Plymouth Company applied for a new charter granting to them the same exclusive privileges which had been granted to the other company, and this new charter was finally given to them in 1621.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges must have known all about the negotiations which had been carried on for about three years between the south Virginia Company or London Company and the Pilgrims, for John Gorges, the eldest son of Sir Ferdinando, had married a daughter of the Countess of Lincoln who took a decided interest in American colonization; moreover the second patent from the south Virginia Company to the Pilgrims was taken out in the name of John Whincop, a member of the family of the Countess of Lincoln.

It is certainly reasonable to suppose that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, knowing the character and standing of the body of men who proposed to establish a colony in the new world, would have wished if possible to have them settle in that portion which came under his charter.

No documents or letters have been discovered, so far as I have any knowledge, showing any correspondence between Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Pilgrims, but there are a few established facts which indicate that there may have been some private understanding between some of the leaders and Sir Ferdinando.

Almost immediately after it was known that the landing had been made at Plymouth a patent was issued to them by Sir Ferdinando Gorges without, so far as is known, any previous attempt to discuss conditions or privileges, and was immediately accepted by the settlers.

The Pilgrims first sighted land at Cape Cod and "the which being made and certainly knowne to be it, they were not a little joyfull. After some deliberation had amongst them selves and with the master of the ship, they tacked aboute and resolved to stande for the southward (the wind and weather being faire) to finde some place aboute Hudsons river for their habitation." [1] It would seem by the above quotation that from the very first there was some difference of opinion in regard to their place of settlement. After half a day they were driven by "shoulds

[1] Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, I. 151.

and roring breakers" and returned to Cape Cod. "And the next day [November 11] they gott into the Cape-harbour where they ridd in saftie." The master of the ship then insisted that they should look out for a place, with their shallop, as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbour was discovered.

There has been much controversy over the alleged bribing by the Dutch to prevent a settlement of the Pilgrims in that part of the country they then occupied, but Winslow in his *Brief Narration* speaks of "The large offer the Dutch offered to us . . . to go under them to Hudson River." He also says, referring to the first plans of the Pilgrims, "for our eye was upon the most northern parts of Virginia." [1]

That the master of the *Mayflower* brought the Pilgrims to that part of the country about which they were probably better informed than of any other portion of the whole coast, is certainly a strange coincidence considering the whole situation.

The compact made in Cape Cod Harbor before the landing of the Pilgrims begins as follows: "In the name of God, Amen . . . Having undertaken for the glorie of God and advancemente of the Christian faith and honor of our King and countrie a voyage to plant the first colonie in the northern parts of Virginia." This seems to permit a possible understanding with the north Virginia Company, and that New England had been considered before the departure from England or Holland.

If the Popham colony in 1607 under the charter of the north Virginia Company, of whom Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the leading spirit, had made a declaration of what they intended to do, the first part of that compact could have been almost the same.

No doubt can exist that the Pilgrims were well acquainted with Captain John Smith's glowing description of New England and of that part of the coast where they first landed, and also that they had his map to consult. Also without doubt they knew of Champlain's, Pring's and Gosnold's descriptions, and probably had seen the letter of Captain Thomas Dermer to Samuel Purchas. After discussing the advisability of remaining at Pamet or Cold Harbor they decided "for anything we knew there might be hard by us a far better seat" and "concluded to make some discovery within the bay but in no case so

[1] Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, 383–385. See also Bradford, I. 158.

far as Angoun," that is, Ipswich (Mourts' *Relation*). "Robert Coppin our pilot made relation of a great navigable river and good harbor in the other headlands of the bay . . . in which he had been once not much above eight leagues distance . . . called it Thievish Harbor. And beyond that place they were enjoined not to go."

Probably Governor Bradford had seen the letter of Captain Thomas Dermer "to his worshipful friend Mr. Samuel Purchas," dated December 27, 1619, from Virginia, describing the coast of New England and particularly the country in the vicinity of Plymouth; and taking into consideration what Governor Bradford himself says in regard to another letter, from Thomas Dermer written in June, 1620, on his second visit to Plymouth, it is also not at all improbable that this letter was seen by him before the Pilgrims left England. It is not known to whom this letter was written, but it or a copy was then, or later, in Governor Bradford's possession, and in all probability it was written to Sir Ferdinando Gorges in whose employ Captain Dermer then was. The *Mayflower* did not leave England until the first part of September, 1620. Governor Bradford wrote in his journal in regard to this letter of June, 1620, as follows:

> This Mr. Dermer was hear the same year that these people came, as appears by a relation written by him, and given me by a freind, bearing date June ·30· Anno: 1620. And they came in November following, so ther was but ·4· months differance. In which relation to his honored freind, he hath these pasages of this very place.
>
> "I will first begine (saith he) with that place from whence *Squanto*, or *Tisquantem*, was taken away; which in Cap: *Smiths mape* is called *Plimoth;* and I would that Plimoth had the like comodities. I would that the first plantation might hear be seated, if ther come to the number of ·50· persons, or upward. Otherwise at Charlton, because ther the savages are lese to be feared. The *Pocanawkits*, which live to the *west* of *Plimoth*, bear an invetrate malice to the English, and are of more streingth then all the savages from thence to Penobscote. Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an English man, who having many of them on bord, made a great slaughter with their murderers and smale shot, when as (they say) they offered no injurie on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be douted; yet they beleeve they were, for the Frenche have so possest them; for which cause *Squanto* cannot deney but they would

have kild me when I was at *Namasket*, had he not entreated hard for me. The soyle of the borders of this great bay, may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seene in Virginia. The land is of diverce sorts; for *Patuxite* is a hardy but strong soyle, *Nawset* and *Saughtughtett* are for the most part a blakish and deep mould, much like that wher groweth the best tobaco in Virginia. In the botume of the great bay is store of codd and basse, or mulett, etc. But above all he comends *Pacanawkite* for the richest soyle, and much open ground fitt for English graine, etc. Massachusets is about ·9· leagues from *Plimoth*, and situate in the mids betweene both, is full of ilands and peninsules very fertill for the most part." [1]

This letter of Captain Thomas Dermer brings Squanto on to the scene, and while he could personally have had no influence on the final decision of the Pilgrims to settle at Plymouth, the almost indispensable aid which he afterward rendered to them may have been in some measure foreseen, anticipated and counted upon, if a settlement should be made in the vicinity of Cape Cod.

The series of events from 1618 to 1621 in which Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Thomas Dermer and Tisquantum took part, and the schemes which they may have contemplated, offer a field for a little study, and the whole history of the life of Squanto before meeting the Pilgrims is, I think, of sufficient interest to repeat in this paper.

There has been much difference of opinion in regard to the first knowledge we have of Tisquantum, but Sir Ferdinando Gorges certainly states that one of the five savages brought to England by Captain Waymouth in 1605 was named Tasquantum and that he had him with him in London for three years. Admitting that Sir Ferdinando Gorges was "singularly careless in the references he makes to his Indians," [2] cannot Governor Bradford's statement that "Tisquantum was carried away with diverce others by one *Hunt*" [3] and Sir Ferdinando Gorges' statements, be more fully reconciled than has hitherto been done?

Dr. Dexter's supposition [4] that in some way he got back to

[1] Bradford, I. 207.
[2] Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, I. 24 *n.*
[3] Bradford, I. 203.
[4] Mourt, 90 *n.*

the neighborhood of Cape Cod, seems to be authorized by the statement of Captain John Smith. "The maine assistance next God I had to this small number, was my acquaintance amongst the Saluages, especially with *Dohoday*, one of their greatest Lords, who had liued long in *England* (and another called *Tantum*, I [had] carried with mee from *England*, and set on shore at Cape *Cod*)." [1]

If we interpret the word "had" as meaning "would have" this quotation has little weight; but the word "had" was inserted by Edward Arber himself.

I think that Tisquantum could have been in the vicinity of Pemaquid in 1605 and taken from there by Waymouth. He certainly had some previous knowledge of the place before Captain Dermer left him at "Sawahquatooke" in 1619 among "friends," after bringing him back from his "native country" — Plymouth. It must have been his own wish, for Dermer then sailed south with the intention of again visiting Cape Cod. Captain John Smith says in 1614: "The *Massachusets* they report some times haue warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot* and are not alwaies friends with them of *Chawum* and their alliance; but now they are all friends, and haue each trade with other so farre as they haue society on each others frontiers; for they [the *Bashabes*] make no such voyages as from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod*, seldome to *Massach[u]set*." [2] In this quotation Captain John Smith speaks only of voyages. He probably knew nothing of the Indian trails. And Mourt states that Monhegan Island, which is near Pemaquid, was "a dayes sail with a great wind, and five dayes by land." It is well known that the Penobscots got much corn from the tribes to the south on account of the northern Indians, the enemies of the Penobscots, and the Massachusetts who made almost annual expeditions into the territory of the Penobscots at harvest time to rob them of their crops. Also it is well known that the supply of flint of which the Massachusetts made many of their arrow heads and war points came from the north.

Only in one instance does Captain John Smith seem in any way to identify Tantum, whom he "set on shore at Cape Cod," with Tisquantum or Squanto. In speaking of Captain Dermer

[1] *Works of Captain John Smith* (Arber), 732.
[2] *Ib.*, 720.

and of his first visit to Plymouth with Squanto in 1619, and referring to the great plague which almost annihilated the tribe to which Squanto belonged, he writes as follows:

> *They say the plague vpon them thus sore fell*
> *It was because they pleased not Tantum well.*[1]

In this verse written by Captain John Smith he mentions the name of Tantum, but in this case it probably referred to Tantum (or Tanto), the Indian God, whom the Indians considered their good God. Some curious circumstances are connected with this rhyme which possibly identify Tisquantum with Tantum.[2] In the paragraph preceding it Smith had just spoken of Captain Dermer being at Plymouth (1620) and of the ravages of the plague, saying, "where I had seene one hundred or two hundred Saluages there is scarce ten to be found, and yet not any one of them [Dermer's crew] touched with any sicknesse." (Tisquantum was with Dermer at that time.) Also the belief of the Indians that Squanto had some control over the plague is shown in Bradford's and Winslow's writings, and Governor Bradford wrote referring to Squanto[3] that he (Squanto) "sought his owne ends, and plaid his owne game, by putting the Indians in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich him selfe; making them beleeve he could stir up warr against whom he would, and make peace for whom he would. Yea, he made them beleeve they kept the plague buried in the ground, and could send it amongs whom they would, which did much terrifie the Indeans, and made them depend more on him, and seeke more to him then to Massasoyte." Winslow in his *Good News* also tells the same story with some variations.

It is a curious fact that the names of the two Indians who gave so much aid to the Pilgrims, often detrimental to the Indians, were Squantum, their god of evil, and Hobbanoco, their devil, and probably these names signified to them this meaning. The Indians possessed imagination to a very high degree, as is shown by their personal names, and in their words of inani-

[1] *Works of Captain John Smith* (Arber), 749.

[2] Captain Smith, having a certain sense of humor, may have meant to express a double meaning intentionally. Arber, by his cross-references, seems to identify Tantum with the Indian.

[3] Bradford, I. 254.

mate objects, especially the flowers, trees, stars, etc., but they were always practically descriptive in their place names.

Squantam, contracted form of Musquantum — he is angry.

Tantum, contracted form of Keihtannittoom — my great god.

Tanto, contracted form of Kehtanito — he is the greatest god (Trumbull).

Tisquantum, contracted form of Atsquantam / 'tsquantam

A probable translation would be, He possesses (or owns) the God of evil (He has the devil in him).

If we believe literally the written statements of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Smith our knowledge of Tisquantum begins in 1605. In that year he was kidnapped by Captain George Waymouth, in the vicinity of Pemaquid. Waymouth was employed by Lord Thomas Arundell, who conceived the idea of preparing a way for Roman Catholic emigration to the new world, and was sent on a voyage of exploration. He took five or more savages to England and landed at the port of Plymouth, where they were seized upon by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and were "in his custody for three years or more," [1] and, according to Gorges, Tisquantum was one of them. The next we hear of him he was set on shore at Cape Cod by Captain John Smith, June, 1614.[2] If so, he probably accompanied from England John Smith, who had been put in charge of two ships sent out by merchants of London for trading purposes. Smith, when departing for England from Cape Cod, left one ship under the command of Captain Thomas Hunt to complete her cargo. On Hunt's departure he kidnapped from twenty to twenty-seven Indians (the number has been variously stated by different writers), and Tisquantum was certainly one of them. It has been suggested that Tisquantum, being without suspicion of danger, going there with Hunt's superior officer, doubtless frequented Hunt's ship and innocently led his companions into the trap set for them. He is supposed to have been sold with the others for a slave in Spain, but in some way got to London, where he lived two years with a Mr. John Slany who was Treasurer of the Newfoundland

[1] Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, I. 104 *n.*
[2] *Works*, 732.

Company,[1] and dwelt in Cornhill (Mourt) or Cheapside. Mr. John Slany sent Tisquantum to Newfoundland, probably to join Captain John Mason, or the Indian himself found his way to an English ship at Malaga and was taken to Newfoundland by chance. Sir Ferdinando Gorges does not mention the fact that the Indian was in England between 1614 and 1619. He was landed at Cuper's or Cupert's Cove, now Mosquito Cove, where Captains John Mason and Thomas Dermer had settled themselves. Tisquantum is said to have been the only member of his own tribe who survived the great Indian plague which visited the Massachusetts Indians immediately after he was kidnapped by Hunt.

Captain Thomas Dermer, after the unfortunate voyage of Captain John Smith in 1615, with whom he was, went to Newfoundland to join Captain Thomas Mason and there met Tisquantum. Dermer must have known or have heard about him from Smith, or Gorges, and Tisquantum, who was one of the Pawtuxet tribe of Indians of Plymouth, told him much about his old home in the vicinity of Cape Cod. Captain Dermer informed Gorges of this meeting, probably in 1618, and "his opinion of the good use that might be made of his employment, with the readiness of Captain Mason to further any of our attempts that may either with boats or other provision be necessary."[2] Dermer, on the advice of Captain Mason, returned to England in 1618 to consult Gorges, and took Tisquantum with him, with the result of being again sent (by Gorges) to America with Tisquantum, to join Captain Rowcroft. Rowcroft had been sent, a short time before, to Newfoundland, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. On account of some miscarriage of plans to which I will refer later, Dermer left "Monahiggan with Squanto on the 19th. of May 1619 in an open pinnace of five ton . . . for his saluages native country" (Tisquantum's country). The letter to Samuel Purchas, describing this voyage, has been given in full many times and therefore I will not again copy it, only referring to the fact that Plymouth (or Pawtuxet) and the country in that immediate locality was explored as far as Nemasket.

Dermer returned to "Monnahiggan" June 20. Shortly after

[1] Dean, *Captain John Mason*, 135.
[2] 2 *Collections*, IX. 8.

this date Dermer sailed again, this time for Virginia, arriving at Jamestown about November 4, 1619. He left Tisquantum at Sawahquatooke (now Saco) "to stay with some of our Saluage friends." This was in the summer or early autumn of 1619. Tisquantum next appears upon the scene about the 20th of March, 1621, "four or five days after the appearance of Samasett."

The subsequent events in the life of Squanto with the Pilgrims I will not repeat as they are so well known. I will only refer to three important facts. Either Samoset or Squanto must have understood English well in order to comprehend the terms of the peace made between Massasoit and the Pilgrims. Probably it was Squanto, for Caunbitant, an Indian chief, said of him, "if he was dead the English had lost their tongue." Bradford says of Squanto, "Squanto continued with them [the Pilgrims] and was their interpreter and was a spetiall instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation."

Squanto almost miraculously escaped death in 1621, for Massasoit, whom he tried to supersede in the confidence of the Pilgrims, demanded of Governor Bradford, that he should fulfil the terms of their first peace treaty and deliver Tisquantum to him. Governor Bradford, after much deliberation and delay, had finally decided that it was the sole alternative, and only the appearance of a boat in Plymouth Harbor at the critical moment after decision had been made, prevented the surrender of Squanto to the messengers that Massasoit had sent for him.

Squanto died at Manamoick, now Chatham, in December, 1622. His true adventures, unlike those of Captain John Smith and Benvenuto Cellini, told not by himself but by others, would possibly have found their normal place in the pages of the Arabian nights.

Taking into consideration that for fourteen years, ever since 1606, Sir Ferdinando Gorges had attempted unsuccessfully to settle a colony under the north Virginia charter, would he not have used all the means in his power to establish this Plymouth colony? The project had been considered in England and Holland for three years. He knew the standing and the character of the men who composed it, and who proposed to make this settlement. He knew that their chief aim was not wealth but

to secure a permanent home. And would he not most naturally have attempted to influence their leaders? He had found a most reliable and valuable aid, then in America, Captain Thomas Dermer, whose enthusiasm was almost equal to his own. For two years they had been planning just such an enterprise. He had already been much influenced by Captain John Smith's glowing accounts of Massachusetts, for Smith had described it as the paradise of the new world. And now Dermer supplemented Smith's story. Pring and Gosnold had told their tales of the country in the vicinity of Cape Cod, and had brought back most substantial results. Sir Ferdinando Gorges had in his possession much valuable information to give to the Pilgrims, and he without doubt took measures to have them receive all the information possible. Champlain's and Smith's maps had both been published, and both described Plymouth Harbor minutely.

Is it unreasonable to suppose that Captain Thomas Dermer was on the Massachusetts coast and at Plymouth, only four months before the Pilgrims' landing, for some definite object? It certainly would have been a wise move of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to have one of his captains ready to meet them, or try to intercept them, on their approach to this country. He certainly would have been able to give them all the advantages of his knowledge and experience. Dermer had explored the coast from Plymouth Harbor to Virginia the year before and had also re-explored it this same year, and coming back to Massachusetts had written the letter before mentioned which we know had been given to Governor Bradford, at some time, stating in part, speaking of Plymouth, "I would that the first plantation might hear be seated, if ther come to the number of fifty persons or upward; otherwise at Charlton" (near the mouth of the Charles River). And Captain John Smith had described Plymouth as follows: "then you come to Accomack (Plymouth) an excellent good harbor, good land; and no want of anything but industrious people;" and also said, speaking of the coast of Massachusetts, "and Massachusetts the Paradise of all these parts . . . and of all the foure parts of the world I would rather live here than any wher that I have yet seene not inhabited could I haue but means to transfer a colony."

If we believe that the Pilgrims had definitely decided before they left England to settle somewhere on the New Jersey coast or near the mouth of the Hudson River, and that the Captain of the *Mayflower* had been bribed, we must consider how much more valuable the results of the supposed bribery would have been to Sir Ferdinando Gorges than to the Dutch. There has never been a shadow of suspicion resting on Sir Ferdinando for this attempt at bribery, but we must remember that his early training was at the court of Queen Elizabeth. And the investigation of Captain Jones' career, the Master of the *Mayflower*, leads to the suspicion that he was not above bribery. Even the pilot or gunner, "one Mr. Coppin," apparently was ready to do his part and did give the Pilgrims the direct position of Plymouth Harbor or Thievish Harbor, and guided them to it. We must also bear in mind that Captain Thomas Dermer in the spring or early summer of 1620 started on a voyage from Cape Charles, sailed up the Delaware and the Hudson rivers, and then to Cape Cod. The relation of this voyage was read at a meeting of the Virginia Company in 1621, and noted in the records of the company, but the relation itself has never been found. We know, however, that Captain Dermer was at Plymouth, Massachusetts, June 30, 1620, by his letter to an unknown "honorable friend" of Governor Bradford. This was the second visit of Dermer to Plymouth. From there he went to Monhegan, but shortly returned and was certainly in the vicinity of Cape Cod at the expected time of the arrival of the *Mayflower* on the coast. The *Mayflower*, however, was detained in England almost two months and a half beyond her intended departure.

If there was any understanding with Sir Ferdinando Gorges the scheme was almost frustrated by an encounter with the Indians on the Isle of Capawack, where Dermer was so severely wounded that he was obliged to go immediately to Virginia. There he shortly after died from his wounds. There is another important circumstance which seems to me to add a link to this chain of circumstantial evidence. The meeting of the Pilgrims with Tisquantum and Samoset may have been purely accidental, but in my opinion there are too many "providential" meetings and crucial moments in Squanto's life. If the premeditated interference of man is permitted to

be a part of a possible "preordained" event, then the meeting of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Dermer's Indian with the Pilgrims can certainly be considered from a different point of view than has been generally taken.

We know of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' strong belief in the efficacy of the aid of the kidnapped Indians in his colonization schemes for almost every attempt from 1606 to 1620, when he had sent ships for attempted colonization, he had taken precautions to also send one or two Indians. He had no authority in the fitting out of the *Mayflower*, but if there was any plan to have the colony settled in any part of the new country, under his charter, he would certainly have believed that the aid of his Indians would be a great factor in its success. Dermer without doubt knew where to find Tisquantum as he had left him only the year before at Sagadahock, and from Plymouth we know he went to the Maine coast. He may have gone there for that purpose, bringing back both Samoset and Squanto with him. After Dermer's departure for Virginia, after his encounter with the Indians at Capawack, if my theory is correct, Squanto and Samoset would have been somewhere in the vicinity of Cape Cod. They would have known of the almost daily expected arrival on the coast of some vessels from England, and must also have known what was expected of them. Even after their loss of leadership in Captain Dermer they naturally would have remained to use their knowledge for their own benefit. From the results of some study of the Indian character, and knowing their ability and custom of rapidly transmitting news, I believe the Indians of the whole territory, in the vicinity of Cape Cod, knew almost from the first day of the arrival of the *Mayflower* on the coast, and kept themselves well informed in regard to every movement of the Pilgrims.[1]

Indian-like, they watched and waited, and may have been much influenced by Squanto and Samoset. Finally in March, more than two months after the landing of the Pilgrims, their course of action had been determined and the meeting with Massasoit was planned and the treaty with the white man made.

The circumstantial evidence I have endeavored to produce

[1] See Drake, *Old Indian Chronicle* (ed. 1867), 19.

may not be conclusive, but I think it supplies some proof that the Pilgrims had at least a half-formed intention of settling in the vicinity of Cape Cod before they left England; that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, probably unknown to them, used indirectly every possible measure to accomplish this purpose; and that Captain Thomas Dermer and the Indian Tisquantum were to have been important factors in his scheme.

I think Sir Ferdinando Gorges is entitled to the name sometimes given to him — "The Father of New England Colonization;" and although he could not claim Plymouth as his own child, I believe he was the family physician in attendance at its birth.

Mr. MURDOCK supplies from his collection three letters written from Boston in 1775, as follows:

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO EARL OF MOIRA.

BOSTON, June 25th, [1775.]

MY DEAR LORD, — I shall not trouble your Lordship with the particulars of the action of the 17th those your Lordship will have much more circumstantially from Lord Rawdon, whose behaviour during the whole action cannot be too much commended; the hopes of being of a little service where I thought I saw an opportunity brought me to the assistance of my friend Gen. Howe *en volontaire;* the affair however was in great measure decided on my getting there, and I had little more to do, than offer my assistance and advice wherever that could be of use; I heard from every body my friend Lord Rawdon commended for his coolness, and hearty intrepidity, during the action; I saw myself one instance of it. The Enemy occupied some houses from which they annoy'd us a good deal, his Lordship hearing I intended to advice Genl. Howe to occupy a post exposed but too much to their fire, insisted on being detatched for that purpose; assembled his Grenadiers and seemed in that sort of impatience to go which did him great honour, his request however your Lordship may easily conceive could not be Comply'd with; but that spirited offer, after as sharp an action as had been fought a great while, and in which he had receiv'd a shot through his Hat, made a great impression on me, forgive me my dear Lord if I open my Heart on this occasion I owe it to truth, and to the respect I have for his Lordship, what American politicks are now I know not, we are too respectable an Army to be insulted, but whether we can undertake any thing solid in the present state of America

must be the subject of future Consideration. give me leave my dear Lord to assure your Lordship that I am with great respect Your sincere and obt. Servt.,

H. Clinton.

John Burgoyne to Lord North.

Boston, October 10, 1775.

My Lord, — I received by the Cerberus the honour of your Lordship's letter of July 31st, and am impressed with the fullest sense of gratitude to the King for the leave granted me to return to England, and of acknowledgement to your Lordship for the confidence you have reposed in me.

It shall be my study not to forfeit the opinion his Majesty entertains of my zeal for his service; and it is upon conviction that I can be more actively and more usefully employed for that end in England than in America during the winter months, and upon that motive only, that I propose to avail myself of his grace some time in November.

I will be a faithful interpreter to Parliament in such matters as may receive assistance from the testimony of an eye witness, a zealous advocate for the cause of Britain, and a steady supporter of those measures which your Lordship so strenuously, and in my opinion so judiciously adopts, in this decision of her fate.

My secondary views of being serviceable to the King's affairs in London depend upon my being thought worthy to be employed in a confidential agency between the King's servants and the Commander in chief. From his instructions to add reasonings to plans; for all that an able head like his conceives upon a great subject can not be contained in a dispatch: and on the other hand to superintend and expedite the several articles of supply intended for the spring in troops, equipage, stores, etc.

My respect for Genl. Howe as an officer, and my confidence in him as a friend, induced me to consult his judgement upon the measure of my return, which I had the happiness to find consonant with my own. The same trust in his military talents and in his personal regard, creates in my mind a preference to a service hitherto I confess not the most eligible; and I pledge myself to return with alacrity in the Spring to the duties I owe him in both the capacities I have mentioned.

The presence of Genl. Gage in London and the dispatches of Genl. Howe, by which your Lordship will learn the exact state of affairs here, make it unnecessary that I should enlarge upon the many other reasons that justify my voyage; and I shall close the subject

with an assurance, which I trust your Lordship will do me the honour to communicate to the King, that had any winter operations for the troops in which I could have borne a part been judged adviseable by my superiors, I should have forgot every private exigency in my zeal to promote the publick service. Your Lordship will find from Genl. Gage that I pressed for an expedition to Rhode Island as an object of great importance in many aspects but particularly necessary to facilitate the greater undertaking upon New York in the Spring. Upon scrutinising the strength of the Army it has been found that sufficient numbers could not prudently be spared before the arrival of fresh troops, and the season of the year will be then too far advanced. It is therefore upon the decision of the military counsels here to rest upon our arms 'till spring and the general sentiment of my colleagues that my absence may not only be dispensed with but become useful that I quit for a short time my professional line of duty for one more immediately under your Lordship's direction.

Your Lordship will forgive me if in earnestness to be thoroughly understood I have fallen into circumlocution. Genl. Gage's departure being more sudden than I had expected does not permit me to arrange my thoughts or write my letter over again. As I hope to kiss your Lordship's hands before the end of the Xmas recess I shall not now enter into any of the great points of consideration, which your Lordship has with so much openness entrusted to me, further than to express a wish that some foreigners were thought of to encrease the numbers of this army. Prompted by a zeal to see the war brought to a speedy conclusion, I venture to throw out this idea. It may be subject to objections and has probably been discussed in his Majesty's councils, but I am apprehensive notwithstanding the particular energy that will be found in an army under Genl. Howe's command, that all his spirit and abilities will not be able to effect the great purposes of next Campaign with a less force than sixteen or eighteen thousand men.

I have frequently read over the paragraph of your Lordship's letter relative to secrecy in counsels, and I confess with some doubt lest it should have been intended as a hint to myself. I observe that the English newspapers have inserted several articles of intelligence with my name tacked to them. I therefore take this occasion to assure your Lordship that my correspondents are few, my confidential ones *very* few, and that I never touch a publick point, that is not of common notoriety, without the utmost caution even where I think the cause of Government may be assisted by communication. That military counsels here have transpired upon many occasions it is too true, but I trust that misfortune will be no more

complained of. The fault has not been in Genl. Gage, nor in the Generals whom he has occasionally consulted, but in those who have been unavoidably employed to prepare for the execution.

In this, and in many other essential points things will wear a new face before Spring, and I congratulate your Lordship on the general zeal that reigns through army and navy to carry on the King's measures. Among those most deeply impressed with that principle, and most anxious to have it directed by your counsels, I request your Lordship to rank Your most obliged and most obedient Humble Servant,

J. BURGOYNE.

RT. HON'BLE LD. NORTH.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO ANTHONY WHITE.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE 28th Oct. 1775.

SIR, — I could not let Mr. White depart this Camp without paying you the tribute of a Letter. When I wrote to you last, I thought it not at all unlikely, that he might have been one of my Family before this, as I was not sanguine in my expectation of the Gentleman's (to whom I had written before I had spoke to yr. son on this Subject) coming this way. By the last Post I received a Letter from him (that is Mr. Harrison) informing me of his having received my Invitation, tho' long after date, and that he should immediately set out for this Camp; whereupon I advis'd Mr. White as I learnt by a Letter from a Member of Congress that two Battalions were to be raised in the Jerseys to repair there without loss of time being firmly perswaded that his merit would entitle him to an honourable appointment in one or the other of those Corps.

For the occurrences of this Camp I must refer you to Mr. White, who can relate matters more circumstantially than my time, or the limits of a Letter, will enable me to do. with great esteem I remain, Sir, Yr. most obed't H'ble Serv't,

G^{o}. WASHINGTON.

[Endorsed] To Anthony White Esq'r, Brunswick. Favour'd by Mr. W. White.

Mr. GUILD finds in the collection made by his father the following letter from Edmund Burke, written ten months after the declaration of war by France against Great Britain, and thus expressing his early views on the policy of the Powers in alliance against France. There is no indication of the person to whom the letter was written.

EDMUND BURKE TO ———.

MY DEAR LORD:

I received, what I expected, a Letter which does infinite honour to your humanity and your Spirit. I did not write as supposing you had not interfered, but from a wish that you should interfere with that authority which belongs to your person and your house. Lord Grenville told me, that your Lordship had applied to Government; and he added, that he thought as we did; but I told him, that I did not apply to him, as to Lord Grenville, but as to one of the Ministry; amongst whom, the opinion of one of their Colleagues ought to be something of more weight than the wishes of an individual like myself. I am sure nothing has done the Nation more honour than the reception of the Exiles of Religion, honour, and Virtue. This House of Winchester was the Manor seat of the national Reputation.[1] To take it away would be infinitely worse than never to have given it. In my poor opinion this Charity is as politick as it is noble. We have at last put the War on its right footing, if not in practice, at least in open and avowed profession. It is a war to civilize France, in order to prevent the rest of Europe from being barbarised. The French Clergy are the great instrument, by which this end is to be accomplished; and if we can make any serious impression upon France by Arms in the beginning, this Clergy will be of more effect in the progress of the Business, than an hundred thousand Soldiers. I cannot describe my anxiety on this Subject. The force sent, I pray to God, may not be found too late and too small. I have made my representations over and over again; but I thought too indulgently to myself of their force. The allied powers have many Objects in common, and many separately; and I fear they are not all of them perfectly consistent with each other, nor pursued in proper subordination to their relative importance. The diminution of the power of France, as a State, is pursued as an Object, as well as its reformation, as a distemperd State; but the latter is, in my opinion, much the more important object of the two. However, the war for its reduction is pursued, as the primary object, the extirpation of Jacobinism in that Country only as secondary. The assistance given to the Royal Cause is only a diversion, when at last it is undertaken. From this grand mistake has arisen all the misfortunes which have happened to us in this Campaign, and I most ardently wish, that it may not be productive of further disasters. But I beg pardon for this digression from the subject of our correspondence.

[1] Winchester House stood between St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, and the river, the old palace of the Bishops of Winchester. It was built in 1107.

Mr. Wilmot tells me, that Winchester has a respite. I believe he will do everything that he ought, and I am myself convinced that Ministers, who think themselves, mean perfectly well, were led in to this by some persons in subordinate office who do not very well consider what they do; and are perhaps not very well affected to the persons or Cause of the unfortunate Exiles of France.

I have the honour to be with the most sincere respect and regard, my dear Lord, your Lordships most faithful and obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

BECONSFIELD, December 1, 1793.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. FORD, BRADFORD, SANBORN, and NORCROSS.

MEMOIR

OF

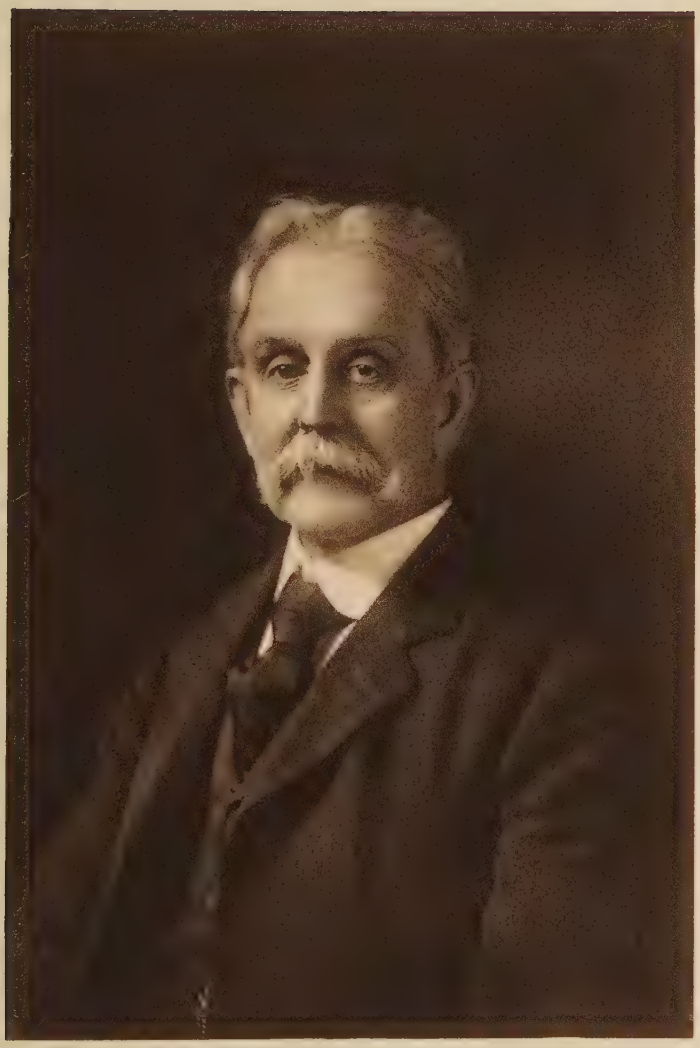
SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.

By EDWARD STANWOOD.

Samuel Lothrop Thorndike was born in Beverly, December 28, 1829, and died at his home in Kendall Green (Weston), on June 18, 1911. He was the son of Albert and Joanna Batchelder (Lovett) Thorndike, and a descendant of an old Lincolnshire family, the first ancestor of which came from England in 1623 and settled at Beverly, then a part of Salem, in 1636. Of his four great grandfathers three were active and influential in the Revolutionary War. Nicholas Thorndike, a shipmaster and later a merchant in Beverly, was a member of the committee on coast defence for Beverly and Salem. Josiah Batchelder, his maternal grandfather on his mother's side, was a member of the first Provincial Congress, that met at Lexington. Colonel Joseph Rea, his maternal grandfather on his father's side, was in command of a regiment in the New Jersey campaign.

Mr. Thorndike was prepared for college at the Beverly Academy and the Boston Latin School, entered Harvard in 1848, and was graduated in 1852. Even in college he gave evidence of that social disposition that, along with the lovable qualities which enable such a disposition to realize itself, was one of the most marked traits of his character. He was a member of A. Δ. Φ. and of the Φ. B. K., President of the Hasty Pudding Club, and of the Institute of 1770, and deputy marshal of the Porcellian Club.

He left college in the middle of his senior year and made a journey round the world with his classmate, William Sturgis Hooper, in a vessel engaged in the China trade belonging to



S. Gottlieb Thomas.

Mr. Hooper's father. On his return he entered the Harvard Law School and in 1854 received the degree of LL.B. He continued his studies in the office of Sidney Bartlett, and in June, 1855, was admitted to the Suffolk bar. Then he was for a time in the office of Rufus Choate, until he formed a partnership with his classmate, E. Ellerton Pratt, under the firm name of Thorndike and Pratt. In 1859 he was appointed an Assistant Commissioner of Insolvency; in 1867 was admitted to practice before the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, and in the same year was appointed Register of Bankruptcy under the bankrupt law just enacted, and held the office until the law was repealed. Already, in 1861, he had gone into the office of Mr. William H. Gardiner, with whom, and with his son, Charles P. Gardiner, he had an office for the care of trust property for forty-seven years, until the death of Mr. C. P. Gardiner, in 1908.

His two great professional interests, that under the bankrupt law, and the function of a trustee, were quite sufficient to occupy the time he devoted to business, and he never engaged very actively in such practice as required his appearance in court for the trial of cases. But they did not prevent his participation in many enterprises of great importance. A bare list of the institutions with which he was connected shows how broad were his activities and how high was the appreciation in the community of his business judgment. He was a director of the "Blair" roads and land companies in Iowa, before their absorption by the Chicago and Northwestern Railway; a director and comptroller of the Atchison system; a director of the Lowell and Chicopee manufacturing companies; of the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation, of which he was president at the time of his death; trustee and vice-president of the Suffolk Savings Bank; trustee and member of the finance committee of the Perkins Institute. He was also, for a time, president of the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth Railroad Company.

Engrossing as were his professional and business interests, they left him time for what was the passion of his life: music. He was identified with the musical history of Boston in an astonishing variety of ways. He never had any regular musical education or training, which makes his prominence in the art all the more remarkable. "He was gifted," his son has

written of him, "with a baritone voice of not great strength or compass, but of very pleasing quality, which he used with great musical perception, especially in the singing of ballads and the style of song that used to be sung when he was in his prime." He sang in the choirs of the First Parish and St. Peter's churches in Beverly, in Christ Church in Cambridge, and for a while in Trinity Church, Boston, in the Chorus Club which was led by Mr. J. C. D. Parker, in the Handel and Haydn, and in the Cecilia, of which he was one of the founders and its first president. He had for some years charge of the Christmas music at St. Peter's, and was choirmaster at Christ Church. He also composed some pleasing pieces of church music. He was an early member of the Harvard Musical Association, its treasurer in 1872, and its president in 1894. During all the time that the Harvard Musical Association was giving symphony concerts in the old Music Hall (of which he was a director), and later in the new hall, in the concerts of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, he sat in the same or a corresponding seat, and hardly ever missed a concert. Moreover, he was treasurer and vice-president of the New England Conservatory of Music, and vice-president of the Choral Art Club.

Early in life he became interested in freemasonry, and the list of his official connection with the various masonic bodies is almost as long as that which connects him with music. He became a mason in 1858, three years later was made Worshipful Master of Liberty Lodge, of Beverly, and at the time of his death was the senior Past Master. For twenty-five years, from 1884, he was one of the trustees of the Masonic Charity and Education Fund; in 1895 he was Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and in the same year became a member of St. Bernard Commandery of Knight Templars. In 1897 he received the highest masonic honor — the 33d degree.

Yet the list of his social activities is not complete. He was a charter member of the Union, the St. Botolph, and the Tavern Clubs, and at the time of his death belonged not only to those clubs, but also to the Somerset, not to mention several lunch clubs.

Nor were his associations simply with such clubs, organized

solely for social purposes, for he was a member of the Examiner Club, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Colonial Society, a member of the standing committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, President of the Old Cambridge Shakespeare Association, and at one time of the Beverly Shakespeare Club. He was treasurer of the Harvard Alumni Association from 1876 until 1904. He was elected a resident member of this Society at the December meeting in 1901, served one term as a member of the Council, was for two years a member of the House Committee, and acted in 1906 as one of the auditors of the treasurer's accounts.

Mr. Thorndike was married, November 2, 1859, to Anna Lamb Wells, daughter of the Hon. Daniel Wells, Chief Justice of the old Court of Common Pleas from 1844 until his death in 1854. At Mr. Thorndike's funeral, which was held at Christ Church, Cambridge, delegates were present from a large number of the societies and clubs of which he was a member, beside many personal friends.

The foregoing dry catalogue of Mr. Thorndike's many-sided public, semi-public, social, professional and private activities gives a true portraiture of him. He was a man of the hour, of his time. It could not be expected of one whose connection with the life of his time was so varied, that he would specialize in any one of them to such an extent as to leave any permanent monument to his own memory. He was one of those whose influence is immediate upon his associates, and his influence was always wholesome and useful. His personality reveals itself in his love of human companionship, which manifested itself in his desire to be one in any association gathered for good fellowship, or for the promotion of any object for the benefit of society, of art, or of learning. Such a disposition is none the less useful and lasting because its influence can be observed and appreciated by the world only during the lifetime of him who exerts it, or even if the memory of it may fade away during that lifetime should he survive those upon whom its genial power has been directly exerted. The good that has been done remains, though men forget to whom they owe it.

MEMOIR

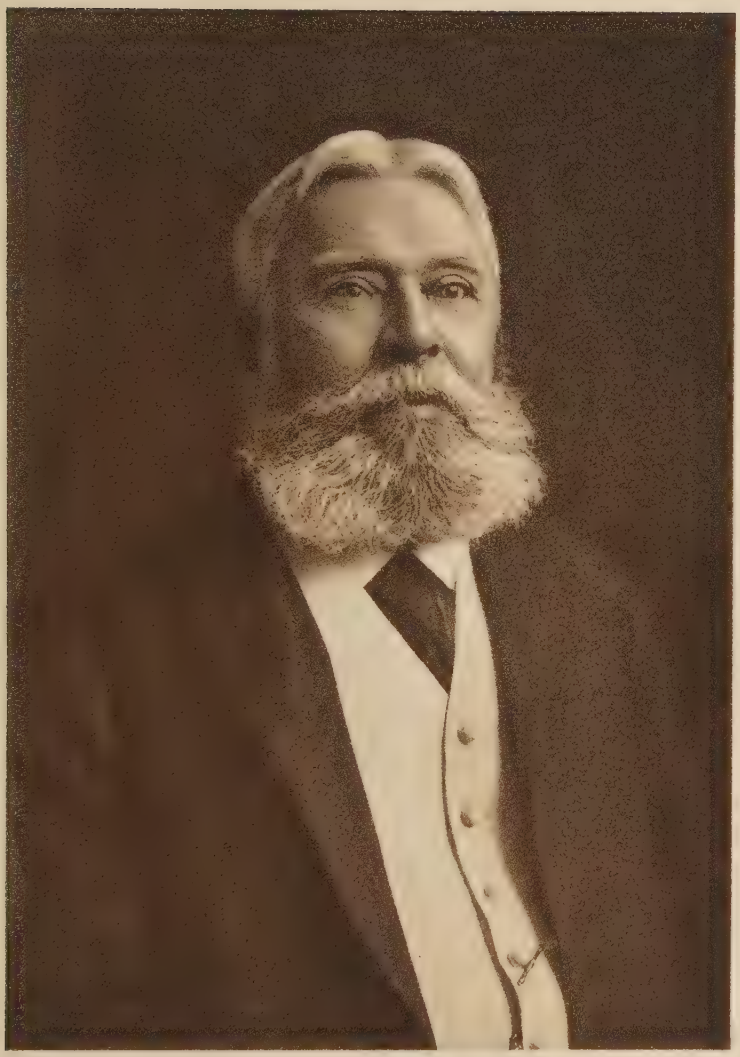
OF

HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES.

By CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH.

Henry Williamson Haynes, born at Bangor, Maine, September 20, 1831, son of Nathaniel Haynes and Caroline J. Williamson, was an active and efficient member of the Massachusetts Historical Society for many years. He was elected a Resident Member, June 12, 1879, and served as a member of the Council from 1881 to April, 1884. In 1896 he became Corresponding Secretary, which office he held until his death in Boston, February 16, 1912. He was appointed a member of various important committees of the Society, such as the Committees to publish a volume of selections from the Pickering Papers in 1882; to arrange the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther in 1883; to facilitate the English genealogical researches of Henry F. Waters in 1884; to make suitable acknowledgment of the gift of Francis Parkman in 1886; to consider the alleged discovery of America by the Northmen in 1887; to examine the Library and Cabinet in 1892 and 1894; in relation to Dr. Ellis' bequest in 1895; with reference to sale of Tremont Street property in 1895; and lastly of the Committee to publish Judge Chamberlain's *History of Chelsea.*

He prepared and presented Memoirs of Samuel Eliot, Judge Chamberlain, and E. W. Donald. He was a frequent speaker at the meetings of the Society and he paid tributes to F. W. Palfrey, Wm. F. Allen, Wm. W. Greenough, Mellen Chamberlain, Edmund F. Slafter and Charles E. Norton. He also read carefully prepared papers on a great variety of subjects; among the most important were those on Apochryphal Runic In-



Sincerely yours,
Henry H. Haynes.

scriptions in 1888, on the Historical Character of Norse Sagas in 1890, on Samuel Sewall and Sir John Beaumont in 1890, and on the President's Ink Stand in 1909. He prepared and presented the Report of the Council in 1884, and the reports of various committees on which he served.

He took part in the discussions at the meetings of the Society, showing his extended studies in all branches of historical knowledge, speaking on the "Motto of the Commonwealth," on the "Sewall Diary," on the "Custom of driving a pin or nail in a building," on "A Neglected Fact in English History," on "Indian Hemp," on "Leif Ericson," and "the Norse Sagas," on the "death of Ernst Curtius," on "N. Hobart's Verses," and other subjects.

These details are given because they tend to show the widely diversified studies of Mr. Haynes. In fact he was born to be a scholar. As Fabre says in his memoirs, "We have all of us, in different directions and in a greater or lesser degree, characteristics that brand us with a special mark, characteristics of an unfathomable origin; they exist because they exist and that is all that any one can say. The gift is not handed down, nor is it acquired, but it is improved by practice."

In Mr. Haynes' class autobiography, written in 1853, he uses these words: "To the Boston Latin School I feel greatly indebted for what little classical taste and knowledge I may possess, and shall ever be happy to acknowledge my obligations to the teachers for confirming and directing the fondness for literature which my grandfather [William D. Williamson, the historian] implanted and to which I owe the chief happiness of my life." His fondness for literature was fostered and increased during his college course. After spending five years at the Boston Public Latin School he entered Harvard College and graduated in the Class of 1851. He was chosen Class Secretary at graduation, and performed its duties until his death.

After graduation he was, probably from lack of means, unable immediately to gratify his love for the life of a scholar, and for two years he was a teacher in Dixwell's School in Boston. He then began to study law, and at the same time acted as private tutor to the son of John E. Thayer. He was admitted to the Bar in Boston, September, 1856.

He was chosen a member of the School Committee of Boston, 1857–60, and again from 1862–65, and later in 1879–80. He made several visits to Europe, on two occasions with young Thayer. He was not especially successful at the Bar, and was not mentally qualified for the conflicts of the lawyer. In 1858 he was chosen a member of the Common Council of Boston. During his fourth visit to Europe, in 1867, he was married at the American Legation in Paris, to Miss Helen Blanchard, the daughter of John A. Blanchard of Boston, and immediately on his return to America accepted the position of Professor of Latin at the University of Vermont, and in 1870 was appointed Professor of Greek and Librarian, which positions he resigned in 1873. Since that date he lived the life of a scholar and devoted his time to literary pursuits and especially to the study of American Archæology. He did not, however, neglect his duties as a citizen.

He was appointed a Trustee of the Boston Public Library in 1858–59, and again in 1880–95, where his ripe scholarship and wide knowledge of books made him a most valuable member. His advice was largely sought by the other trustees, and his failure to be again reappointed was regarded by them and the public as a great public loss. It was his accomplishments in book lore, in the modern languages, and in the sciences, that maintained high standards in the Public Library more than any other single influence.

In 1880 he was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was afterwards, in 1890, chosen Librarian, and served until 1899. He was early attracted to the study of American Archæology and in 1879–80 delivered a course of six lectures at the Lowell Institute on the Prehistoric Archæology of Europe. In 1879 he was one of the founders of the Archæological Institute of America and one of the Executive Committee thereof since 1879.

He was also a member, and for a while vice-president, of the Boston Society of Natural History, a member of the American Anthropological Society, The American Folk Lore Society, and the Anthropological Society of Washington.

His classical knowledge was broad and deep and he kept himself in touch with both Latin and Greek languages all his life. He acted on the Committee on Greek appointed by the Over-

seers of Harvard College in 1873, and wrote the report in which he highly approved the new system of instruction by lectures.

He was an indefatigable reader and his command of many languages, ancient and modern, prompted him to form a large and learned library.

He devoted himself for the rest of his life to the study of archæology, making frequent visits to Europe, attending meetings of fellow archæologists and making collections of the most varied character.

Of this side of his life an archæologist alone can do him adequate justice. Professor Peabody, in his short memoir of Mr. Haynes, describes his studies and life work in the following words:

"In American Archæology his interest lay largely in the Southwest and the Mexican fields. The most important of the general articles by Professor Haynes are 'Progress of American Archæology during the years 1889–99,' and the chapter in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* on the 'Prehistoric Archæology of North America,' and 'Early Explorations of New Mexico.'

"In regard to the question of the antiquity of man in America his interest never flagged; he took a middle ground between those who acclaim each skull dug from the deeper depths and each culture not squaring at first sight with that of the red Indian as evidence of a plurality of races if not of ages of stone on this continent, and those on the other hand, who 'make all things new' and will not be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

"An original contribution of Professor Haynes to the material bearing on early man was the discovery by him in New England of a primitive type of stone chopper. This he brought out before the Boston Society of Natural History in the eighties, and he continued to hold much interest and faith in them until his death. The specimens are described in the catalogue which the present writer had the privilege of making in the presence of Professor Haynes as 'Specimens representing a culture in America possibly more primitive than the paleolithic;' they were collected in the majority by him from 1880–90, and, often of white crystalline quartz, are of two types; they may

show a prepared cutting edge or a prepared point; the latter class resemble somewhat an Acheuleën 'coup de poing' of the triangular type; they are found in Northern Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, as well as in Connecticut and in Massachusetts in the vicinity of Boston.

"Professor Haynes was one of the very few Americans to take an active and scientific interest in the Congresses, discussions, collections and researches in the field of prehistoric archæology abroad.

"He was a man whose mind and heart were everywhere at home and with whom every man's mind and heart might find a home, if so be that they were wise, sound and of good report."

Mr. Haynes published various articles on archæological and historical subjects in *Scribner's*, the *Nation*, *The Popular Science Monthly*, *International Review*, *Science*, *American Antiquarian*, and other publications. His wide scholarship was shown by the unusual variety of subjects treated in his various contributions, ranging from articles on the "Fossil Man," "Methods of Arrow Release," "Cotton Mather and his Slaves," to "Driving a Pin or Nail" and "Indian Wrist Guards."

He was a man of rare modesty, of persistent study and of a genial disposition.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., VICE-PRESIDENT JOHN D. LONG, in the absence of PRESIDENT ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Cabinet-Keeper, reported gifts of the following:

A medal of the Franklin Club and a miscellaneous collection of 391 ancient and modern coins in copper and silver, by Wm. Lincoln Parker; a medal of the French Bull Dog Club of New England, by Walter Burgess; a medal of the Young Men's Christian Association, by the Association; a medal of the Salem Golf Club, by C. H. Willett; a medal of the Sons of the American Revolution, 1912, by that Society; a medal of the Sons of the American Revolution, 1906, by Mr. Norcross; two badges of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company by that Company; and the Sargent Medal, given by Prof. Dudley A. Sargent. A banister-back chair, once owned by Rev. Jonathan Edwards, was received by bequest of John E. L. Hazen, of Shirley.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Samuel Eliot Morison accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary also reported the receipt of an invitation from the Louisiana Historical Society to attend the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans and of the one hundred years of peace with Great Britain.

The Editor reported the gift from Mr. H. Hooper Lawrence, of Boston, of the papers of Mr. George Howe, long concerned in the Boston business world. The records deal with real estate investments near the financial centre of the city and

contain many maps, plans, both printed and in manuscript, and broadsides on street widenings and extensions, and the construction and improvement of buildings; and also a number of interesting railroad maps of the middle of the nineteenth century. A plan (Ms.) of Lechmere Point in Cambridge, made by Peter Tufts, Jr., in 1811, and another (also Ms.) of the channel and marshes at South Bay, Dorchester, 1836, have historical value. The collection has the books and papers of the Pemberton (cotton) Manufacturing Company, which include the mill books, reports, wages-scale and correspondence, and a fine series of the printed prices current, 1860–1861, from leading cotton factors in New Orleans, Memphis, Charleston, Mobile and Savannah, as well as from English firms. For a study of the cotton situation at the opening of the War of Secession the material is at once abundant and valuable.

Ellery Sedgwick, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Recording Secretary communicated a Memoir of Don Gleason Hill, prepared by Mr. Tuttle.

The VICE-PRESIDENT then said:

As is usual and fitting in such cases, formal mention is now made by the presiding officer of the death of Rear-Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, an Honorary Member of this Society.

It is perhaps enough at this moment to say that on the exposition of the philosophy of naval power he stood at the head, not only in this country, but in the world. It only needs to refer to his *Life of Lord Nelson*, his *Influence of Sea Power*, and his other writings, for the truth of this statement. They are at once his monument and the tribute to his achievement. They are naval classics wherever a naval power exists, and have had more influence in moulding modern naval development and scope than any other agency. Admiral Mahan was not distinguished as an executive naval officer; but as a contributor to the literature of naval science he stands supreme. He became a Corresponding Member of this Society, May 10, 1894, and was transferred to the Honorary List, January 10, 1907. He attended several meetings of the Society, and, at the meeting of January, 1904, read a paper on the combat between the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere* and its effect in creating a revulsion of popular feeling from indifference to enthusiasm.

Mr. BOWDITCH presented a sample ballot of the California election of November.

Dr. WARREN exhibited a volume containing letters written by Dr. Edward Reynolds to Dr. John C. Warren, 1816–1818, giving an account of surgery in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He also presented a copy of a pamphlet in which the letters are printed.

Mr. WENDELL followed, saying:

It will be remembered by whoever has read Cotton Mather's *Diary* for the year 1703, that within three months of his wife's death, in November, 1702, he had what he calls the "very astonishing trial" of receiving addresses from a "young gentle woman of incomparable Accomplishments," who frankly offered herself to him. His consequent perplexities, sketched in his diary, lasted until his second marriage, on August 18, 1703. Who the gentlewoman was has never been known.

Some months ago the following letter was found in the collection of Mr. C. P. Greenough and sent to me by Mr. Ford:

COTTON MATHER TO BENJAMIN COLMAN.

Jun. 16, [1703.]

VERY DEAR SIR, — The Obligations which your Letter yesterday laid upon me, are so great, as to swallow up all my Expressions; and for that only Reason, I now say no more of them.

You will find the Defensive Armour of Righteousness, wherewith you have supplied me, so silently lying by me, that I do suppose, you will never hear mention of it; (tho' you so generously offer it:) if it be exposed, it will be on some very unforeseen and most allow'd occasion.

I perfectly conform'd, (and shall do so) to your Directions, about the appendiced Informations. I may take a convenient Season, to correct the Col:s mistakes. For I still aver to you That I never show'd the Letter talk'd of, to any Woman under Heaven, in all my Life.

My Faithfulness and Innocence, in my Conduct towards the Gentlewoman so inexorably displeased at me, is my minutely consolation.

I wrote yesterday to Mrs M——y my Desire, 'that not only she, but her Child, would forbear making Mrs S——n any more the Theme of her Invective Discourses where she comes. And, that I would myself take my opportunities, to say, That it was not

so criminal and unfaithful a thing, in Mrs S——n to say to me, what she did, as it might at first seem to be.'

She wrote me, an Excellent Answer; (as she is indeed a Gentlewoman of an Excellent Spirit.)

And among other things, she tells me, That her child will never any more mention the matter, which I have thus forbidden to her.

I went yesterday, to Mrs *Bants* [1] (as you directed me:) and there used these words, (several gentlewomen, being present;) 'It would be a great Satisfaction to me, that there might be no clamour against Madm S——n, on the Score of her Fidelity to me, in the late Instance that has been discoursed on. Her Action, which has been censured by some, has appeared unto me, not so criminal and unfriendly, as some have thought it. And much wiser persons than I, do think, she did as became a Good Woman to do.'

They all (especially Mrs Lilly,) promised me, to endeav'r the allaying all the storms on this occasion, as they had opportunity.

The affayr hinted, to you, by my Father last Friday, will not be proceeded in.

Continue an Interest in your Loves and prayers, for, Sir, Your Sincere Brother and Servt.

Co. Mather.

A comparison of this with the notes in Mather's *Diary* for June 12, 1703,[2] will show that the letter must refer to the gentlewoman in question, and that her name must have begun with *M* and ended with *y*. Who she was Mr. Ford could not guess. He asked if I could. As I could not, I turned to the books of reference on my shelves; and presently found, in the index of Sewall's *Diary*, that the most probable name seemed to be Maccarty. Bridgman's *Pilgrims of Boston* [3] next gave me the epitaphs of Elizabeth, wife of Thaddeus Maccarty, and of his daughter, Katharine, who died on the same day, June 7, 1723 — the latter "aged about 42 years." The notes on Thaddeus Maccarty and his family, appended to these remarks, go far to show that Katharine Maccarty, who survived unmarried for twenty years after the romantic episode in Cotton Mather's life, was probably the gentlewoman of his *Diary*.

Who Madame S——n was, seems more doubtful. She may probably have been Elizabeth, widow of Samuel Shrimpton, who later married Simon Stoddard. The Stoddards and the

[1] Sewall notes the burial of a Mrs. Bant, July 30, 1717. *Diary*, III. 135.
[2] *Diary*, I. 487. [3] Page 49.

Shrimptons, as well as the Mrs. Lillie mentioned in Mather's letter, were connected with the Old South Church. Maccarty had been of King's Chapel; his wife was a member of the Old South. Some of the trouble may have lain in the fact that the family of Katharine Maccarty, and many of her friends, had no relations with Mather's church. One likes to fancy her constant to her romance, through the twenty Boston years she lived thereafter.

Thaddeus Maccarty of Boston is first mentioned in the town records as a hog reeve in 1674.[1] He is probably the Maccarty mentioned in Sewall's *Diary*, and, with John Usher and Charles Lidget issued, May 12, 1686, a power of attorney to Jonathan Tyng, to receive lands from Robert Tufton Mason.[2] He is said to have occupied a house on the Sanderson property near the Town Dock, and in 1686 he purchased of his neighbor, William Ardell, his ketch, *Rose*, of forty-five tons, Captain Nicholas Baker, then on a voyage to Barbadoes; and one-half of the pink, *Blossom*, of seventy tons, Captain John Beck, then on a voyage to Holland.[3] His wife was admitted to the Old South Church in July, 1670. He was one of the founders of King's Chapel in 1686, and was one of three members authorized by Andros to collect contributions towards the "building and erecting of a house or place for the service of the Church of England."[4] He held the office of warden in 1694–95, and of vestryman in 1699.[5] By his will, dated May 24, proved June 14, 1705, he devised all his estate to his wife Elizabeth, and he owned at the time of his death a lot near the Province House estate, with a passage to Marlborough (now Washington) Street. How he became possessed of this land is not known; but it is supposed he took it on execution from the estate of Timothy Batt, in 1679.[6] His wife survived him and died June 7, 1723. He married, before 1666, Elizabeth ——, and a son, Francis, was born March 21, 1666–67.[7] Other children followed: Thaddeus, born September 12, 1670;[8] Margaret, born February 25, 1676;[9] and Catharine, born January 23, 1680.[10] The Roxbury records give also a son, Samuel, baptized November 3, 1676.[11] Savage mentions a son, Charles, who

[1] *Boston Rec. Com.*, VII. 85. He is named in the inventory of the estate of Elkanah Gladman, November 23, 1664. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XVI. 50.
[2] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXXI. 62.
[3] *Ib.*, XVII. 242.
[4] 3 *Collections*, I. 84.
[5] *Ib.*, 114, 118, 134.
[6] Bowditch (MS.) Titles, V. 21. See also Sewall, *Diary*, I, 202 *n.*
[7] *Boston Rec. Com.*, IX. 105.
[8] *Ib.*, 115.
[9] *Ib.*, 138.
[10] *Ib.*, 149.
[11] *Ib.*, VI. 134.

died October 25, 1683, aged within seven days of eighteen. He was of the Artillery Company in 1681.

Mr. THAYER read extracts from the unpublished diary of John Hay referring to the political situation in Washington in February, 1867, when the crisis in Reconstruction had been reached and the impeachment of President Johnson was already discussed. Hay reports intimate conversations with Secretary Seward, Senator Charles Sumner, Chief Justice Chase, Banks, Cullom and other leaders at that time. He discloses the discouragement of the moderate men and the growing vehemence of the radical faction.

Mr. FORD read a paper on "Certain Phases of the negotiations at Ghent, 1814," calling attention to the fact that Gallatin and Adams were generally working together, in opposition to Clay, Russell and even Bayard, and to this union in sentiment of the two men the success of the negotiation was due. He also read extracts from the letters of John Quincy Adams during the negotiations, describing the manner in which the American commissioners lived and entertained in Ghent, and the various diversions of the members; the characteristics of the British commission, its aloofness and unsocial qualities; and change of policy in the British ministry. Adams gives his opinion of his colleagues, singularly generous and appreciative when measured against their criticism of him. The manner in which "Hail Columbia" was introduced on the musical programs of the day was amusingly told, and from the English newspapers were taken a few examples of journalistic enterprise and the wagers entered on the result of the treaty negotiation — a more delicate barometer of public feeling than the stock-market.

Mr. FORD also contributed the following unpublished instructions and despatches of the British Ghent Commission, obtained from the Public Record Office, London (F. O. America, vols. 101, 102).

INTENDED INSTRUCTIONS.[1]

It being highly desirable that the conditions of Peace which the Commissioners are authorized to negotiate should not only be such

[1] "Not used" is noted in the margin. The instructions given are in *Letters and Despatches of Lord Castlereagh*, x. 67.

as to put at rest as much as possible the many altercations and disputes which have from time to time taken place between the two nations respecting their respective rights and Boundaries, but that they should so establish the boundaries as not to have in future the Canadas exposed to invasion from the United States, a precaution become the more necessary as the subjugation of those provinces has been the declared object of that Government. It is necessary to instruct the Commissioners with respect to those points on which it is most essential to come to an amicable explanation and distinct arrangement.

During the course of the War with France discussions have arisen respecting the claims which it has been understood that the American Government have brought forward with regard to the extent of their maritime jurisdiction from their coasts. On this point an explanation is desirable. The Commissioners are authorised to express to the American Commissioners the wish of the British Government to agree upon any reasonable distance within which the Maritime jurisdiction of the United States shall be considered as confined it being always understood that the maritime jurisdiction shall be reciprocal as to the respective coasts of the contracting parties.

The doubts which have arisen respecting the river St. Croix have been so happily adjusted after a full discussion by the two Governments in the year 1798 that nothing more will be necessary in that particular than to insert totidem verbis the declaration made by the joint Commissioners in that year.

The islands in Passamaquoddie Bay have been long the subject of discussion. It is however clear that by the Treaty of 1783 they were excluded from the Territory of the United States; the second Article of that Treaty specially excepting from the Territory of the United States all such islands as "then were or as theretofore had been within the limits of the Province of Nova Scotia" and it having been proved that those islands were and always had been considered as forming part of that Province.

Doubts have also arisen with respect to the boundary of the Province of Maine and in order to put them at rest it is proposed that the 47th parallel of Latitude shall be considered as that boundary from the point where the present boundary line as claimed by the American Government intersects that parallel.

Fort Niagara being the point from whence an attack against Upper Canada can be made with the greatest facility and effect it is necessary that that Fort together with the adjoining territory should be retained by Great Britain.

The British Government are willing on behalf of the Indian na-

tions in alliance with them to consent to the adoption of the River Wabash and the Miami of the Lake as the boundary between the territory of the United States and that of the Indian nations. But in consideration of the extension of territory which the United States will thereby obtain beyond that possessed by them in the year 1783 and in order to protect the necessary communication with the Indian Nations the island and Fort of Michillimackinac shall be retained by Great Britain. It shall be moreover agreed that the boundary hereby assigned to the Indian Nations shall be guaranteed to them and that neither of the contracting parties shall be at liberty to acquire either by purchase or otherwise from any Indian Nation any further Territory or to change existing boundaries without the consent of the other contracting party.

In order to clear up the doubts to which the Treaty of 1783 has given rise with respect to the Western Boundary of the United States as laid down in that Treaty (inasmuch as a line drawn due West from the North Western point of the Lake of the Woods will not as assumed ever intersect the Mississippi) it shall be stipulated that that boundary of the United States shall be a straight line drawn from the North Western point of the Lake of the Woods to the Source of the Mississippi.

Some such boundary also must be assigned to Louisiana as may exclude the Citizens of the United States from any interference with the British Settlements on the Columbia River.

Although the British Government cannot but be sensible that the renewal of the Treaty of 1783 is liable to many objections on the part of Great Britain and that many advantages would arise from a refusal to renew any part of it, yet being animated with an anxious desire to oppose as few obstacles as possible to the restoration of Amity between the two countries they are willing to renew the said Treaty provided it be distinctly understood that the provisions of the third Article are *in no case whatever* to be considered as renewed.

The Commissioners will either insert in the body of the Treaty the third Article of the Treaty of 1794 and the explanatory Article of 1796 or concert with the American Commissioners in drawing up a new Article containing the substance of those two Articles as it may be thought best by the American Commissioners.

The American Commissioners must understand that if they are not instructed to enter into negociation on these points and that in consequence Peace cannot be concluded Great Britain is by no means pledged not to make further demands if the events of the War for the protraction of which the American Government will be alone responsible should authorise

demands more favorable to the security of the British possessions in North America.

N: B: In order to put an end to the Jealousies which may arise by the Construction of Ships of War on the Lakes, it should be proposed that the two Contracting Parties should reciprocally bind themselves not to construct any Ships of War on any of the Lakes: and should entirely dismantle those which are now in Commission, or are preparing for Service.

Commissioners to Castlereagh.

No. 1.

Ghent, August 9, 1814.

My Lord, — We have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that we arrived in this City on the 6th Instant. We lost no time in communicating our arrival to the American Commissioners, and in proposing a Conference with a view to that preliminary information which we were directed by our Instructions to obtain.[1]

The first Conference took place yesterday, when the full powers of each side were produced, and the Copies of them respectively exchanged. The Copy received from the American Commissioners we beg leave to inclose. The Conference was opened by us with an expression of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government by arrangements of a permanent kind to restore the relations of peace between the two Nations upon terms advantageous and honourable to both — an anxiety unabated by any events which had recently happened in Europe. We stated our own desire to give effect to the wishes of our Government by conducting the Negociation in the most frank and conciliatory manner. After some few observations of this nature we proceeded to state the points upon which we considered it probable that our future discussions might turn, viz: —

1. The forcible seizure of mariners from on board merchant ships on the high Seas, and, as in necessary connection with it, the allegiance due to the king of Great Britain from all his native subjects.

In submitting this as the first topic we stated that we had no intention of offering any specific proposition on this subject. We did it because the subject had been put forward by the American Government in such a manner as led us to suppose that they would make it a principal topic of discussion.

2. The engagements of Alliance which Great Britain had entered into with the Indian Nations during the war rendered it incumbent

[1] The British Commissioners proposed to meet at their lodgings, but this met with objections from the Americans. See Adams, *Memoirs*, III. 4.

upon her to provide for their permanent tranquility and security by including them in any Treaty of Peace made between Great Britain and America, and, their permanent peace and security could not be provided for unless the limits of their territories were strictly defined. We added that Great Britain considered a satisfactory arrangement on this head as the *sine qua non* of any Treaty of Peace.

3. A revision of the boundary between His Majesty's Territories in America and those of the United States, not upon any principle of conquest or acquisition, but upon that of mutual advantage and security.

In throwing out these as the topics of discussion which had suggested themselves to us, and in requesting to be informed whether the American Commissioners were instructed to enter upon them, we expressed our willingness to receive from them any other topics for discussion which they might consider material, and should they consider as immaterial any of the topics so thrown out by us, their statement to that effect might possibly tend to prevent fruitless discussions. We then communicated to them the intention of His Majesty's Government not to renew the privileges derived under the Treaty of 1783 with respect to the North American Fisheries, not as necessarily forming a topic of discussion, but as a point upon which we in candour thought it proper to afford them information in this early stage of our proceedings.

The American Commissioners having requested time for consultation together as to the answer to be returned to our enquiries, the Conference was accordingly adjourned to this day. It began by a distinct communication from them,[1] that upon two of the points suggested by us as topics for discussion, viz: the 1st and 3rd they were prepared with ample instructions from their Government, but that with respect to the second, viz: a defined boundary to the Indian Territories, they had no instructions whatever, that they were equally uninstructed on the subject of the fisheries, and that there were other points not specified by us which the —— of the United States considered it material to discuss, and upon which they had received authority and instructions to conclude an arrangement.

These points were. 1. The Law of the Blockade, and some definition of Blockade, and also the general subject of belligerent and neutral Rights.

2. The Claims which the United States had against Great Britain on the ground of captures made previous to the commencement of

[1] The spokesman was John Quincy Adams.

the War, and as to captures, or some particular captures made during its continuance.

3. The regulation of the commerce of the two Countries.

Upon this statement it appeared to us, material to ascertain how far the American Commissioners, although not specially instructed as to the question of Indian Boundary, felt themselves at liberty under any general discretion to conclude a provisional article on this important point. Our Enquiries were therefore directed to this subject. The American Commissioners expressed a willingness to enter into the discussion of this topic, and a particular anxiety to ascertain the full extent of the views with which the British Government had made it a *sine qua non* of a Treaty. Nothing fell from them which induced us to believe that they considered it practicable to conclude any provisional arrangement which would be satisfactory to their Government. One of them, Mr. Clay, stated his opinion that none could be framed. It appeared to us and we so stated it to the American Commissioners, that a proposal to discuss without a prospect of some arrangement at least of a provisional kind, would be fruitless. They appeared to wish to go into the discussion on the ground that they should be able to shew that the objects of the British Government might be attained without making this point a *sine qua non* of a Treaty. We gave no particular encouragement to the notion of the utility of the discussions in this point of view. Under these circumstances it would be satisfactory to us to be furnished with Instructions of the most specific kind how far His Majesty's Government would be disposed to accept of a provisional Article as to an Indian Boundary, subject to very dubious contingency of its ratification by the President of the United States. And also whether His Majesty's Government would wish the negociations to proceed upon any and what points in the event of no provisional article of this kind being agreed to, which latter contingency, unless specific instructions are received from the United States, appears to us by no means unlikely to happen.[1]

On the subject of the fisheries the American Commissioners stated nothing of the nature of a claim to take fish within the limits of British Sovereignty, or to use any British Territory for purposes connected with the fisheries.

As to regulations for commerce we informed them that we had

[1] This is much more fully developed in the substance of the conference sent by Goulburn to Earl Bathurst, in his letter of August 9, printed in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda*, IX. 178. The official protocols of conferences, August 8 and 9, are in *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 708. But see Adams, *Memoirs*, III. 7–10.

no instructions on this head, but we did not mean to preclude them from proposing regulations of that kind, which we would transmit to our Government for future consideration.

The Conference closed with mutual acknowledgements that the discussions had been opened with frankness and candour. The American Commissioners particularly requested that their sense of the conciliatory manner in which the conferences had been hitherto conducted should be made known by us to His Majesty's Government.[1]

We have, etc.

GAMBIER.
HENRY GOULBURN.
WILLIAM ADAMS.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD TO COUNT HOOGENDORF.

AMERICAN LEGATION, PARIS, 22d Augt., 1814.

During the late War between France and England the Principles of Maritime law were openly violated by the belligerents, and the interest of Neutral States sacrificed to the Cupidity of their Cruisers, to the views of Commercial monopoly of the one Nation, and to the ostensible desire of the other to prevent that Monopoly.

This war against the rights and interests of Neutrals was prosecuted by Measures of hostility, adapted to the respective situations of the adverse belligerents. The immense Naval preponderance of England enabled her to give the greatest efficacy to the Measures of hostility which she adopted against the commerce of the United States, which during several years of this hostility was the only Neutral State in Christendom.

A colourable protest for these acts of violence and of injustice was sought in the law of Blockade. To constitute a lawful blockade the law of Nations requires a competent naval force to be Stationed before the blockaded port, so as to make the entry dangerous. A

[1] On the same date, August 9, 1814, Goulburn wrote a letter to Earl Bathurst, which is printed in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, IX. 177. In it he wrote: "We have had two conferences with them, and as far as I can judge from the mode in which they have been conducted, I believe that they are sincere in their wish to re-establish peace between the two countries. They have conducted themselves with more candour and openness than I had expected to find from them, and I might say with as much as could have been expected by any one. . . . We have been particularly careful to say nothing in these preliminary proceedings which could in any degree cause irritation on their part, and have therefore rather let any observation of the Americans which gave an opening for a sharp answer pass without observation, than get into a squabble which could lead to no object. To this, if we continue our negotiations, we intend to adhere."

Neutral vessel cannot be rightfully captured for breach of blockade, but upon attempting to enter the blockaded port, after having been warned off by the Stationary force. For this competent stationary force required by Writers upon public law blockades by proclamation have been substituted, and these proclamations have in the British Court of Admiralty supplied the evidence of the warning, what ought to be given to Neutral vessels by the blockading Squadron. By the aid of these infractions of public law the Coasts of extensive Maritime States were declared in a State of blockade, when few of their ports had a competent Naval force stationed before them, and Neutral vessels were captured in sight of their own Coasts, and condemned for breach of the blockade of a port, which they had not approached within the distance of more than *3,000* Miles. In the true Spirit of Commercial Monopoly the trade of the adverse belligerent, thus interdicted to Neutrals, was engrossed by England through the instrumentality of Licences.

The Solemn Declaration of the Prince Regent published in the face of Europe in the month of April, 1812, that these Measures of hostility would be rigidly executed, until the United States should compel France to do an act, which they had no right to demand, accompanied by the unlawful and irritating practices of impressing American Citizens at Sea, left the American Government no other alternative than that of repelling force by force.

The illegitimate principles of blockade, which have just been described, are now applied by England to the vessels of Neutrals engaged in Commerce with the United States. A coast of 2,000 miles, intersected with almost as many bays, harbours, inlets, and creeks, has been declared by Proclamation to be in a State of Blockade, when it is matter of general Notoriety that a competent naval force has not been stationed before the greatest proportion of the ports and harbours included within this paper blockade. This fact is established by their own papers, which publish accounts of the daily entry into these ports by the American Armed vessels with their prizes, and of their departure from them.

The United States which when Neutral adhered inviolably to the principles of public law recognized by Civilized Nations, are desirous of giving to [the] Maritime States of Europe the strongest evidence of their respect for those principles, when belligerent. To this end the President of the United States has thought fit to issue his * Proclamation, strictly forbidding the Commanders of the

* The Proclamation referred to is that of the 29th of June last already published in the English Newspapers. — *Note by Crawford.*

public and private Armed vessels of the United States to interrupt, detain, or molest, or vex any vessel, belonging to any Neutral or friendly power and to render to such vessels as are actually bound to American ports all the aid and kind offices which they may need or require.

In transmitting a Copy of this Proclamation to Your Excellency, I am instructed by the President to request you to communicate to H. S. H. the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands the assurances of his fixed determination to favour by every means in his power the Commerce of Holland with the United States. [I am, etc.]

CRAWFORD.[1]

COMMISSIONERS TO CASTLEREAGH.

No. 3.

GHENT, August 26, 1814.

MY LORD.

We have had the honour of receiving your Lordships Dispatch No. 3 of the 14th Instant.

As the American Plenipotentiaries had in the preceding conferences declined to express themselves able within the scope of their general discretion to accede to a provisional Article relative to Indian pacification and Boundary, because the specific views and objects with which Great Britain brought forward that proposition were not made known to them, we lost no time upon the receipt of Your Lordship's dispatch in communicating the general principles offered by Great Britain as the proper basis of such a provisional Article.

In calling upon the American Plenipotentiaries to state how far their general instructions warranted them in acceding to the principles so laid down, we conceived that it was incumbent upon us, under our instructions, to state at the same time with precision the views with which His Majesty's Government had proposed a revision of the frontier between the North American Possessions of Great Britain and those of the United States. We accordingly made on this subject also an explicit communication to the American Plenipotentiaries at a Conference which took place on the 19th Instt. at which the American Plenipotentiaries confined themselves to requiring from us mere explanations upon some incidental points connected with the subject of our verbal communications to them. In conformity with a wish expressed by them to receive a written

[1] See page 147.

statement on the subject, we addressed to them the Note of which a copy is inclosed.[1] To that note we beg leave to refer Your Lordship, as containing the substance of what fell from us at the different conferences to which it refers.

We received yesterday afternoon the answer of the American Plenipotentiaries, which we have also the honour of enclosing for the information of His Majesty's Government [2]

We have, etc.

GAMBIER.
HENRY GOULBURN.
WILLIAM ADAMS.

GOULBURN TO CASTLEREAGH.

Private.

GHENT, Sept. 5th, 1814.

We received on Saturday night from Lord Bathurst the draft of an answer to the note of the American Plenipotentiaries of the 26th ulto. with permission to make such alterations in the Style and in facts (if they were incorrectly stated) as we might think proper. We send you in our public letter a duplicate copy of the note we send. In availing ourselves of the discretion intrusted to us we made no further alterations than what appeared calculated to render the note more consistent with what we had previously expressed.

I send you inclosed a copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Crawford to Count Hoogendorf in case you should not have received it from another quarter.[3] It was sent to us on Sunday by Lord Clancarty. As you will of course watch the effect of this letter upon the Ministers of the several Courts to which a similar letter may have been addressed, I think it not immaterial to call your attention to some circumstances connected with it. It is dated you will observe on the 22nd of August from Paris. At that time Mr. Crawford could not have known what our final propositions for Peace might be they having been communicated to the American Plenipotentiaries only on the 17th. Mr. C. must have been acting under instructions from his Government dated in June or July last, and the Government must

[1] Note of August 19.

[2] Printed in *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 711. Goulburn asked advice of Earl Bathurst, looking upon it as in effect a rupture of the negotiations. Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, IX. 190, 193. Adams thought it would bring the negotiations very shortly to a close. *Memoirs*, III. 23.

[3] Page 144, *supra*.

have acquainted him that the Negotiations at Ghent would not end in Peace. Otherwise he could hardly have been stirring at Paris the Maritime questions which (I think he told Lord Buckingham that America did not mean to insist upon and which) the American Plenipotentiaries in their Note of the 26th August stated themselves instructed not to press, and thus pursuing a line of conduct so hostile to Great Britain before he could know from any thing which had passed here that there was any chance of the Negotiations failing and upon grounds unconnected with the Maritime question. It appears to me difficult to find a [stro]nger proof of the insincerity of America in entering i[nto] the present Negotiations than this letter affords.

Lord Clancarty also informed us that the Dutch Government merely returned an acknowledgment of the receipt of the letter not wishing to give any countenance to the object of it. I am, etc.

HENRY GOULBURN.

COMMISSIONERS TO CASTLEREAGH.

No. 8.

GHENT, October 9, 1814.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of two dispatches signed by Earl Bathurst of the dates and number specified in the Margin.[1]

The dispatch No. 5 did not reach us until some days after we had transmitted for the information of His Majesty's Government the answer given by the American Plenipotentiaries to our proposition on the subject of Indian pacification. Under these circumstances we considered it advisable to defer acting upon the instruction contained in it until we should be in possession of the sentiments of His Majesty's Government with respect to the note which we had so recently transmitted. We trust that our conduct in this respect will meet with the approbation of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

Upon the receipt of No. 6 we lost no time in forwarding to the American Plenipotentiaries in reply to their last Note, the Note of which a copy is enclosed.[2] We have, etc.

GAMBIER.
HENRY GOULBURN.
WILLIAM ADAMS.

[1] No. 5, September 27, and No. 6, October 5.

[2] The note of October 8, printed in *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 721.

GOULBURN TO BATHURST.

Private
[Enclosure].

GHENT, October 10. 1814.

Ground of alterations made in the Draft of the Article.

No period was assigned when the hostilities should be put an end to.

Nor any period after the ratification, within which the Indian Nations should be restored to the condition of 1811.

It was left indefinite how long the Indian Nations were to continue at Peace with the U. S. after agreeing to desist from hostilities. The Article, as drawn would seem to take from the Indians the privileges of the Treaty, even if a new war soon afterwards arose, upon other grounds between them and the U. S.; tho' the Interest which Great Britain, had in this matter, ought not to be affected by such new war.

The United States of America engage to put an end [immediately after the ratification of the present treaty] to hostilities with [all] the Tribes or Nations of Indians with whom they may be at war at the time of *the* [such] ratification *of the present Treaty*,[1] & [forthwith] to restore to such Tribes or Nations respectfully all the [possessions] rights & privileges & *possessions* which they may have enjoyed *in 1811 or were* been entitled to [in 1811] previous to *the existing* [such] hostilities.

Provided allways that such Tribes or Nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against the United States of America [their Citizens and Subjects] upon the ratification of the present Treaty being Notified to such Tribes or Nations & shall *continue at peace with the Government & People of the United States* [so desist accordingly].

And his Britannick Majesty engages on his part to put an end [immediately after the ratification of the present treaty] to hostilities with [all] the Tribes or Nations of Indians with whom he may be at war at the time of *the* [such] ratification *of the present Treaty*, & [forthwith] to restore to such Tribes or Nations respectively, all the Possessions rights & privileges which they may have enjoyed *in 1811* or *were* [been] entitled to [in 1811]; previous to *the existing* [such] hostilities.

[1] Words stricken out in italics.

Provided allways that such Tribes or Nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against his Britannick Majesty [and his Subjects] upon the ratification of the present Treaty being notified to such Tribes or Nations, or shall *continue at peace with His Britannick Majesty* [so desist accordingly].

COMMISSIONERS TO CASTLEREAGH.

No. 9.

GHENT, October 14. 1814.

We have the honour to transmit for the information of His Majesty's Government the Copy of a Note which we have this day received from the American Plenipotentiaries.[1]

Your Lordship will observe that the Plenipotentiaries have consented to admit as a provisional article the modified proposition with respect to Indian pacification and rights which we were instructed to make; and have thus removed the principal obstruction to the further progress of the negotiation. Under these circumstances we have to request such further instructions as the state of the negotiation may appear to His Majesty's Government to require. We have, etc.

GAMBIER.
HENRY GOULBURN.
WILLIAM ADAMS.

COMMISSIONERS TO CASTLEREAGH.

No. 10.

GHENT, Oct. 24, 1814.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatches of the 18th & 20th Instt.

In compliance with Your Lordship's instructions we lost no time in addressing to the American Plenipotentiaries the Note of which a copy is enclosed.[2]

We hope His Majesty's Government will approve of the cursory manner in which we have therein stated the subject of the fisheries, when they are informed that our communication on that topic at the first conference with the American Plenipotentiaries was so explicit as fully to apprise them of the views of His Majesty's Government, with the single exception of the marine league from the shore being taken as the common measure of territorial Jurisdiction.

[1] Dated October 13. In *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 723.

[2] Note of October 21. *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 724. Adams characterises it as of "the same dilatory and insidious character as their preceding notes, but is shorter." *Memoirs*, III. 57.

It appeared to us better to leave this last particular till the fisheries were again brought into discussion, with a view to the wording of an Article in respect to them, as either repetition or detail at present might seem to imply a doubt as to the right of Great Britain to act upon the views of the subject.

We received this afternoon the inclosed reply from the American Plenipotentiaries,[1] and transmit it for the information of His Majesty's Government, requesting at the same time their directions for our future proceedings. We have, etc.

GAMBIER.
HENRY GOULBURN.
WILLIAM ADAMS.

COMMISSIONERS TO CASTLEREAGH.

No. 12.

GHENT, November 11, 1814.

We have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship the copy of a note which we have received from the American Plenipotentiaries together with the Projet of a Treaty which it inclosed.[2]

As some of the Articles proposed by the American Plenipotentiaries relate to points upon which we are not in possession of the views and sentiments of His Majesty's Government, we are anxious, previously to replying to their Note, to receive such instructions as may enable us effectually to meet those propositions. We have, etc.

GAMBIER.
HENRY GOULBURN.
WILLIAM ADAMS.

COMMISSIONERS TO CASTLEREAGH.

No. 15.

GHENT, December 1, 1814.

We received yesterday from the American Plenipotentiaries the Note of which a copy is enclosed for the information of His Majesty's Government.[3]

Your Lordship will observe that the American Plenipotentiaries

[1] Note of October 24. *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 725. The British Commissioners replied October 31 (*Ib.* 726), asking the American Commissioners to submit the project of a treaty covering the specific propositions upon which they were empowered to sign a treaty of peace between the two countries. This was done November 10.

[2] *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 733.

[3] *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 741. The protocol of the conference held on December 1 is in *Ib.*, 742.

have therein expressed their willingness to abandon altogether with one modification all the Articles which had been stated on our part to be inadmissible. In compliance with the request contained in their Note we this day held a conference with them.

We feel it unnecessary to detain Your Lordship by a specification of the many verbal alterations in the Projet which were adopted or rejected at the suggestion of either party, but pass at once to the two objections upon which alone the American Plenipotentiaries evinced a disposition to insist.

The first of these objections was to the alterations made by us in the first Article of the Projet for the intended purpose of limiting the restitutions of Territory to the possessions belonging to either party which had been taken by the other during the war. The American Plenipotentiaries expressed themselves most anxious to retain the words originally proposed by them, which stipulate for the restitution of all possessions "taken by either party from the other" without reference to the right by which such possessions were held. The American Plenipotentiaries on this subject entered into a statement of the inconvenience of making the Act of restoring territory situated in many different places dependent on the opinion which the party in possession might hold of his right to retain it, and they urged the inconsistency of such a provision with the principle of status ante bellum upon which alone they had stated themselves authorized to treat. Their real object however evidently was to obtain for the United States (what we in making the alteration had been desirous of securing to Great Britain as justly her due) the occupation of the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay during the time which might elapse between the Ratification of the Treaty and the decision upon the claims of the United States, together with the fair advantage which might ultimately result from the fact of possession.

Although the American Plenipotentiaries at first urged their objections with much earnestness yet they so generalized them towards the close of the discussion as to leave an impression on our minds that they were not prepared to insist upon them, if the other parts of the Treaty were arranged, more especially were some expressions introduced in order to limit the application of the Article to such possessions as were by the tenour of the Treaty itself admitted to be liable to some dispute.

Their second objection was to that part of the 8th Article which claims for the subjects of His Britannic Majesty the free navigation of the Mississippi and their access to that River. It was stated by the American Plenipotentiaries that they had always considered the Treaty of 1783 as differing from ordinary Treaties in so far as it did not confer but only recognized the advantages enjoyed under

it both by Great Britain and the United States, and therefore they did not conceive any stipulation to be necessary either to secure to the United States the full enjoyment of the Fisheries or to Great Britain the free navigation of the Mississippi as stipulated in that Treaty. If they were correct, they stated, in their construction of the Treaty (which however they knew to be at variance with that of Great Britain) the provision introduced into the 8th Article was altogether unnecessary. If on the contrary their judgment was incorrect, and the right of the United States to the fisheries, and that of Great Britain to the navigation of the Mississippi had ceased in consequence of the war, they could not consent to give to Great Britain without an equivalent the advantage of that navigation. On this ground therefore they objected altogether on the part of the Article in question, but they stated that if Great Britain was disposed to give to the United States the enjoyment of the fisheries as possessed by them under the former Treaty, that they were willing to accept it as an equivalent or to discuss any other which Great Britain might be disposed to offer. Upon our stating that the true equivalent for the navigation of the Mississippi was to be found in the preceding part of the Article which not only defined a boundary to the dominions of both Nations in that quarter, but provided for a considerable accession of territory to the United States in a North Westerly direction, they at the same time that they declined to consider the definition of boundary to be an advantage, denied any accession of their territory to be the result of that Article. They however professed their readiness to omit that Article altogether. At the close of the discussion they delivered to us as a memorandum the enclosed amendment to the 8th Article founded upon the principle of their acceptance of the Fisheries as an equivalent for yielding the Navigation of the Mississippi to which memorandum, or to the substance of it they expressed themselves ready to subscribe. As the American Plenipotentiaries have through the whole course of the Negociation taken great pains to describe the Treaty of 1783 as in their view of the subject only recognising and not conferring the privileges of using any territory within the British Jurisdiction for purposes connected with the Fisheries, we thought we saw an advantage in obtaining from them the offer to Great Britain of any equivalent for their enjoyment of this privilege in as much as it afforded a proof that they considered it as purely of a conventional Nature.

The American Plenipotentiaries then in conformity with their Note pressed the demand for the restitution of the value of Ships and Cargoes seized in British Ports when the War was first known to, or declared by His Majesty. Their demand was founded on

the general practice of Nations to abstain from the Capture of private Property at the breaking out of a War and they contended that this was shewn by the frequent clauses in Treaties stipulating for a timely notice of hostilities to private persons in affirmance of the general law on the subject. They further insisted on the American Law of July, 1812, a Section of which was enclosed in their note. They afterwards relied on the fact that this law had been acted upon by the President of the United States to an extent that called for a proportionate liberality on the part of His Majesty's Government. To these suggestions we replied that it was the general practice of civilized Nations to capture and condemn all private property taken afloat or the proceeds of it whenever a state of War actually existed without reference to the time when it began. That periods fixed in order to apprize private persons of hostilities were matters of convention only, and by no means in affirmance of general law or usage. That Great Britain had been peculiarly considerate in not suddenly subjecting American property to condemnation upon capture, but such property had been kept in a state of suspense which the American Government might at once have determined in favor of their own subjects. They had determined otherwise. The effect of the American Law which they had inclosed so far was it from founding a claim upon Great Britain that it only put the President of the United States in the same condition as His Majesty stood, without a Law; that is, it empowered him to suffer vessels and goods to depart freely from his ports leaving it to his discretion whether he would do so or not. We denied that they had any claim on the ground of equitable liberality, suggesting that it was not for us to speculate upon the numbers of British Vessels which the President had suffered to depart, or the grounds upon which he might have done so. That we considered the principle of such a demand of much more importance than the value of the property to which it might extend. The Restitution of value could not take place without the implication that such ships and goods had been improperly or irregularly seized. That it was wholly unprecedented for any Nation, that had declared War against Great Britain, even to ask and much less to receive indemnity for the direct and necessary consequence of their own act. That having listened to all their arguments we declined even to submit the demand to our Government, conceiving ourselves authorized to reject it without hesitation. After this declaration the demand was no longer insisted on.

Having thus stated the substance of what passed at the Conference of this morning it only remains for us to request the specific instructions of His Majesty's Government on the following points.

1st: As to our adherence to the words of the first Article "belonging to either party and taken by the other."

2: As to retaining any part of the Eighth Article.

3. As to insisting upon the latter part of that Article relative to the Mississippi.

4. As to accepting the navigation of the Mississippi with the very limited access offered in the American proposal as any equivalent for the privileges of the Fisheries. We have, etc.

GAMBIER.
HENRY GOULBURN.
WILLIAM ADAMS.

[Recd. Dec. 4.]

GOULBURN TO HAMILTON.[1]

Private.

GHENT, Decr. 2. 1814.

Having written our dispatch of yesterday in a very great hurry at the close of a long tiresome conference we find upon reading it over to day that it abounds in inaccuracies and as in the event of its being published we are anxious to avoid the imputation of not writing English we beg you to correct them.

In the second sentence *dele* the words "either" and "or" so that the sentence may run "altogether, with one modification."

In the latter part of the dispatch or rather near the middle are the words — "The American Govt. might at once have determined in favor of *its* own subjects. They *have* determined otherwise."

for *its* substitute *their*
for *have* substitute *had*

A little further on, instead of "or to suggest any grounds upon which he might have done so," substitute "or the grounds upon which he might have done so."

Excuse these corrections of the Press and Believe me yours ever truly

HENRY GOULBURN.

[Recd. 5th Dec.]

COMMISSIONERS TO CASTLEREAGH.

No. 17.

GHENT, December 10, 1814.

We held this morning a Conference with the American Plenipotentiaries,[2] and in compliance with the Instruction conveyed to

[1] Of the Foreign Office.

[2] The protocol is in *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 743. See Adams, *Memoirs*, III. 93.

us in your Lordship's dispatch of the 6th Instant, communicated to them the views of His Majesty's Government upon the points which we had been under the necessity of referring for their consideration.

We stated that we could not consent to omit the words objected to by them in the first Article, viz: "belonging to either party and taken by the other." That Great Britain in admitting the United States to have any claim to the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay and in consenting to submit such claim to the decision of Commissioners had made an important concession, having at all times regarded those Islands as her indisputable right. We added that Great Britain was willing to consent to the reciprocal restitution of all territories held on either side by the title of Jus belli alone, or to admit any modification of the first Article which should confine the portions of territory excepted from such restitution to those which were made the subject of reference to Commissioners in the Treaty itself, or even to limit the exception to the Passamaquoddy Islands alone; but that we could not consent to yield a possession at the peace, the right to which we did not derive from the war.

With respect to the 8th Article we stated that Great Britain considered the former part of that Article to afford to the United States advantages fully equivalent to those which Great Britain would derive from the free navigation of and access to the Mississippi, and much more valuable than that Navigation under the restricted access proposed by the American Plenipotentiaries. They had indeed proposed to exchange for the unlimited enjoyment of a privilege by American Subjects a limited enjoyment by British Subjects of a privilege derived from the same Treaty, an exchange which could not but be regarded as altogether unequal. Great Britain was however disposed to let the former part of the Article remain in the Treaty; And in so doing she yielded in her estimation a considerable portion of territory to the United States, without securing to herself what she had been willing to accept in the way of an equivalent. We further stated the readiness of Great Britain so far to accede to the proposition brought forward in the written proposal of the American Plenipotentiaries as to enter into future negotiation with respect to the equivalents which it might be just for each nation respectively to receive in return for the free navigation of the Mississippi on the one side and the enjoyment of the fisheries on the other.

We delivered to the American Plenipotentiaries the Article of which a copy is inclosed, which with the exception of the words underlined corresponds with that transmitted in your Lordship's Dispatch.

We further proposed to the American Plenipotentiaries the two

inclosed Articles; the one intended to secure the continued exertions of both Nations for the abolition of the African Slave Trade; the other to provide for the right of the Subjects of each Nation freely to prosecute suits in the Courts of Justice of the other.

Upon the point thus submitted by us the American Plenipotentiaries requested time for deliberation, after which they intimated their intention of proposing a further Conference. We have etc.

GAMBIER.
HENRY GOULBURN.
WILLIAM ADAMS.

[Recd Dec. 14.]

COMMISSIONERS TO CASTLEREAGH.

No. 19

GHENT, December 13, 1814.

At a Conference held yesterday with the American Plenipotentiaries our discussions turned entirely upon the modifications of the 1st and 8th Articles proposed by us at the last Conference. It is not necessary to trouble your Lordship with a statement of the Arguments urged on either side at former Conferences, many of which were repeated with some variations in the mode of proposing them.[1]

The American Plenipotentiaries in substance stated that they did not feel themselves authorized to accede to the words "belonging to either party and taken by the other" nor to either of the modifications under which alone we had consented to alter or omit them. That considering as they did the Passamaquoddy Islands to form part of the State of Massachusetts they could not but regard any agreement which should give to Great Britain the possession of them as equivalent to a temporary cession of territory, and this as they had previously intimated they had no power to make without the concurrence of the State of which it formed a part. That they had no objection to admit such a modification as should secure the rights of Great Britain from being affected or impaired by yielding possession of those Islands to the United States. That the value of them was too insignificant an object for either Nation to continue the war upon that account; but the principle upon which Great Britain required the possession of them was what they felt themselves bound to resist.

To this we replied, that the American Plenipotentiaries had assumed in argument, that a clause, whose consequential effect would

[1] Adams, *Memoirs*, III. 104.

produce to Great Britain a continuance of the possession she now held, was a cession of territory by America, and they had assumed this for the sole purpose of entangling this question with the suggested difficulty of ceding without the consent of one of the United States any portion of its territory. But such a clause could not with Justice be so interpreted, for so far from requiring America to do any Act which could prejudice her ultimate right, it did not require her to do any Act whatever. On the other hand the American Plenipotentiaries had not scrupled to require from Great Britain the act of yielding a possession, the right to which she was known to claim under another title than that of war. The terms cession of territory were really not intelligible, but in some distinct reference to title, and all questions of title were by a succeeding Article put into a train of future investigation. That we should not object to a clause expressly guarding their ultimate right against the prejudice they apprehended from the continued possession of Great Britain. The particular words in question could therefore by no fair argument be connected with the difficulty which had been suggested. But if that difficulty did of itself exist, independently of what they had attempted to connect with it, it was really difficult to understand in what manner Great Britain could insure the fulfilment of any award which the Commissioners might hereafter make with respect to these Islands, should it be adverse to the claims of the United States. We further stated that we had no hesitation in concurring with them as to the relative value of the territory in question. The Act of yielding possession of the Islands by Great Britain involved however a point of honour, and if insisted on would, as we feared, prove an insuperable bar to the conclusion of peace at the present time.

The American Plenipotentiaries in explanation stated that the difficulty of making a cession of territory, which prevented their assent to our propositions could not operate to defeat the award of the Commissioners, if made in favour of Great Britain, because as the award would in that case determine that those Islands had not been a part of the United States, no cession would be made. But that if the United States now consented to give possession of the Islands to Great Britain, and it should hereafter turn out that they had belonged to the State of Massachusetts, then, without its consent, a temporary cession would have been made of a possession, the right to hold which belonged to that State.

In reference to the 8th Article, the American Plenipotentiaries stated that they were not authorized to admit the substitution proposed in the place of the latter clause of it. That they considered it as unnecessary, inasmuch as it did nothing but stipulate for a

future negociation which might equally take place without it, and it neither bound the parties to engage in it nor precluded them from defeating it, if engaged in, by the Extravagance of their demands, but they chiefly objected to the language of the substituted Article as conveying that their right to the fisheries depended solely on a provision in the Treaty of 1783, and that this Treaty had been annulled by the War — propositions against which they had repeatedly contended, and in which it would be hopeless to expect their acquiescence. That they had no objection to omit the last clause of the 8th Article, and to substitute another, if it were possible so to word one, as to make the fisheries and the Mississippi the subjects of future negociation without prejudice to either party as to the manner in which his rights were derived.

In reply we stated that should they no longer press Great Britain to yield possession of the Passamaquoddy Islands we should be willing to consider any determination of theirs to that effect in conjunction with such an Article as they might frame in relation to the Fisheries and Mississippi Navigation provided such an Article was really worded so as in our judgment simply to refer those subjects to future negociation without tending to preclude either party from acting hereafter on his own view of those subjects. That in making this proposition we went to the very limit of our instructions, if not somewhat beyond them. In justification of the manner in which our propositions had been brought forward we remarked that it was neither unusual nor improper to refer certain subjects to future negociation the necessary details of which might tend to postpone the Termination of hostilities and that we considered all subjects involving Equivalents as peculiarly liable to this inconvenience.

The most explicit declaration as to the failure of the present War to put an end to the operation of the Treaty of 1783 was made by Mr. Gallatin,[1] but without any grounds of Argument in support of it. He merely stated that the United States considered that Treaty to be of such a nature that all its provisions were permanent and not liable to be, nor capable of being, annulled by a subsequent War, and consequently that no fresh stipulations were required on either side to put the parties in possession of the advantages derivable from its provisions. This declaration has been noticed because it appears somewhat at variance with the Note of the American Plenipotentiaries of the 10th Ulto. which derives the right of the United States to the advantages of the Treaty as well from the nature of the advantages themselves as from the peculiar character of the Treaty by which they were recognised, a term certainly in-

[1] Adams uses the word "we," but he was usually the spokesman.

tended to imply that the right to possess them existed before. So little consistency appears in the grounds upon which doctrines of this Nature are likely at any time to be rested that one of the American Plenipotentiaries admitted that the right of the United States to the Fisheries so far as it depended on the Treaty of 1783 was put an end to by the War. Though this admission was evidently intended to convey the notion of a preëxisting right to these advantages yet it is altogether at variance with the declaration that rests them on the peculiar character of that Treaty alone.

We made no scruple on this and on other occasions of stating explicitly that in our view of the subject all the right which the United States had or could have to the fisheries was derived from the Treaty of 1783 alone, that we could conceive no other source whence they could derive it, nor on what possible grounds it could be contended that the provisions of that Treaty were not put an end to by the present War.

The American Plenipotentiaries stated further that they should offer no objection to the Article we had proposed in relation to the Slave Trade.

That they had objections to the Article as to the right to prosecute suits by the subjects of one party in the Courts of the other, which objections they would take another opportunity of communicating to us.

The conference ended with an intimation from the American Plenipotentiaries that a Note should be sent to us containing their ultimate determination on the subjects we had recently discussed.[1]

We have, etc.

Gambier.
Henry Goulburn.
William Adams.

[Rd. Dec. 16.]

Goulburn to Hamilton.

Private.

Ghent, 15 Decr., 1814.

I take the liberty of troubling you with a few errata in our dispatch No. 19 of yesterday which we should thank you to let Mr. Baudinel correct.

In the following sentence viz. "In justification of the manner in which our propositions had been brought forward," etc., etc. insert *former* between *our* & *propositions* — and in the next line

[1] December 14. *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 743. Adams, *Memoirs*, III. 112.

insert after *improper* the word "*thus*" so that it may run "nor improper thus to refer certain subjects," etc., etc.

The other alteration is more important: it is in that part where we are speaking of the Fisheries we say that the term used by the Americans in their note of the 10th ulto. "tended to imply that the right to possess them existed before." This last word *before* should be *independently;* and a few lines afterwards instead of "*a pre-existing right*" insert "*an independent right.*" Yours ever truly,

HENRY GOULBURN.

COMMISSIONERS TO CASTLEREAGH.

[No. 22.]

GHENT, Decr. 24th, 1814.

We had the honor of receiving on the 21st Instt your Lordship's Dispatch of the 19th, and on the following morning we addressed to the American Plenipotentiaries the note of which a copy is enclosed.[1]

A Conference was held yesterday at their request. The American Plenipotentiaries, having signified their willingness to accede to the propositions brought forward in our enclosed note, suggested many verbal alterations in the Treaty, the particulars of such as were acceded to will be found in the enclosed copy of the Protocol.[2]

The only alteration of this kind, on which it seems necessary to trouble your Lordship with any observations, is that, which substitutes the date of the last Ratification of the Treaty for that of the exchange of the Ratifications. We were induced to accede to this Substitution, from a desire of obviating, as far as lay in our power, the apprehensions expressed by the American Plenipotentiaries of the continuance of hostilities between the two Countries after the actual, tho' unexchanged, Ratifications of the Treaty by them both, an effect which a tardy arrival in America of the British Ratification would otherwise produce. Their apprehensions were grounded on the risks attendant upon the transmission of a single instrument, such as the British Ratification necessarily must be, to America at this season of the year; more especially as a delay of some months had once taken place in communicating to the United States the Ratification of a Treaty by Great Britain. At the same time that we acceded to the above alteration we introduced into the last Article such words, as appeared to us adapted effectually

[1] Note of December 22. *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 744. Adams, *Memoirs*, III. 122.

[2] *Ib.*, 745.

to guard against any partial Ratification of the Treaty by the President of the United States.

We trust we shall appear to H. M's Government to have complied with the tenour of our instructions on this point.

An objection was made and dwelt upon by the American Plenipotentiaries to that part of the third Article, stipulating for the payment in specie of the advances for the maintenance of Prisoners of War, on the ground of its imposing on the United States an unnecessary burthen, and of its requiring a mode of payment different from that, in which by much the larger part of the advances had been made. We however thought it necessary to insist on retaining the original words, and after some discussion their objections were withdrawn.[1]

We again endeavoured at this Conference to obtain from the American Plenipotentiaries an acquiescence in the Article, which we had before proposed, relative to Suitors in Courts of Justice. They persisted in considering the stipulation as useless to Great Britain, and added that, as it was matter of greater notoriety that her Courts were open to the Suitors of all nations than those of the United States, their acquiescence in such an Article might be construed as implying, that without it the Subjects of Great Britain would be unable to prosecute Suits in the Courts of the United States. We were at length compelled to abandon the proposed Article. We have etc.

GAMBIER.
HENRY GOULBURN.
WILLIAM ADAMS.

[Recd. Dec. 26.]

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. RHODES, STANWOOD, BOWDITCH and J. C. WARREN.

[1] See *Proceedings*, XLIV. 312.

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston

Don Gleason Hill

MEMOIR

OF

DON GLEASON HILL.

By JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Don Gleason Hill was elected a Resident Member of the Society on February 9, 1905, chiefly for his distinction in the field of local history. While this election came near the prime of his life, when there was hope that the Society might have the advantage of his knowledge and ripe experience, he soon found his usefulness greatly limited by ill health and the consequent gradual retirement from active service. He highly valued his membership, and deeply regretted his inability to be a working member; but his ambitious years of unremitting toil had told upon his vitality.

Mr. Hill's boyhood home was in the quiet farming region of West Medway, Massachusetts, where he was born on July 12, 1847, the second of four sons of George and Sylvia (Grout) Hill. He counted among his ancestors many of the early settlers of Massachusetts, and he inherited a good share of their sturdy and patriotic qualities. The devout influences of home, his usual round of youthful duties and his education in the common schools of his native town, were among his early advantages. Then aroused to the need of a higher education he assiduously applied himself in assisting his father at the carpenter's trade to secure the necessary means to acquire it. He was fitted for college at Wesleyan Academy, at Wilbraham, Mass., and in 1865 entered Amherst College. Two years were spent there; and the following year he taught school at Barre, Vermont, and in May, 1870, he was graduated from the Law School of the University of New York, with the degree of Bachelor of Laws. Amherst College in 1894 conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

Mr. Hill was admitted to the bar of New York State in 1870, and soon returned to Medway to be a student in the office of Charles H. Deans. Taking the advice of Mr. Deans, after a short time with him, he entered the law office of Waldo Colburn, at Dedham, in June, 1871; and in the following September he was admitted to the bar of Norfolk County. When Mr. Colburn was appointed a justice of the Superior Court in June, 1875, a large part of his practice was taken by Mr. Hill, who early began to give special attention to probate law and conveyancing. In these branches of legal practice he became an authority, and his advice was often sought and highly valued. He prized his membership in The Abstract Club, of Boston, of which he was one of the early members; and his thirty or more years with his associates resulted in mutual help and confidence in the examination of titles and the practice of real estate law. When there was a vacancy in the position of Judge of Probate of Norfolk County, upon the death of Judge White, Mr. Hill was strongly recommended to Governor Wolcott for appointment.

Out of Mr. Hill's absorbing interest in his professional work grew his intense liking for all that pertained to the history of his adopted town and to its civic progress. His service as town clerk for more than thirty years, until his final illness, won for him the esteem and confidence of his townspeople. Many moderators were guided over difficult places by his tactful and wise advice. He was one of the pioneers in urging the preservation and printing of vital and town records; and through the ready appropriations made by the Town of Dedham for the purpose he printed eight volumes of such records, covering the years from 1635 to 1890, including the town records proper from 1636 to 1706 in three volumes. He found time to serve the town as selectman for seven years; was for a long time one of the Registrars of Voters; and for fifteen years, until his death, a member of the School Committee. His service to the town was remarkable, for he filled in long periods all the principal offices in its gift. The Dedham Institution for Savings owed much to him as its attorney for nearly forty years; for thirty years of which he was one of its trustees, and a shorter period a member of its committee of investment. At the time of his death he was the senior director

of the Dedham Mutual Fire Insurance Company, having been chosen a director in 1886. He was a devoted member and attendant of the Congregational Church, for many years one of its deacons, and worked constantly for its best welfare.

Mr. Hill's greatest pleasure was his labor of love for the Dedham Historical Society. From the beginning of his membership in September, 1880, he devoted his best efforts during the moments caught up out of his busy life. The Society was then without a building and held its meetings in the Court House. Six years later, at the time of the 250th anniversary of Dedham, he announced the handsome bequest of Miss Hannah Shuttleworth to the Society, the public Library, and to the Town, for which these institutions are greatly indebted for his wise suggestions and counsel. The Historical Society profited by its legacy of a substantial sum and a lot of land, in the erection of a building, which was completed in December, 1887, and opened with a notable exhibition of historical relics on January 25, 1888. During the following eighteen years, as President of the Society, Mr. Hill gave much of his valuable time toward gathering its library of several thousand volumes, and in making its monthly meetings a greater attraction and service. He was a trustee of the Dedham Public Library for nineteen years, and chairman of the Trustees of the Shuttleworth Fund of the Town from the acceptance of the legacy until his death on February 20, 1914.

His busy professional life, his active interest in local affairs and his natural shrinking from publicity combined to restrain him from taking a hand in the work of the societies that sought his membership. He found time, however, to work in a quiet way with the New England Historic Genealogical Society, to which he was admitted on April 5, 1881, serving on its Council from 1893 to 1896, for a short time on its Committee on Memorials, and on its Committee of Publication from 1900 to 1910; though in his last years unable to give that Society more than the use of his name. He was also a member of the American Antiquarian Society and of the American Historical Association.

Besides his occasional addresses before the Dedham Historical Society he gave the address at the unveiling of the bronze tablet, on June 17, 1898, erected by the Common-

wealth of Massachusetts to commemorate the establishment by the inhabitants of the town of Dedham in town meeting assembled on January 1, 1644–45, of a free public school to be maintained by general taxation. Mr. Hill was always strenuous in his support of Dedham's claim that the town established the first free public school in the true meaning of the words. The *National Magazine*, for June, 1892, contained an illustrated paper of his on "The Record of a New England Town from the Passage of the Stamp Act to the Declaration of Independence, 1765–1776."

He was passionately fond of reading, and had gathered a large library relating to the Bible and religion, the drama, American history, travel, and art, which was also rich in writings of the earlier English poets, in books of reference and a goodly number of volumes for children's reading.

This brief outline of sober facts shows a life of varied interests, and points to his years of intense physical and mental activity. Yet his kindly nature and his warm interest in those about him led to many lasting friendships. His untiring devotion to his church and his great love for his home circle were among the two controlling forces of his life.

Mr. Hill married on December 26, 1876, Carrie Louisa, daughter of David Wing Luce and Caroline Elizabeth, of Dedham, who with four daughters and two sons survives him.

JANUARY MEETING, 1915.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting; and mentioned among the gifts a letter written by Ben: Perley Poore at Washington on March 15, 1863, to Charles E. Davis, Jr., from the widow of Mr. Davis.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts of the following:

A painting of Daniel Webster by Alvan Clark in 1846, from a daguerreotype, and a wooden urn made from the frigate *Constitution* by Lucius Manlius Sargent, and given by him on December 19, 1834, to Henry Codman, by Mr. Codman's granddaughter, Miss Martha C. Codman; an engraving of William Augustine Washington, by Mr. Ford; a bronze medal of the Omar Khayyam Club of America, struck in 1909 to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Edward Fitzgerald, by Walter Gilman Page; a gold medal "Presented by a number of Citizens of Norfolk County to Simeon Miller, as a token of their esteem for his Firmness in the Republican Cause, 1804," by exchange; a photograph of the portrait of Otis Norcross (1785–1827) by Chester Harding, and a photograph of the painting of George Lane (1788–1849) by John Rand, by Mr. Norcross; an album containing 199 photographs of public men and women of Great Britain, France and Italy (1860–1865), by Mrs. Thomas R. Watson, of Plymouth; six misstruck half-dollars, taken in the course of business in San Francisco, by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis; and twenty-seven medals, by gift and exchange.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a let-

ter from Ellery Sedgwick accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the gift from Mr. Norcross, of one hundred and thirty-four letters and notes of Edward Everett, chiefly written to John T. Austin and Gales and Seaton; from Mr. C. P. Greenough, of a number of Massachusetts and French documents, the former coming from the papers of Governor Increase Sumner; and from Dr. Loring W. Puffer, additional Baylies papers and letters from Rev. Zachary Eddy.

The memoir of William Endicott, prepared by Mr. RANTOUL, was presented.

William Crowninshield Endicott, of Danvers, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. DAVIS made the following statement:

At the February meeting of this Society in 1863, Robert C. Winthrop, the President of the Society, submitted for inspection, what I conceive to be an enlarged pen-and-ink sketch of one of the Colony notes.[1] Mr. Winthrop, however, described it as being actually a note emitted by the Colony. It was found by him among the Winthrop papers. At that time there were no specimens of these notes in any of our museums, and it was not known that the emissions made by the Colony were about one quarter of the size of the pen-and-ink drawing submitted by Mr. Winthrop, nor was it understood that the legislative committee having the emission of the Colonial notes in charge were instructed to have the notes printed from copper plates. Mr. Winthrop evidently felt that the authenticity of what he concluded to be a note might be questioned, and called attention to some particulars which might raise doubts, but on the whole concluded that it was a genuine note.

Mr. Winsor, in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, when dealing with this Colonial paper currency, with full knowledge that the Colony notes were ordered to be printed from copper plates, gives a quasi-endorsement to the authenticity as a note of this drawing, saying that "some of the issues were written with a pen."

Thus the matter remained until June, 1899, when I made a

[1] It is reproduced in 1 *Proceedings*, VI. 428.

communication to this Society, refuting the proposition that this pen-and-ink sketch was a note, and pointing out various reasons why in my opinion this position could not be maintained. At the same time I showed the meaning of the presence of the name of the Province Treasurer on the back of the note and the reason for the presence there of a new number, circumstances which had puzzled Mr. Winthrop but which did not enter absolutely into the question of the genuineness of the document.[1]

Mr. Abner C. Goodell, who was present at the meeting, took exceptions to what I said and made an elaborate argument in defence of the proposition that the document was a genuine note, combating even my explanation of the presence of the name of the Province Treasurer on the back of the sketch.

The discussion, so far as Mr. Goodell and myself were concerned, was necessarily based, as regards certain points, upon the lithographic facsimile of the original sketch, to be found in the volume of our Proceedings which contains the record of the meeting of June, 1899, the original document not having been deposited with us by Mr. Winthrop. In August of that year I received from Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., the accompanying letter. At a later date he submitted to me the original sketch, which was in October given to the Society. Mr. Winthrop says in his letter that he does not wish to have his opinion quoted, as he does not wish to enter into any contest with Mr. Goodell. Since both Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Goodell are dead, I feel that I have a right to file this letter, in which my conclusions are so fully corroborated, in the archives of the Society. My original opinion was never shaken by Mr. Goodell's arguments, but his high standing as an authority on provincial affairs justifies my seeking for support where I can find it.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, JR., TO ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

10 Walnut Street, Aug. 26, [18]99.

DEAR MR. DAVIS, — The missing "bill" has at last turned up and whenever I hear from you that you have returned to Cambridge, I will mail it to you. You can then keep it as long as you wish and then turn it over to the Library of the Mass. Hist. Soc.

If I had been in this country when my father communicated it,

[1] 2 Proceedings, XIII. 142.

in 1863, I should have urged him to make a much more "hesitant endorsement" of its genuineness. His studies had never led him in the direction of Provincial Currency — he relied, as you point out, too much upon Felt as an authority — and in all antiquarian matters connected with N. E., he attached great importance to the opinion of Charles Deane and other friends, who inclined to believe in this bill. None of them, however, were at all familiar with the habits or handwriting of my great-great-grandfather, John Winthrop, F.R.S., whose early letters and papers I have studied. He was then what would be called a Scribbler and a *mouser*, jotting down all sorts of memoranda. My belief is that, for his own amusement, he copied a genuine bill, on a larger scale, imitating the signatures, and subsequently placed it between the leaves of a Commonplace book, where it seems to have remained unnoticed for a century and a half. The idea that, after this long interval, it would bamboozle a learned Society, would, I think, have greatly entertained him, for he was not averse to a joke in his youth, tho' he grew very peevish in his old age.

I am wholly unable to accept Mr. Goodell's theory that the signatures are genuine and that the bill is a duplicate. I see the handwriting of my great-great-grandfather running all through it. The words "Come over and help us," under the seal, are *unmistakably* his penmanship, and so are the words "Massachusetts Bay" on the back. At the same time, I recognize the high authority of Mr. Goodell and do not wish to be publicly quoted in opposition to him; but my private opinion remains that this bill was a practical joke — not a deliberate forgery — that the signatures were successfully imitated for the amusement of the writer, and that you have successfully unearthed a mare's nest. Yours very truly,

R. C. WINTHROP, JR.

Dr. DENORMANDIE read a paper on

NIETZSCHE AND THE DOCTRINE OF FORCE.

For the last fifty years, with an ever increasing impetus, the principal nations of Europe have been emphasizing the doctrine of force as the only means of preserving or enlarging their dominion. Everything that helps the triumph of force is moral and to be commended, and everything that hinders such triumph is immoral. Out of this doctrine have come the vast armaments and armies, the new devices for destruction beneath the waves or above the earth.

When this became the sole aim of governments, of course

there would arise so-called philosophers and theologians and historians who would give all their thought and ability to the support and spread of the doctrine, because as a rule these are generally creatures of the *zeitgeist*, it is rarely one rises above the *zeitgeist*, and creates a new and higher and nobler spirit of the age.

So far as the German Empire is concerned, many writers claim that two philosophers may be held as almost entirely responsible for the Empire's belief in force, the arousing of the warlike spirit and the justification of every brutality war carries with it. This is attributing too much to these two writers. The imperial desire for aggrandizement, for more room for the rapidly increasing nation, was the controlling idea, to which philosophy and theology began to lend their support. Still more absurd is the idea that beneath all was any great conflict of profound philosophical or religious systems. The imperial spirit was born of pure covetousness, and philosophers and theologians were soon developed to bask in royal favor; and thereafter it was hard to distinguish between cause and effect.

The two writers to whom this transcendent influence has generally been attributed are Treitschke and Nietzsche. Treitschke was a favorite in the imperial parliament, and in some mysterious and unaccountable way joined to his doctrine of force a tinge of Christian morality. He thought it was entirely excusable in war to break all treaties and for the stronger power to take whatever it wanted, but still denounced some methods of warfare which have now been used and defended and praised by the Empire — but if he were alive would doubtless countenance them all, as a logical issue of his doctrine of the sovereign power of the state and the benefit of war; and the mission of Germany.

I want to speak, however, of Nietzsche because I agree with those who think his following and influence have been greater and because his character is more in keeping with the tone of civilization in the Empire to-day.

One need not spend much time upon his philosophy. It is so easy to mark the moral poison which permeates it; and he never hesitated to carry it all to its baneful issue. He wants the Superman — the man who is representative of

power, of force, who knows no limitations of bodily weakness, no ailments, no disease; the fighting man, the man of superb physical development. There is much that is attractive in that. We like to see a strong, vigorous, well man, and there are times, emergencies in life, when we need and praise one who like Talus with his iron flail goes crushing over the evil-doers, or even the amenities, and sympathies, and false barriers, over all obstacles, and just sweeps them all away; but mere physical strength, or beauty, very rarely carries with it any of the qualities of intellect, or heart, or soul we do like better. Socrates was said to have been a sad spectacle, something like a monkey, but his morals and life have been a wonderful help down to the present day. St. Paul had a contemptible bodily presence and a weak and feeble voice, but his words have had a better influence over the world than the whole German Empire, and his praise of love, or his oration on Mars Hill, will go resounding through centuries when Germany is forgotten.

> Oh it is excellent
> To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant.

Yet that is what a giant man or giant empire is most likely to do.

The Superman is to be the man who loves war and detests peace. "Ye shall have peace, as means to new war, and the short peace more than the long. I advise you not to work, but to fight." "You say it is the good cause which halloweth war, I say unto you it is the good war which halloweth every cause." "War and courage have done more good things than charity." "It is far pleasanter to injure and afterwards to beg forgiveness, than to be injured and grant forgiveness." Nietzsche's theory is a direct inheritance of the story in ecclesiastical history of early Germany, that they would have nothing to do with Christianity as the monks and missionaries portrayed Jesus and the Apostles, for they regarded them all as a faint-hearted set; but when the clergy acquired military habits, and circulated legends of brave and fighting saints, then they began to accept it; or an inheritance from Attila, the scourge of the world, whom the Kaiser has set before his soldiers, in loud acclaim, as the hero they should follow.

Yes, of course, all hail to the fine physical man or woman! Then look all through history, look at human life as you have known it, and how many, seriously weighted in the race of life, with every kind of physical limitations, have gained more glorious victories than war has ever told of? Think how many of the greatest and most brilliant minds have shone beneath every physical disability, prisoners long of sickness and infirmity, their visible world within four narrow walls, but the greatness of whose spirits filled the air of the whole arching heavens, and rayed out an influence more helpful to the world than if the realm of Germany were crowded with Nietzsche's Superman. Some Pascal, or Robert Hall, or Buckminster, or Channing, or Mrs. Browning, or Mozart, or Raffaelle, or Robertson, or Paul, with his ever-present wearying thorn, alas, that such should have their bonds of the flesh — "the sweet bells of their spirit life, jangled and out of tune," or falling away as the world seems to miss them most! Oh! says Nietzsche, destroy all such as fast as you can; never help, but kill all who have any physical ailments; let only the great fighting warrior live.

As a logical deduction from his theory of the Superman, Nietzsche turns to a bitter denunciation of Christianity and all the teachings of its founder. Everything about Christianity is false and worthless — the weak, the poor, taking up your cross; the pure in spirit, the good Samaritan — the weak and helpless must go to the wall, first principle of our love for humanity, and we must help them to go. "Pity for the weak and helpless, that is Christianity, and it must perish." "God as Father, as Judge, as Rewarder, is thoroughly refuted." "The ungodliest utterance came from God himself, the utterance there is but one God, and thou shalt have no other Gods before me." He speaks of the parody of the opening sentence of John's Gospel as the best he ever heard, "In the beginning was the nonsense, and the nonsense was with God, and the nonsense was God."

Just as we hear of deep movements throughout the world in favor of democracy, even if we have poorly learned yet of its mighty truth and meaning and promise, Nietzsche, regarding it as an outcome of Christianity, has words of only detestation for it all. "The spirit which has won its freedom, tramples

ruthlessly upon that contemptible kind of comfort which tea-grocers, Christians, cows, women, English, and other democrats worship in their dreams." "Where the populace eat, drink, and even where they reverence, it usually stinks, one should not go into churches, if one wishes to breathe pure air." "Every elevation of the type man has been the work of Aristocracy, and so it must always be, a long scale of gradations, requiring slavery at the foundation." "Every one to be allowed to learn to read, ruineth in the long run, not only writing but also thinking."

One may be excused for commending Nietzsche's philosophy of force, because he admires physical vigor; and of war, because there come times when for a higher cause (although a nation easily convinces itself it is fighting for the higher when it is purely for aggrandizement, for covetousness, for accursed ambition) a man will take his life in his hand as of very little moment; and of Christianity because there are millions everywhere who profoundly believe that Christianity as Nietzsche understood it has entirely failed; and of Democracy, because in our land, where it is having its last and best trial, it has not realized all its promised benefits — but there is another subject which Nietzsche logically follows from the doctrine of force, and that is the weakness of woman, and upon this he dwells constantly and in terms which reveal his own utter moral degradation.

"Surface is woman's soul, a mobile, stormy film on shallow water, but woman is not even shallow." "Woman is mean, essentially unbearable like the cat." "Her great art is falsehood." "Love to one woman is a barbarity; also love to one God." "When woman possesses masculine qualities she is enough to make you run away; when she possesses no masculine virtues she herself runs away." "Man shall be trained for the warrior, and woman for the recreation of the warrior: all else is folly." "Some husbands have sighed over the elopement of their wives; the greater number however sighed because nobody would elope with theirs." "Everything in woman hath but one solution, that is called pregnancy." "When a woman has any scholarly inclinations there is generally something wrong with her sexual nature."

And had this bastard philosopher grown so wise that he de-

spised his mother? One day in college a pupil was speaking of an instance in history where a woman was leader in some atrocities, and another, interrupting, said, "That was n't so." "Why not?" "Because a woman never does such things." Horace Mann paused a moment and then said with much emphasis, "The remark of that student is a strong testimony that he has a beautiful mother, and from her life, he thinks no woman could do a mean thing." Had Nietzsche no mother? His father was a clergyman and he may have learnt from him his abhorrence of Christianity; and he had a divorced sister who, after his insanity became marked, watched over him with tender care — but did he never know a mother's love or devotion? If he did and then could say woman is mean, he must have had a debased heart. Surely he never could have known or associated with any women who were not low, worldly, sensual, devilish. Any woman of a fine nature would have shrunk from his touch as from a leper, and from the glance of his eye as from the glare of a basilisk. Contrast the last words of that master-mind, Faust, at the age of eighty, that the elevation of man is dependent upon woman: "That the Ever Feminine draweth us on." Valor and heroism have still their work to perform in the world, but they will find their strongest encouragement in the true womanly.

And now it would seem as if the Empire were ashamed of the emphasis that has been placed upon force, and as if conscious of the condemnation of the world this philosopher of force, who has been said to have had more influence than any other man, in bringing the Empire to its present condition, is being repudiated and denounced everywhere, and professors, historians, philosophers and clergymen join in one torrent of falsehood, to show that the whole conduct of the Empire has always been opposed to force and to war and of all lands has been foremost in obeying the precepts of Christianity, and if "thine enemy smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also." "Nietzsche," says one, "was no philosopher, and had no system — besides he was insane."

Rudolph Eucken, who has been loudly praised and eagerly taken up by many of late, says, "We have never believed in anything but peaceful development." "We would never think of forcing our civilization upon others at the point of the

sword." Karl Lamprecht says, "Aggressive warfare, in the sense of preventive war, has never been our ideal."

Hans Delbrueck, professor of history in the University of Berlin, says, "Every German would reject as an insult the question whether cruelty and hardness against others is permissible in the name of progress." Another says, "Treitschke and his school bear very little influence. Von Bernhardi is known by name to but a small circle of readers" (and I suppose he would add that Nietzsche is too unknown to be taken into account); but, he says, "No living representative of German thought but would consider a war entered into for the sole purpose of conquest an act of wantonness against humanity."

Haeckel says, "German idealism of the present day excludes cruelty and hardness, *in contrast to the English.*"

Another, "The policy of the German Government has never been to make special preparation for this war, nor for any aggressive war."

It looks as if there must have been some solemn conclave where it was agreed to see how the rest of the world could be made to accept statements entirely contrary to all the facts.

> Ev'n ministers, they ha'e been kenn'd,
> In holy rapture,
> A rousing whid at times to rend,
> And nail 't wi' Scripture.

No, the true Superman is not the man merely of splendid physical parts, but it is the *whole* man under the best development of body, mind and spirit.

Mr. STANLEY HALL followed, saying:

Mr. DeNormandie's sketch of the teachings and influence of Nietzsche raises to my mind a profound and far-reaching historical question. There can be no doubt that in Germany a sense of her superiority over other nations has had a very long incubation and that all her leaders have long felt that she was Nietzsche's overman among the nations of the earth. To the earliest and frankest expression of this sentiment, so far as I know, our President has lately called attention [1] by quoting a statement from Mommsen's *History of Rome* (book v, chap. viii) which was written some sixty years ago, twelve years

[1] *The Monroe Doctrine and Mommsen's Law*, 28.

before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The statement is as follows:

> By virtue of the law, that a people which has grown into a state absorbs its neighbors who are in political nonage, and a civilized people absorbs its neighbors who are in intellectual nonage, — by virtue of this law, which is as universally valid and as much a law of nature as the law of gravity, — the Italian nation (the only one in antiquity which was able to combine a superior political development and a superior civilization, though it presented the latter only in an imperfect and external manner) was entitled to reduce to subjection the Greek states of the East which were ripe for destruction, and to dispossess the peoples of lower grades of culture in the West — Libyans, Iberians, Celts, Germans — by means of its settlers; just as England with equal right has in Asia reduced to subjection a civilization of rival standing but politically impotent, and in America and Australia has marked and ennobled, and still continues to mark and ennoble, extensive barbarian countries with the impress of its nationality. . . . It is the imperishable glory of the Roman democracy or monarchy — for the two coincide — to have correctly apprehended and vigorously realized this its highest destination.

This startling avowal of the right of might which goes vastly beyond all the theories that prompted the Monroe Doctrine, really formulated by J. Q. Adams sixty-eight years ago, and all "big brother" theories, antedates and perhaps was the very first expression of the theory of Teutonic superiority, manifest destiny, etc., which Nietzsche and others since in his spirit have expressed in many ways and in many fields of thought. It seems to me that to understand the deeper causes of the present stupendous war we must begin with a correct evaluation of the spirit and temper of Germany, and that at present this is inadequately appreciated, in this country or indeed in any of the countries with which she is at war. Far be it from me to say that Nietzsche expresses the soul of the German race or even the spirit of the General Staff, but it is inevitable in the present crisis that judicious observers who are familiar with the intellectual life of Germany since the war of 1870, should be impressed with the enormous vogue that the doctrines of Nietzsche have had, and their profound and very widely ramifying influences upon German literature and

humanistic culture, an influence which no other German writer, with one exception, ever attained. It seemed to me, therefore, that a very brief and impartial statement of present-day contemporary expressions of the spirit which prompted Mommsen's utterance so long ago, may have some interest and value to this society, inadequate though that statement be.

Many years ago Karl Rosenkranz wrote a book to show that Hegel was "the" national philosopher of Germany; and so he was in his day, for his influence dominated not only every department of learning but the official bureaucracy itself to a degree perhaps never seen elsewhere. The question Mr. De Normandie's paper raises is whether Nietzsche expresses the soul of the German people to-day. He has certainly had an enormous vogue since his death, especially among the intellectuals, young and old, including the officers of the General Staff. How much he expresses the national spirit and how much he has made or shaped it, can perhaps never be told. The dominant trait that characterizes all the so-called periods of his development, and even his insanity, is his worship of power. Personally modest as he was, his conceit was colossal. He said that in his *Zarathustra*, the overman, he had given Germany its greatest book, and he elsewhere declares himself the culmination of a long line of predecessors, Moses, Jesus, Mahomet, Borgia, Cromwell, Napoleon and others. He holds that man to-day is only a link, which ought soon to be a missing one, between the primitive cave-dwellers and the superman which he created in his own image and put in the place of God, who he declared was dead. Indeed, God never existed, and his invention was a trick on the devil's part. He calls upon the élite to rise above the herd of common men, to assert and maximize himself, and in Stirner's sense to do, be, get everything within his power. Might not only makes but is right. Good and bad, the traits of which are always changing, really mean at bottom noble and ignoble. Good is what great and strong men do, and bad is what the weak do. All have the right to all they can possibly get and hold. Pity is folly, for it adds my pain to that of him I pity. Regret is wastage, for there is no freedom of the will, and all act only as they must. There is no blame or responsibility, for each does only what he has to do. The weak are not only miserable but contemptible, and if they

are robbed or enslaved, their rôle is resignation. Our present-day morality is antiquated, and high-born, lordly souls have transcended it. The sense of sin is a poison which the strong insert into the minds of the weak to make them uncertain and submissive. War is the great awakener of all true Dionysiac energies and the greatest need of Europe is a colossal war. Human history is for the most part oppressive, for it binds man down to the past by its precedents, makes him timid, and saps the reckless abandon with which he should act. Most of the past is fit only to be forgotten. The greatest dread of man is inferiority, and the chief mainspring of action is ambition to excel others. If in pushing ourselves on and up towards the overman we completely change our opinions to the opposite, as we are sure to do if we grow, this is nothing but moulting a carapace that we may grow the faster, or in a sense it is only washing off accumulated uncleanness. Growth is inconsistency. Systems bind us down because in them one idea is limited by another. This is why Nietzsche hated Socrates and Plato as arresters of progress. All that is bad is servile and plebeian, and all that is good is aristocratic. The virile male is not only progressive but aggressive, and would be a Titan. Mere knowledge or education is only a paltry device of the peasant classes to make themselves seem worthy of respect, and Jesus was a bastard decadent who led a revolt of the *sans-culotte*, of men who were born to be poor and mean in spirit, to overthrow the grand Roman Empire, and as a result the dark ages came. It is almost impossible to express the philosophy of all his half-score volumes in a few phrases, but these ideas are stated with a style more brilliant and attractive than even Schopenhauer could command, and never, perhaps, was a fresh view of the universe put in such popular form, with so many fairly stinging and epigrammatic phrases, many of which once read can never be forgotten. To be sure, he vituperated Germans, but declared that more of that race than of any other were on the way to over-manhood. His views, at any rate, have profoundly permeated young Germany, and he has touched nearly every aspect of modern life and culture.

Does Germany really deem itself the overman, with right to everything it can obtain and hold? Is this the spirit of Bernhardi, of the German war-lords, and diplomacy, despite

the vigorous denials of this suggestion that have lately been put forth? I wonder if, after all, this will not be the main question in the assize of history. An eminent German has told us that this is the spirit of modern business and that it really dominates life everywhere, and that those who doubt it are either hypocrites or self-deceived. This colossal war, which it will take the world decades to understand, is particularly hard upon the many people in this country who have been more or less, like myself, "made in Germany," and owe so much to her and a large part of whose teaching has been the dissemination of German intellectual wares. As a student and war correspondent in Germany in 1870, I cannot believe that this spirit was dominant then, but there have been many expressions of it since which may well give us pause, with which unless the historian reckons he will be as densely ignorant of the soul of the German race as England has always been and still is.

In Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, which was praised by the Kaiser, we are told in substance that the future development of the world will be made in Germany. Not Jews or Greeks but the Germans, which combine the best traits of these races with the military genius of Rome, are the elect. History so far is only prolegomena. It will really begin when Germany seizes her inheritance, for German means Celt and Slav as well as Teuton, so that Chamberlain intimates that Dante, Paul, Assisi and Pascal were Germans. Certainly this book has been taken with great seriousness, as the many German reviews of it when it appeared have abundantly shown.

Count Gobineau, although a Frenchman by birth, was one of the greatest laudators of the Aryan race, who he said were as superior to the whites as the whites were to the blacks, and so he attempts to weigh the ten types of culture that he finds, insists that the best of the white races are more or less Teutonic, and would reserve for them special privileges and have them feel that they are charged with the responsibilities for the rest of the world. They should rule by right of birth, and in his later life he retired with pride and renunciation to a sense of his own superiority and strove to write a culture history "in the largest style" and pronounced the Germans "the highest bloom of world-historical development." Since his works were translated into German by Schemann they have had a great vogue.

Woltmann in his two books proves to his satisfaction and to that of many Germans that most of the immortals in France, England and Italy, both present and past, were really Germans. For this anthropologist all who are dolichocephalic or have blonde hair or blue eyes and do not belong to the Mediterranean race must be German, and so he proves that Michel Angelo, Da Vinci, Raphael and many others are really Germans.

J. L. Reimer says Jesus was a German, for the first syllable, "Jes," means "Ger," and the last, "us," means simply male, so we have Jesus, — Ger-man. One cannot believe that the Germans are megalomaniacs enough to accept such extravagant views, earnestly as they are put forth. At the same time, there is an intense personal or self-feeling which is peculiar to the Germans, in whom honor is as liable to become an obsession as duty is with a born and bred Puritan. For instance, a recent writer collects fifty-three German words of which *Ehre* (honor) is a component, and in a Heidelberg corps-book there were sixty-three points on which a student might be declared dishonorable and have to face his insulter with a sword on the *Mensur*. German society is relatively almost entirely lacking in public opinion, and its press has little of the independence of ours. German society, especially in Prussianized Germany, is perhaps more stratified into ranks and classes than any other society in the world, for in Russia there are great gaps between the common people and the nobility, which are well filled with many gradations in Germany. Rank in the army is used as the yardstick on which to measure ranks of office-holders, members of professions, including academic positions, and everything else is governed by precedent, the member of each grade being domineering over the next below and a little inclined to obsequiousness to the rank above his own. This is something which has a deep historical and even hereditary root, but the influence and pervasiveness of the spirit which it represents are very hard for us to grasp.

Some have even questioned whether Germany ought to be called a Christian nation, whether the God the Kaiser worships is not really a tribal deity, a Thor modernized, with the mailed fist instead of the hammer. The Germans were converted only in the thirteenth century. Luther early threw off the yoke of Rome, and then came the rational, critical Tübingen scholars

like Bauer and Strauss, reducing much of Christian record to myth; and now we have men like Arthur Drews and his disciples teaching with great earnestness that no such man as Jesus ever lived, but that he was a half-conscious, half-unconscious fabrication of the middle of the first century, while Jensen makes him a restoration of an old Babylonian epic hero, Gilgamesh, and Nietzsche, with half a dozen others, insists that he was morbid and degenerate, a victim of delusions and perhaps epilepsy, and an utterly unworthy ideal. But no one has ever come so near exhausting the possibilities of vituperation in a way that to all Christians must seem sacrilegious and blasphemous to the last degree as Nietzsche. Wagner, and perhaps still more, some of his followers, felt that in the interests of high art which ought to become religion there must be a reversion to the German legends of Siegfried and the rest, and his "Parsifal" was offered in some sense as a rival to Jesus, while he is credited with the slogan, "*Das Deutschenthum musst das Christenthum siegen.*"

Of course war at the best is a reversion to barbarism, and it has to be more or less pitiless, but it surely was bad international diplomacy for Germany to reduce so many Belgians to a state of beggary because who, all over the world, that contributes to the relief of their suffering, does so with entire good will to the Germans? Pfister has lately given us a kind of psychology of war which he believes to be occasionally an indispensable necessity like the restoration and realization of childish ideals, and apparently holds with Otto Hintze that we stand at the beginning of an epoch of war, whether this one lasts a longer or shorter time. We have become over-refined and have to revert to savagery in the sense that Rousseau and Tolstoi and the "Mother Earth" movement reverted to the simple life again. In my student days I used to hear Treitschke preach the glory of the Germans and the infamy and duplicity of England, and his spirit seems to me revived in a recent address of my old teacher, Professor Wundt, of Leipzig, a very eminent man, now in the eighties, who, after condemning England for being completely given over to the utilitarianism of Bentham, who he thinks the evil genius of England, as others think Nietzsche is of Germany, declares that when Germany conquers England, as she surely will, she will levy no

such paltry sum as a thousand million dollars, as she did on France, in 1871, but will remember the Scriptural injunction, "To whom much is given, of him will much be required." Germany is unquestionably in very many respects the most remarkable country in the world to-day. Method and system are her watchwords, in science, government, education, and war. The barrier of language has unquestionably made her misunderstood, and she deeply feels, and with justice, a lack of due appreciation on the part of the other nations of western Europe and the world. She feels that her superiority justifies the conquest of a larger place in the sun. In the great final scramble for colonies that culminated in the middle or later nineties of the last century, when about all the available land in the world was appropriated, she was relatively left out, and now in her conquest of Belgium she probably has an eye quite as much or even more to the Congo Basin than to the acquisition of Belgium itself. At any rate, her present conduct of this war has given her friends in other lands and I think particularly in this country, where she has so many who have lit their intellectual torch in the fire she kindled, a grave problem to solve. The souls of some of us are almost cleft in twain between love of the peaceful Germany we have known and the ruthless, aggressive Germany under the dominance of the warlords.

Perhaps never was history being made so fast, day by day, and perhaps the task of the historians of the past will appear puny compared to that of those who are to do justice to the events of these days. A new Europe may emerge, and civilization start off at a new angle and a new era begin. The impartial judgment of intelligent public opinion in this country will be and probably is nearest to that of the judicial historian of the future. Again, if the Orient is destined some day to rival the West, it would seem that this set-back of Europe will hasten for our posterity that era of competition. Perhaps England was lagging and needed this great but rude awakening. Once more, perhaps it will turn out to be at bottom a war of democracy versus autocracy, despite the accident that Russia and England chance now to be on the same side. We realize to-day as never before how full Europe is of old racial and national antagonisms. From the crusades and long before, Europe has

accumulated masses of ancient enmities, jealousies, hates, prejudices, and transmitted them from generation to generation, and this war will only add to this heritage of animosities. Here, however, we have no old chimneys, always liable to conflagration. America is a *tabula rasa*, or to change the figure, the smelting-pot is doing its work, and the representatives of each of these warring forces can have a hearing and agree to differ. It is a proud thing that we can and are teaching this war in about three-fourths of the public schools of the land, not only connecting it with geography, history, economics and other branches, but what is far more important, bringing home to the minds of the rising generation a realization of the horrors of war and the blessings of peace, and inculcating the spirit of toleration. Never have we thus had such reason to be proud of our country.

Mr. WASHBURN read a minute on

THE COPYRIGHT LAW OF 1909.

It is not my purpose to consider in detail the Copyright Law of 1909, but rather to relate the circumstances within my personal knowledge under which it became a law.

While the subject had been under consideration for many years and various acts had been passed, it had been found impossible so to harmonize conflicting interests as to get satisfactory legislation.

On January 27, 1905, the Senate chairman of the Committee on Patents announced in Senate Report 3380 that the Committee on Patents purposed to "attempt a codification of the copyright laws at the next session of the Congress;" the Librarian of Congress was asked to call a conference of the several classes interested in the codification, which he did, and meetings were held in New York in May, June and November, 1905.

In his message of December 5, 1905, President Roosevelt said:

> Our copyright laws urgently need revision. They are imperfect in definition, confused and inconsistent in expression; they omit provision for many articles which, under modern reproductive processes, are entitled to protection; they impose hardships upon

the copyright proprietor which are not essential to the fair protection of the public; they are difficult for the courts to interpret and impossible for the Copyright Office to administer with satisfaction to the public. Attempts to improve them by amendment have been frequent, no less than twelve acts for the purpose having been passed since the Revised Statutes. To perfect them by further amendment seems impracticable. A complete revision of them is essential. Such a revision, to meet modern conditions, has been found necessary in Germany, Austria, Sweden and other foreign countries, and bills embodying it are pending in England and the Australian colonies. It has been urged here, and proposals for a commission to undertake it have, from time to time, been pressed upon the Congress. The inconveniences of the present conditions being so great, an attempt to frame appropriate legislation has been made by the Copyright Office, which has called conferences of the various interests especially and practically concerned with the operation of the copyright laws. It has secured from them suggestions as to the changes necessary; it has added from its own experience and investigations, and it has drafted a bill which embodies such of these changes and additions as, after full discussion and expert criticism, appeared to be sound and safe. In form this bill would replace the existing insufficient and inconsistent laws by one general copyright statute. It will be presented to the Congress at the coming session. It deserves prompt consideration.

Conferences were resumed in March, 1906, successive drafts of bills were considered and a final draft which became the basis of the bill "to amend and consolidate the acts respecting copyright" was introduced both in the Senate and in the House on May 31, 1906. It was then arranged that the Senate and House committees should sit in joint session for public hearings which were held in the Senate Reading Room of the Library of Congress in June and December, 1906, and in March, 1908. A great many interests were heard and an enormous amount of testimony taken. Meantime, at the opening of the 60th Congress, in December, 1907, I had for one of my committees that on Patents. I found the Committee divided, almost evenly, and the principal difference seemed to be one that did not admit of compromise. It related to extending copyright control to music reproduced upon mechanical instruments, and was known as the "canned music"

proposition. With the development of the phonograph and the mechanical player, this had become a subject of importance and was covered by article 13 of the Convention of 1908, at Berlin, of the International Association, as follows:

Authors of musical works have the exclusive right to authorize —

1. The adaptation of these works to instruments serving to produce them mechanically.

2. The public performance of the same works by means of these instruments.

In the case of White-Smith Music Publishing Company *v.* Apollo Company, decided by our Supreme Court at Washington, February 24, 1908, it was held that perforated rolls which, when used in connection with mechanical piano players, reproduce in sound copyrighted musical compositions, do not infringe the copyright in such compositions.

This worked an injustice to the composer and, in the consideration of the matter to which I am now alluding, it was sought to remove it. The practical objection urged, and it had much force, was, that if a composer had the exclusive control over his copyright music, reproduced by mechanical means, it would lead to a monopoly in the manufacture and sale of mechanical instruments, because, as it was asserted, some one maker or combination of makers of mechanical instruments could get control of all the popular music and in that way prevent its use by any other maker of mechanical instruments, which would be a hardship. On the other hand, it was said that if the composer had a constitutional right to the exclusive control of the creations of his brain for a limited time — and that certainly was what the copyright law had in contemplation — then he should be allowed to exercise his exclusive right in any way that he might see fit. It became apparent that if this difficulty could be gotten over, a bill might be reported out of the Committee. With this end in view, a clause was drafted which gave the exclusive right to the composer to prevent the reproduction of his music on *any* mechanical instrument. On the other hand, if he should so use it or permit its use by others, he must permit anyone to use it on stated terms. This paragraph, as finally amended, brought the two factions together, and a bill having the unanimous support

of the Committee was reported into the House, February 22, 1909. The matter then of immediate consequence was to get the bill through the House, and that was not a small undertaking, because that was the short session of Congress and the calendar was very much congested. As the end of the session approached, a great many bills are passed under "suspension of the rules," and if, as the rules then stood, you could get recognized by the Speaker, you could get consideration for any measure thus favored.

I remember that the chairman of the Committee and I went to Speaker Cannon on one of the last three or four days of the session, and urged him to recognize us on the copyright bill so that it might be considered. He had a large number of requests of the same nature, and, of course, had to use a good deal of discretion in deciding which he would grant. He finally said, "Well, if you boys say that this ought to go, I will recognize you." And it so happened that at six o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, March 2, 1909, the chairman of the Committee was recognized, and moved to suspend the rules, discharge the Committee of the whole House on the state of the Union from the further consideration of the bill, agree to the amendments proposed by the Committee and pass the bill. Before any progress had been made the House took a recess until the next day, March 3.

When a measure is debated under these conditions, twenty minutes are allowed on a side, so that there were but forty minutes available to consider the measure, which was of great importance and which involved so much controversial matter.

It is not necessary to follow the debate, because that can be found in the *Congressional Record*, Volume 43, Part I, page 3761. It is enough to say here that the bill passed the House late on the morning of March 3. It then had to go to the Senate. The Senate Chairman of the Committee on Patents had meantime agreed to substitute the House bill in the form in which it had passed, for the pending Senate bill. At that stage of the session everything in the Senate had to be done by unanimous consent: objection by any single senator was fatal. At the outset there was objection, but as the day wore on it was withdrawn, and when the House took a recess from six until nine

o'clock everything looked favorable for the passage of the bill in the Senate. Another objector roused apprehensions, but he was quieted; and during the evening the bill passed the Senate. This was on the night of March 3. The next day, March 4, President Roosevelt signed the bill, among the last of his official acts.

In my opinion, if the clause relating to mechanical reproductions had not been included in the bill, it could not have become a law, certainly not at that session of Congress, and had it not passed then, I do not think we would have had any codification or revision of the copyright laws for many years.

The clause runs as follows:

Provided, That the provisions of this Act, so far as they secure copyright controlling the parts of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work, shall include only compositions published and copyrighted after this Act goes into effect, and shall not include the works of a foreign author or composer unless the foreign state or nation of which such author or composer is a citizen or subject grants, either by treaty, convention, agreement, or law, to citizens of the United States similar rights: *And provided further, and as a condition of extending the copyright control to such mechanical reproductions*, That whenever the owner of a musical copyright has used or permitted or knowingly acquiesced in the use of the copyrighted work upon the parts of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work, any other person may make similar use of the copyrighted work upon the payment to the copyright proprietor of a royalty of two cents on each such part manufactured, to be paid by the manufacturer thereof; and the copyright proprietor may require, and if so the manufacturer shall furnish, a report under oath on the twentieth day of each month on the number of parts of instruments manufactured during the previous month serving to reproduce mechanically said musical work, and royalties shall be due on the parts manufactured during any month upon the twentieth of the next succeeding month. The payment of the royalty provided for by this section shall free the articles or devices for which such royalty has been paid from further contribution to the copyright except in case of public performance for profit: *And provided further*, That it shall be the duty of the coypright owner, if he uses the musical composition himself for the manufacture of parts of instruments serving to reproduce mechanically the musical work, or licenses others to do so, to file notice thereof, accompanied by a recording fee, in the copyright office,

and any failure to file such notice shall be a complete defense to any suit, action, or proceeding for any infringement of such copyright.

In case of the failure of such manufacturer to pay to the copyright proprietor within thirty days after demand in writing the full sum of royalties due at said rate at the date of such demand, the court may award taxable costs to the plaintiff and a reasonable counsel fee, and the court may, in its discretion, enter judgment therein for any sum in addition over the amount found to be due as royalty in accordance with the terms of this Act, not exceeding three times such amount.

This provision is absolutely unique in our legislation and involves a serious constitutional question, but it was essential to the passage of the bill. The new British Copyright Act of 1911 has followed very closely this precedent.

In closing I will quote the opening lines in the "Foreword" of Mr. Richard Rogers Bowker's recent book upon Copyright:

The American copyright code of 1909, comprehensively replacing all previous laws, a gratifying advance in legislation despite its serious restrictions and minor defects, places American copyright practice on a new basis. The new British code, brought before Parliament in 1910, to be effective July 1, 1912, marks a like forward step for the British Empire, enabling the mother country and its colonies to participate in the Berlin convention. Among the self-governing Dominions made free to accept the British code or legislate independently, Australia had already adopted in 1905 a complete new code, and Canada is following its example in the measure proposed in 1911, which will probably be conformed to the new British code for passage in 1912. Portugal has already in 1911 joined the family of nations by adherence to the Berlin convention, Russia has shaped and Holland is shaping domestic legislation to the same end, and even China in 1910 decreed copyright protection throughout its vast empire of ancient and reviving letters. The Berlin convention of 1908 strengthened and broadened the bond of the International Copyright Union, and the Buenos Ayres convention of 1910, which the United States has already ratified, made a new basis for copyright protection throughout the Pan-American Union, both freeing authors from formalities beyond those required in the country of origin. Thus the American dream of 1838 of "a universal republic of letters whose foundation shall be one just law" is well on the way toward realization.

Mr. C. F. Adams presented a paper on

THE BRITISH PROCLAMATION OF MAY, 1861.

Nearly twenty years ago our late associate, Edward L. Pierce, submitted a paper, "Recollections as a Source of History." [1] This at the time struck me as a contribution of exceptional value, and the years since elapsed have confirmed that impression. It is a paper the historical investigator should lay at heart. Mr. Pierce's thesis was the complete fallibility of subsequent reminiscence in those intimately at the time connected with important historical incidents; and recently in Washington I have had renewed illustration thereof. The instance referred to was indeed hardly less noteworthy than the Abram S. Hewitt hallucination, set forth in papers I submitted to the Society in October, 1903, January, 1904, and November, 1906.[2] Not impossibly I may hereafter further allude to it.

To-day, however, I propose to begin with a reminiscence. It relates to a distinguished man and a very memorable historical work — Alexander William Kinglake, and his *Invasion of the Crimea*. As it rests in my recollection, the incident occurred some forty years ago, and at a London dinner-table. The late Lord Houghton was a guest, and the talk, drifting, as I recall it, on the Franco-German war, then, like the war now in progress, for the time being quite monopolizing public attention, Lord Houghton stated that Kinglake's interest and imagination had been so excited by the later and far more considerable conflict that he had lost all interest in further prosecuting what had become with him the work of a lifetime. He went on with it, mechanically; for the war in the Crimea seemed not only relegated to a remote past, but reduced to little more than a minor military incident. Devoid of permanent interest, it had no instructive features. Consequently, Kinglake's work fell unfinished from his hand; and unfinished it was destined to remain.

Such is my recollection, and it is distinct. Unfortunately, however, I find in it much suggestive of Mr. Pierce's paper. Closer examination fails to reconcile recollection with re-

[1] 2 *Proceedings*, x. 473–490.

[2] The substance of these several papers was subsequently reprinted under the title "Queen Victoria and the Civil War," in the volume entitled *Studies: Military and Diplomatic*, 375–413.

corded facts. I could almost make affidavit to the accuracy of my memory; and yet, in the first place, the after-dinner talk in question could not, I find, have occurred in London, inasmuch as I do not recall having met Lord Houghton in London subsequent to the year 1870 — that of the Franco-German War. I did afterwards meet him in Boston, and in his company visited Plymouth, on Thanksgiving Day, 1875. It may well be that he then, or at that time in Boston, mentioned this incident. Even if he did, however, the statement as now recalled comes in somewhat hard contact with the publisher's records, showing that the fifth volume of Kinglake's history was published in 1875, the sixth in 1880, and the seventh and eighth, completing the work, as it stands, not until 1887. Thus though he may have temporarily lost interest in his subject, Kinglake went on with it, carrying his narrative into minutest detail, until within four years of his death, which occurred in January, 1891.

All this to the contrary notwithstanding, I here repeat this Houghton-Kinglake anecdote for what it is worth. It has a bearing on my own present condition and the paper now submitted; for the struggle to-day on in Europe in its immensity as well as immediate interest has undeniably produced on me a deadening influence very similar to that which, according to Lord Houghton, the Franco-German War of 1870–71 produced on Kinglake. It is much as if a geologist engaged upon some phase of his specialty suddenly found himself face to face with a tremendous catastrophic convulsion, occasioning what is known as a "fault." The evidence as well as the import of his investigation, buried under a more recent deposit, once for all became remote and secondary.

Thus, during recent months, not only has my own interest in my work been impaired, but I have in ways not to be mistaken had occasion to realize that the world, even here in America, has for the time being at least ceased to concern itself over our struggle of half a century back, and what I or others might have to say about it. While that struggle is quite forgotten in Europe, its relative importance as the "greatest war in history," etc., etc., has even with us been perceptibly affected. A twice-told tale, it has, in a word, become, so to speak, ancient history; it is relegated to companionship with our war

for independence. Undoubtledy, here in America, at least, interest in it will hereafter revive. Nevertheless, for the present I am unpleasantly but unmistakably conscious of the fact that not only do I approach my topics in somewhat languid mood, but, when the results of my labor are in print, they will receive attention from almost no one. Possibly, however, some future scholar or investigator may profit thereby.

This premised I propose to submit to-day for entry in our *Proceedings* a body of historical material relating to the memorable proclamation conceding Confederate belligerency with consequent British neutrality issued by Her Majesty's Government, early in May, 1861. This measure, fought over by historians, lawyers and publicists, was throughout the succeeding ten years matter of constant discussion in this country and in England. Indeed, the issues arising from it, which at one time not only seemed to, but actually did, threaten the peace of nations, were not finally disposed of until the summer of 1872, when the decisions of the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration were rendered. The proclamation was, at the time of its issuance, angrily denounced in this country, and for years afterwards it was assumed almost unanimously by American authorities and journalists as an undeniable proposition that, without due consideration, it was prematurely issued, the British governmental action being inspired by an unfriendly feeling toward the United States. On this head every one at all acquainted with the literature of the period will recall the utterances of Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State; as also the famous indirect damages contention of Mr. Sumner. This last, enunciated in the Senate, April 13, 1869, and subsequently incorporated into the American case prepared for the Geneva Arbitration, even gravely jeopardized at one time the highly desirable international adjustment effected as a result of the Treaty of Washington.

In the case of Secretary Seward, I am well aware that recent historical investigators have thrown doubt on the degree of faith he himself felt in his own official utterances. Made, it is alleged, with an eye to temporary political effect, they were largely what is known as a "bluff." As such, it is suggested, they served their purpose. On the other hand, they are part of the official record; and, so far as that record is concerned,

they are explicit. About them there is nothing suggestive of anything less than implicit belief.[1]

It is otherwise as respects Mr. Sumner. Elsewhere [2] I have discussed his belligerency thesis, and international contentions thereon. Mr. Sumner, however, was afflicted with such a rhetorical impulse, at once morbid and irresistible, and his tendency to excessive exaggeration in statement so grew upon him that he has ceased to be regarded as an authority on any question involving either what he deemed "The Cause," as he termed it, for the time being, or principles of international usage. If, however, the official records and utterances of Secretary Seward and Mr. Sumner are left out of consideration, no similar objection can be advanced to the attitude and language of Reverdy Johnson. Eminent as a lawyer during the war, and subsequent thereto distinctly representative in the Senate chamber of border state sentiment, Reverdy Johnson, though politically a loyal Unionist, was neither an anti-slavery extremist nor a patriot to the exclusion of both obvious existing conditions and accepted international usage. In the

[1] The continued iteration by Mr. Seward of his belief that the "Rebellion" drew its entire strength from the expectation of being recognized by foreign nations and his faith that, if the Confederacy could once be thoroughly disabused of that expectation, that the Civil War would collapse, is set forth, together with other peculiarities of Mr. Seward's rhetoric and philosophy, in extracts from his despatches printed in the article entitled "American State Papers" in *Blackwood's* for May, 1863, LXI., of the American edition, 628–644.

In the extracts there quoted, Mr. Seward says in a despatch dated 6th March, 1862: "If Great Britain should revoke her decree concerning belligerent rights to the insurgents to-day, this civil strife, which is the cause of all the derangement of those relations, and the only cause of all apprehended dangers of that kind, would end to-morrow. The United States have continually insisted that the disturbers of their peace are mere insurgents, not lawful belligerents."

Four days later, 10th March, 1862, he wrote: "Let the Governments of Great Britain and France rescind the decrees which concede belligerent rights to a dwindling faction in this country, and all their troubles will come to a speedy end."

And Mr. Seward again says: "I have not failed to see that every wrong this country has been called to endure at the hands of any foreign power has been a natural if not a logical consequence of the first grave error which that power committed in conceding to an insurrection, which would otherwise have been ephemeral, the rights of a public belligerent."

Finally in a despatch on the 5th of May, 1862: "We shall have peace and union in a very few months, let France and Great Britain do what they may. We should have them in one month if either the Emperor or the Queen should speak the word, and say, — If the life of this unnatural insurrection hangs on an expectation of our favour, let it die!"

[2] *Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers*, 101–103, 204–205.

closing days of 1867 — two years and a half having then passed since the Confederacy fell — it was gravely, to all outward appearances, proposed in Congress to recognize Abyssinia as a belligerent because of the British military operations there conducted, known as "King Theodore's War." A senator from Michigan, Mr. Chandler, introduced the usual joint resolution, couched in the exact terms of the British proclamation of six years previous, in fact a paraphrase of it. Indeed, but for the debate which ensued over the disposition to be made of the resolve and Mr. Johnson's participation therein,[1] the whole episode bore somewhat the aspect of an ill-timed and distinctly undignified burlesque. In urging its adoption, Mr. Chandler asserted in support thereof that "no man pretends that the rebellion would ever have taken head but for the [British] proclamation of neutrality," which he claimed had in its results occasioned the Union a loss of two hundred thousand lives and at least $2,000,000,000 of money. Opposing this proposed action, Senator Reverdy Johnson in the course of debate assumed as of course that the proclamation referred to had been a "gross error," unkind to America; and that Earl Russell, the Foreign Secretary, was not only then especially unfriendly, but at the later date was well understood to be an obstacle in the way of settlement. He added, "England owes it not only to us, but to her own honor to pay every dollar of the losses which American citizens sustained in consequence of the cruise" of the Confederate commerce destroyers. The question of belligerency was, he admitted, not necessarily connected with what were known as the "Alabama Claims," but the dependency of one upon the other was apparent.[2] Throughout, the now forgotten debate was typical of the attitude and utterances of the period. In it, anything and everything were assumed as "indisputable."

Of all this, acquaintance might for the purposes of this paper

[1] *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 2 Session, December 9, 1867, 83–88. The British expeditionary force directed against King Theodore was then preparing to move. Magdala, his capital, was stormed by the forces under Gen. R. C. Napier, subsequently created Lord Napier of Magdala, April 13, 1868, and King Theodore killed himself as the alternative to capture. The joint resolution referred to was continued on the Senate calendar until June 18 ensuing, when, on the motion of Senator Chandler, its further consideration was indefinitely postponed.

[2] *Life of Reverdy Johnson*, 229.

fairly be assumed. Not so the official and other evidence which at the moment influenced Lord John Russell, furnishing the basis on which action was taken. Of this material, some, of course, has appeared in the English Blue Books, in the papers connected with the Geneva award and in the "Memoirs" of British and American public men since published. Of this I do not propose here to make any considerable use. It will be remembered, however, that a year ago Mr. Ford and I passed several weeks in London in search of unpublished material. It may also be remembered by some that subsequently, at our December meeting a year ago, I gave, in a conversational way, a partial account of what then took place; which, involving, as it did, matters of a more or less confidential nature, and statements as to collections of papers not public, does not appear in detail in our *Proceedings*,[1] though I occupied the better part of an hour. My present purpose is to submit, in a more formal way, a portion of what I then communicated, and to insert in our record a body of original historical material bearing upon the issuing of the Proclamation of May 13, 1861. In the first place, however, I must recur to certain statements I made a year ago, which, though of unquestionable historical interest, I thought best not to print. They relate to a singular usage which has almost from time immemorial prevailed in Great Britain, affecting to an extent not fully appreciated the facts and inferences to be drawn from the historical material there accessible.

We hear a great deal from those interested in original research of public archives and access thereto, and of dates arbitrarily fixed by the various Foreign Offices at which those archives have been, or are to be, laid open to the investigator. It is, however, a bit confounding in this connection to learn, as we now are learning, that, so far at least as the Foreign Office of Great Britain is concerned, the papers there to be found are at times of somewhat secondary importance. A knowledge of the true inwardness of any given situation of a certain sort must be looked for elsewhere. More even than that, the papers on file in the Foreign Office are not unseldom even illusory. The statement is unquestionably startling; and how, it will be asked, did such a condition of affairs come about? The explanation is curious — English!

[1] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 53.

For at least two centuries now — indeed, ever since the British Foreign Office took its present form — a usage as to correspondence has prevailed in connection with it which has now to be reckoned with, a usage in no wise generally understood. As Parliament, far back in the eighteenth century — during, in fact, the Walpole epoch — gradually assumed the large State functions it has since developed, it became more and more a practice to call on those constituting the Ministry for papers relating to events connected with foreign affairs, especially correspondence. The modern Blue Book was thus gradually evolved. As the practice grew, its inconveniences made themselves felt. Both the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and those with whom he was in correspondence wrote under an ever-increasing sense of restraint. As the British diplomatic service was constituted, this, not unnaturally, resulted in two forms of correspondence and sets of records — first, the usual official exchanges, including instructions and despatches subject to parliamentary call. These were at any time subject to being made public through the Blue Book. Meanwhile, on the other hand, a private interchange of letters, frequently familiar in tone as between old friends and perhaps relatives, would be going on between the representatives at certain of the foreign courts and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. And here it is necessary to bear in mind a wide practical distinction existing between the British foreign service and our American State Department. In Great Britain diplomacy is a career, and in this respect, like the army and navy, those entering into it have been largely of the so-called, aristocratic class, including members of the peerage, or those connected therewith. Relations, therefore, of an intimate or family character almost customarily existed between many of the representatives abroad and the various Foreign Secretaries. It is safe to say that no similar conditions, as a rule, have ever prevailed between the American State Department and our own representatives in diplomatic position. There have been, of course, exceptions to this general statement. For instance, while there is no evidence of any confidential and private correspondence between Mr. C. F. Adams and Secretary Seward during the seven years of the residence of the former in London, yet there is at Auburn a large amount of private correspondence carried on at the

same time between Secretary Seward and other diplomatic representatives, including more especially H. S. Sanford, the United States minister at Brussels, and John Bigelow, Consul General at Paris. This interchange does not, however, partake of the intimate personal character of the letters between Lord Lyons, for instance, and Lord Granville and Lord Russell, or between Earl Cowley and the occupants of the Foreign Office during his long residence at Paris.[1] In other words, in the American case an element of formality was always perceptible, whereas in the British case the interchange was not infrequently as that between personal friends. Essentially informal, examples will frequently appear in the papers I am about to submit.

It was, moreover, in times of exigency that recourse was naturally had to this form of communication. Its convenience as between men who thoroughly understood each other is under such circumstances apparent. The formal despatches, constituting the great mass of the Foreign Office correspondence — 95 per cent of it, perhaps — were regularly filed in the official archives; and there they now are. The private communications, however, coming from the important embassies and relating generally to more or less critical situations, were considered as belonging to the First Secretary for the time being. This, moreover, became a recognized system, these private communications being almost invariably written with his own hand, by either Secretary or Minister, not coming under the eyes or to the knowledge of subordinates. As a rule, no copies of them seem to have been kept; and by both writer and recipient they were looked upon as altogether personal and confidential. The minister or ambassador, therefore, had his own private files, separate from the official files of Embassy or Foreign Office. The Secretary also had his similar files; and, when each retired from office, he carried his private files with

[1] Much later, during the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations (1898–1905), I am given to understand by our associate, Mr. W. R. Thayer, it was the practice of Mr. John Hay, when Secretary of State, to correspond on much more intimate terms with certain of the representatives abroad — especially Mr. Henry White — as, for example, in renewing negotiations for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The case was, however, altogether exceptional, and in some respects characteristic of Secretary Hay. As a rule, the absence of anything suggestive of personal relations is noticeable.

him. Not belonging to the public offices, these files were, nevertheless, affected, so to speak, by a public interest; and, while the originals could only be found either among the private papers of the whilom foreign secretaries or ambassadors, it was, and is, distinctly understood that no historical use can be made of this material except with the consent and approval both of the family of the minister or ambassador in question and of the Foreign Office.

Such were the British usage and understanding. Such they are now. Referring to it, Mr. Julian Corbett, in recently editing the private papers of the second Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty between the years 1794 and 1801, speaks as follows: "Intimate as they are, going deeper into the well-springs of history than do the regular official documents, such papers seldom or never find their way into the public archives of the kingdom, and but for the action of the Society and the public spirit of their owners would remain almost inaccessible to students."

I now come to my own sources of information. In the present case, they are threefold. First, the Public Record Office. Secondly, the papers of Lord Lyons, including his confidential communications to the Foreign Secretary. These papers are deposited in Norfolk House, London; and of them considerable, though still only partial, use was made by Lord Newton in the preparation of his recently published *Life* of Lyons. Finally, the Russell papers. This last most valuable body of material was then (1913) in the hands of Mr. Rollo Russell, a younger son of Earl Russell. Mr. Rollo Russell has since died, and the papers have been removed to the Public Record Office, where access to them is possible only with permission of certain trustees in whose hands they have been placed. I was so fortunate as to be in England a year before Mr. Russell's death, and was under much obligation to him. Not only did Mr. Ford find the papers well arranged and accessible, but Mr. Russell as respects them took the large view. He held them as in the nature of a public trust; and, so far as I at least was concerned, he construed the terms of that trust liberally. Every facility was afforded; every request was immediately complied with.

As already intimated, the material about to be submitted

is of the period preceding the issue of the Proclamation, and directly or indirectly throws light thereon.

I begin with a letter from Robert Bunch, then British Consul at Charleston, South Carolina, to Lord Lyons. Written February 2, 1860, nine months prior to the election of Abraham Lincoln, it affords illustration, amusing as well as suggestive, of the condition of mental bewilderment under which British officials connected with American affairs then labored. Whether in London or America, they seem in fact to have been at a total loss as to the proper significance to be attached to any passing incident or unexpected demonstration; in this respect, not unlike the Americans themselves of the same period. Yet to those on the spot the Foreign Secretary necessarily as well as naturally looked for light and guidance.

Bunch wrote describing a dinner given the evening before (February 1, 1860) by the Jockey Club of Charleston. Being called upon for a speech, he had alluded to the prizes of the turf at home, and incidentally referred to the plates run for in the various British colonies. Continuing, he said:

> "I cannot help calling your attention to the great loss you yourselves have suffered by ceasing to be a Colonial Dependency of Great Britain, as I am sure that if you had continued to be so the Queen would have had great pleasure in 'sending' you some Plates too."
>
> Of course this was meant for the broadest sort of joke, calculated to raise a laugh after dinner; but to my amazement, the Company chose to take me literally, and applauded for about ten minutes — in fact I could not go on for some time.

Evidently Bunch hardly knew what to make of the demonstration. He could not believe that South Carolina seriously wished to be reannexed to Great Britain, and he comments on the episode in a vein somewhat humorous. Nevertheless, in concluding his letter, he solemnly assures Lord Lyons that "the Jockey Club is composed of the 'best people' of South Carolina — rich planters and the like. It represents, therefore, the 'gentlemanly interest' and not a bit of universal suffrage."

It would be idle to assume that either in South Carolina or in England there was, in February, 1860, any serious thought of a resumption of colonial relations. None the less, the talk then

currently heard in Carolina social life was suggestive, and throws a strangely vivid gleam of light on what both at the time and subsequently occurred. For instance, when fourteen months later, in April, 1861, William H. Russell of the *Times* was in Charleston, immediately after the bombardment of Sumter, and less than a month before the British proclamation of neutrality, he thus wrote of what he heard at this same Consul Bunch's dinner-table: "Again cropping out of the dead level of hate to the Yankee, grows its climax in the profession from nearly every one of the guests, that he would prefer a return to British rule to any reunion with New England." [1]

In like tenor, telling a few days later of a visit to the White House Plantation near Charleston, Russell describes how "after dinner the conversation returned to the old channel — all the frogs praying for a king — anyhow a prince — to rule over them." [2] He goes on:

> After dinner the conversation again turned on the resources and power of the South, and on the determination of the people never to go back into the Union. Then cropped out again the expression of regret for the rebellion of 1776, and the desire that if it came to the worst, England would receive back her erring children, or give them a prince under whom they could secure a monarchical form of government. There is no doubt about the earnestness with which these things are said.[3]

Accordingly, writing under date of April 30, Russell, in a letter on the state of South Carolina, which appeared in the issue of the *Times* of May 28, thus expressed himself:

> Shades of George III., of North, of Johnson, of all who contended against the great rebellion which tore these colonies from England, can you hear the chorus which rings through the State of Marion, Sumter, and Pinckney, and not clap your ghostly hands in triumph? That voice says, "If we could only get one of the Royal race of England to rule over us, we should be content." Let there be no misconception on this point. That sentiment, varied in a hundred ways, has been repeated to me over and over again. There is a general admission that the means to such an end are wanting, and that the desire cannot be gratified. But the admiration for monarchical institutions on the English model, for privileged classes,

[1] *My Diary*, I. 171. [2] *Ib.*, 188. [3] *Ib.*, 193.

and for a landed aristocracy and gentry, is undisguised and apparently genuine. With the pride of having achieved their independence is mingled in the South Carolinians' hearts a strange regret at the result and consequences, and many are they who "would go back to-morrow if we could." [1]

Recurring, however, to Consul Bunch, when in December, 1860, secession was really determined upon, he found a very different sentiment to report, and himself held quite positive opinions in regard to the arrogance and bombast of the citizens of Charleston. Writing to Lyons, December 14, 1860, he told how, returning to his home one evening, he met a military company, which from curiosity he followed, and which

drew up in front of the residence of a young Lawyer of my friends, after performing in whose honour, through the medium of a very brassy band, a Secession Schottische or Palmetto Polka, it clamorously demanded his presence. After a brief interval he appeared, and altho' he is in private life an agreeable and moderately sensible young man, he succeeded, to my mind at any rate, in making most successfully, what Mr. Anthony Weller calls "an Egyptian Mummy of his self." The amount of balderdash and rubbish which he evacuated about mounting the deadly breach, falling back into the arms of his comrades and going off generally in a blaze of melodramatic fireworks, really made me so unhappy that I lost my night's rest. So soon as the speech was over the Company was invited into the house to "pour a libation to the holy cause" — in the vernacular, to take a drink and spit on the floor.

Evidently Southern eloquence jarred on the ears of the British Consul. It may be, however, that another item recorded in this letter increased his tendency to criticism.

The Church Bells are ringing like mad in celebration of a newly revived festival, called "Evacuation Day," being the *nefastus ille dies* in which the bloody Britishers left Charleston seventy-eight years ago. It has fallen into utter disuse for about fifty years, but is now suddenly resuscitated apropos de nothing at all.

Judging by the material now brought to light, British consular and diplomatic opinion was in a very noticeable degree slower in making up its mind on the issues involved in our

[1] *Proceedings*, XLVI. 310.

struggle, and far more considerate to the Union side in expressing itself, than was the British newspaper press. It has been asserted by historians that the South had so long been dominant in Washington, and that society there was so distinctly pro-slavery in 1860, that foreign representatives naturally framed the accounts sent to their governments with strong Confederate proclivities. However this may be of other representatives, it does not hold good of the British Minister, Lord Lyons. From the first he occupied a noticeably impartial attitude, reporting with accuracy the results of elections in November, 1860, describing the consequent secession movement, the resignation of federal officials, and in general criticising the secession measures as "ill judged." He was in the beginning optimistic as to the existence of a conservative element in the slave states, and believed Lincoln himself to be in close touch with the more influential men so inclined. Throughout this period of obscure groping Lyons expressed his earnest hope that there might be no break-up of the Union. From England, Lord John Russell responded a similar hope. Nevertheless it is evident that the Foreign Secretary felt apparently certain that if a rupture did take place, it could only result in complete and final separation. So believing, he instructed Lyons, December 26, 1860, not to express any opinion which "events may contradict" and not "to seem to favor one party rather than the other." Indeed, Lyons was expected to refrain from all advice, unless asked for it by the state Governments; in which case he or the British Consuls were to advise against violence as tending toward civil war.

From that moment, when it was apparent that South Carolina was likely to lead the way in the secession movement, the problem had presented itself as to what would be the position of the British Consul at Charleston with regard to the collection of import duties at that port. On December 12, 1860, Lyons instructed Bunch to write to him presenting the case so that it might be communicated to the United States government. This Bunch did, and December 31 the matter was presented to Jeremiah S. Black, then acting as Secretary of State in Buchanan's Cabinet, having succeeded Lewis Cass. Black's answer was evasive. He replied that the United States must regard events in Charleston as acts of violent rebellion, and that the

payment of duties to South Carolina officials would be unlawful; but he refused to say what steps the Federal Government would take in regard to Bunch if he advised British merchants to pay these duties to South Carolina.

From the first, also, Lyons believed that Great Britain would find itself in a quandary because of the opposing influence of its anti-slavery sentiments and its commercial interests. He accordingly wrote (December 12, 1860) to Bunch: "The domestic Slavery of the South is a bitter pill which it will be hard enough to get the English to swallow. But if the Slave Trade is to be added to the dose, the least squeamish British stomach will reject it."

With the formal secession of South Carolina, Lord John Russell felt that the end of the Union had come. In a private letter to Lyons, January 10, 1861, he thus summed up his opinion:

> I do not see how the United States can be cobbled together again by any compromise. South Carolina declares that by the original compact she has a right to secede, and she does secede. Lincoln's party declare that secession means rebellion, and must be put down by force. If force is not used no concession will satisfy S. Carolina. If force is used and is successful the South falls into a state of helpless dependence, and slavery will be abolished.
>
> I cannot see any mode of reconciling such parties as these. The best thing *now* would be that the right to secede should be acknowledged, and that there should be separation — one Republic to be constituted on the principle of freedom and personal liberty, the other on the principle of Slavery and mutual surrender of fugitives.
>
> I hope sensible men will take this view, and cease to struggle for a compromise. But above all I hope no force will be used.
>
> It seems to me that the South has an enormous advantage in having two months more of a favourable Executive. By the 4th of March the position of the three States will be impregnable, except by mutiny and rebellion of the slaves.
>
> I suppose Buchanan meant by his message to dissolve the Union. This was a great responsibility to take upon himself. But in a legal sense I think the South in the right. The Personal Liberty Laws are contrary to the intention of the Constitution, and the Fugitive Slave Law. In a new Constitution the recovery of Slaves from another State ought not to be sanctioned.
>
> Preach against force and civil war.

In this letter it will be observed slavery is depicted as a cause, the legal right of the South to secede is accepted, and Russell's hope lies in a possible peaceable separation. The same day official instructions were sent permitting Bunch to remain at Charleston, and instructing him that if asked to recognize South Carolina he should refer the question to the Foreign Office. "If his consular acts are not acknowledged, he should suspend his functions and report to me and your Lordship such refusal to acknowledge his acts." Subsequently it appears that the practical solution of the issue presented as to the payment of customs dues at Charleston, as devised by Consul Bunch, consisted in his advising those in control of British ships to pay the duties to the State authorities "under protest" as done "under compulsion." Thus any definite and important decision as to British attitude toward the State, claiming to be independent and sovereign, was avoided. The opinion of the Foreign Secretary that there could be no rehabilitation of the Union is shown also in a letter from Lord John Russell to Lyons, of January 22, 1861, in which the statement is made, "I suppose the break-up of the Union is now inevitable."

At this stage of development there was, of course, no more conception of the intensity and magnitude the struggle was to assume in Great Britain than in the United States. Russell indeed still hoped that the quarrel might yet in some way be arranged. Nevertheless, as Foreign Secretary he was compelled to face an actual situation — the connection of the issue presented with British commerce. So, February 16, we find he wrote to Lyons as follows, reflecting from abroad not unfairly the condition of bewilderment then prevailing on this side of the Atlantic — the period of the Peace Congress:

> Events in the U. S. have been so astounding that I have been quite unable to know what to expect. At the same time the proceedings of President, Senate and H. of Reps. have appeared to me so foolish and aimless that I could not expect a good result. President Lincoln, looming in the distance, is a still greater peril than President Buchanan.
>
> The only hope I have is in Virginia where Washington seems to have left his mantle. A general Convention, a universal Armistice, and a fair deliberation on terms of amity seem to me to afford the only chance of either repairing the broken chain, or taking up the

separate links for a new combination. I fear our San Juan plan will break thro'.

Above all things endeavour to prevent a blockade of the Southern Coast. It would produce misery, discord, and enmity incalculable.

I am sure your calmness and good sense will direct our Consuls to avoid provoking national quarrels. Mr. Bunch seems to me to have been very discreet.

Within a week, W. E. Forster, a staunch and unquestioned friend of the national side throughout the war about to take place, was interrogating the Ministry in the House of Commons in regard to the situation at Charleston, and expressing the hope that England would not attempt in any way to interfere in the conflict in America.[1] Thus British commercial interests were forcing a keener attention to the American situation, and already men in governmental circles were asking themselves what should be the proper attitude toward the contest; how soon the new Southern Confederacy could claim European recognition; how far and how fast European governments ought to go in acknowledging such a claim; what indeed was to be the proper policy and position of a neutral power, should a declaration of neutrality be found necessary.

With these questions rapidly assuming shape, it became desirable for British public characters to know something about the persons leading in the Southern movement, the attitude of the people in general and the purposes of the newly established Montgomery government. Here, unfortunately, Lord Lyons could be no guide. He was cognizant indeed of the negotiations subsequently conducted at Washington, but ventured no positive opinion, even though he, like others, seems at first to have been convinced that there could be no reunion. The consuls in the South, however, were in better position to give their impressions.

The despatches of Consul Bunch sent at this time to the Foreign Secretary constitute, in the light of subsequent events, a highly interesting series. Dated from the British Consulate at Charleston in February and March, 1861, and marked "Confidential," they all reached the Foreign Office before the Government found itself called upon to take any decided action,

[1] *Hansard*, Vol. 161, 814. February 22, 1861.

and doubtless exercised a very considerable influence on the minds of those responsible for such action. The first of these communications was dated February 28, and in its essential parts reads as follows:

Since the date of my Dispatch to your Lordship of the 22d Instant, in which I had the honour to transmit the Inaugural Address of Mr. Jefferson Davis, the President of the "Confederate States of America," the appointments of most of the Cabinet Officers have been made and confirmed by the Congress. So far as I am informed, they stand thus:

Secretary of State, Mr. Robert Toombs, of Georgia;
Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. C. G. Memminger, of South Carolina;
Secretary of War, Mr. Leroy P. Walker, of Alabama;
Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Stephen Mallory, of Florida;
Post Master General, Mr. H. T. Ellet, of Mississippi;
Attorney-General, Mr. Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana.

Before proceeding to offer to Your Lordship a few remarks upon the position and character of such of the above-named Gentlemen as I am acquainted with, either personally or by their reputation, I take leave to allude briefly to the President and Vice-President of the new Confederacy. . . .

. . . The views of Mr. Davis on all the questions of domestic policy which have agitated this Republic since his introduction into public life have been of the extremest Southern and Pro-Slavery character. He is a firm believer in the "manifest destiny" of the South to overrun and convert into slave-holding States of a Southern Confederacy, Mexico, Central America and Cuba. He was a warm advocate of the expeditions of Lopez, Walker and other Filibusters, and has endeared himself to the most advanced party of States' Rights men by his uncompromising support, in the Senate, of their doctrines. But I believe that his Election is attributable in a still greater degree to the high opinion which is entertained of his military capabilities. As it is confidently believed throughout the Southern Country that a Civil war is to result from the dissolution of the Union, it has been deemed prudent that the functions of Commander-in-Chief, which belong to the President, should be discharged by one who is both willing and able to take the field in case of necessity. His Election to the Presidency is most warmly welcomed by persons of all shades of political opinion.

Mr. Stephens, the Vice President, is a lawyer by profession, and about fifty years of age. He has been for many years a Member of the House of Representatives in Washington, where his elo-

quence has brought him some reputation. He is the Leader of the Moderate party in Georgia, and would, probably, not be very averse to the re-construction of the Union, could such be effected upon the basis of a proper security for the constitutional rights of the South.

Mr. Toombs, the Secretary of State, has been a Senator of the United States, and has occupied, otherwise, positions of importance in the Country. So far as I can learn his talents do not lie in the line of Diplomacy, as he is a violent and impulsive man. His oratorical powers are considered great, but they will scarcely be of much use in his present position. He is a man of the most advanced opinions; a Secessionist of the worst kind. I view his appointment as an unfortunate one, as it gives him practically the controul of the foreign policy of the Confederacy. It is hoped, however, that he will not hold the Office long.

Mr. Memminger, the Secretary of the Treasury, is a South Carolinian by birth, the reputed son of a low German, and brought up in the Orphan House of this City. He is a lawyer by profession, and a clear headed man. But he is notoriously uncertain in his conduct, a failing which has interfered with his success in his own State. Even now it is believed that his feelings are not enlisted in the present movement, the possibility of which he openly ridiculed but six months ago. He has been selected for the Treasury on account of his financial aptitude and great powers of sustained labour.

Of the remaining Members of the Cabinet there is not much to be said. They are all more or less known in their own States and even in the general politics of the Country. Messrs. Mallory and Benjamin have both been in the Senate of the United States. But I am compelled to say that, with the single exception of the President, not one of the Statesmen of the new Confederacy rises above that dead level of mediocrity to which the popular institutions of this Republic seem to have condemned its political leaders. The bombastic self-glorification, so common in the United States, sees in every ordinary speaker a Burke, in every moderately clever lawyer an Eldon, in every Captain of Militia a Napoleon or a Wellington; but I fear that the general opinion of the world will hardly recognize such claims when preferred on behalf of the present leaders of public opinion in this Country, whether at the North or South.

In the uncertainty which hangs over everything connected with even the immediate condition of the Southern Confederacy, it would be premature, and under any circumstances, perhaps, unnecessary, that I should trespass upon Your Lordship's leisure with any observations respecting its possible future. But I venture, upon the ground of my long residence in the United States, and

principally of my knowledge of the Southern Country, to express to Your Lordship my firm conviction that the new Republic will never rise to eminence as a great power of the earth. It is, in the first place, founded upon the possession of what may be called a monopoly of one single production — Cotton. So soon as this Staple is subjected to competition, (and may that day soon arrive) so soon as its cultivation is impeded or destroyed by causes either physical or political; so soon as some cheaper or more available fibre shall be substituted for it, from that moment does the importance of these Southern States diminish and their claim to consideration disappear. But this new Confederacy is based, in the second place, upon the preservation and extension of Negro Slavery. It seems, to my humble judgment, quite impossible that in the present age of the world, a Government avowedly established for such purposes can meet with the sympathy and encouragement which are as necessary to Nations as to Individuals, or that a system should be successfully inaugurated which starts upon a principle of defiance to the sentiments of nature and of civilization. I do not, of course, mean that Foreign Nations are to interfere with the domestic institutions or plan of labour of these new States, but I do believe that they will be practically ostracized by the public opinion of the world, and only considered, under the most favourable circumstances, as growers of Cotton and of Rice. But there is still another ground upon which the new Confederacy is likely to rouse the susceptibilities of Foreign Governments and to create an unfavourable impression abroad, that is to say, the filibustering tendencies which, I feel assured, will develop themselves so soon as the dread of war with the North shall have proved unfounded. These propensities may, it is true, be easily restrained by the action of the great Powers of Europe, but the desire to carry them into practice will exist, and will, doubtless, have to be repressed.

The next despatch is dated March 21, and was received at the Foreign Office on the 9th of April — that is, three days prior to the attack on Sumter. It reads as follows:

The Congress of the Confederate States, held at Montgomery, adjourned on the 16th Instant, to meet again at the same place on the 2nd of May. Amongst other acts of public importance emanating from it to which I shall take occasion to invite Your Lordship's attention by this Mail is to be found the appointment of Commissioners to the various Courts of Europe. I propose in the present Despatch to submit a few remarks to Your Lordship on the subject of these gentlemen and their Mission.

The Commissioners are three in number; Mr. Dudley Mann, of Virginia, Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, and Mr. P. A. Rost, of Louisiana. It is stated that they have already left Montgomery for New Orleans where they will embark for the Havana, taking from thence the English Mail Steamer to Southampton, on the 27th Instant.

Mr. Dudley Mann, the son of a bankrupt grocer in the eastern part of Virginia, has been called to his present post by the Southern Congress in consequence of his having had some experience of what is known here as "Court life," meaning, the management of public affairs in Europe. His appointment has given great dissatisfaction to many persons in the South, . . . partly on account of his having been brought from a State which is not a Member of the Southern Confederacy. He is, moreover, given in the Official Lists as belonging to Ohio, an Abolition State, his appointment as Under Secretary of State under the Government of Washington having been made from that State. Mr. Mann has been employed on several occasions in Europe, having negotiated a Treaty on behalf of the United States with Switzerland, and having been sent by Mr. Webster into Hungary, in 1850, with a roving Commission, to encourage the Hungarians, a fact of which the Government of Austria was fully sensible, and of which it shewed its appreciation by declaring, through its Minister at Washington, that it would hang Mr. Mann without scruple in case of necessity. On his return from this Mission, he was made Under Secretary of State, after the termination of which employment he was interested in the attempt to establish direct trade by steam between the Southern States and Europe. He is said by those who knew him well to be a mere trading Politician, possessing no originality of mind and no special merit of any description.

Mr. Yancey is a lawyer of very considerable repute in the State of Alabama, and, undoubtedly, a man of ability. But the line of his talent is not supposed to lie in the direction of Diplomacy. He is a fluent speaker, admirably adapted for "stump" oratory, and possessing much power over the masses, but he is impulsive, erratic and hot-headed; a rabid Secessionist, a favourer of a revival of the Slave Trade and a "Filibuster" of the extremest type of "manifest destiny." His services to the cause of Secession have been great, and it is felt that he has a claim to anything which he may choose to demand. It is supposed that he has made a point of his nomination to this Mission, and that he could not be refused.

The third Commissioner, Judge Rost, is altogether unknown to me, and so far as I can learn, to everyone else. He is stated to be a respectable sugarplanter from Opelousas, in Louisiana, and this seems to comprise all that can be said respecting him.

I am not in a position to offer to Your Lordship any trustworthy observations upon the character of the Instructions with which the Commissioners have been furnished, but I feel perfectly assured that they are predicated upon the fact of the vital, absolute necessity to Europe, and, of course, especially to Great Britain, of Cotton, which is supposed here to warrant the Confederate States in taking high ground, and in treating their recognition by Foreign Powers as a matter of comparative indifference, unless it be granted on their own terms. Their exaggerated idea of the importance of the Southern States to Great Britain is really ludicrous. It actually amounts to the belief, conscientiously entertained, that to withhold the supply of Cotton for one year, would be to plunge England into a Revolution which would alter the whole condition of her existence. Courteous of manner, as I am bound in justice to say that the better classes of Southerners are to Foreign Representatives, the exultation which they feel at having placed us in the position of dependents on their pleasure, cannot be concealed in their conversations with me, whilst those with whom I am at all familiar openly tell me that we cannot live without them. Disliking us violently as the Southern people do, on account of our hostility to Slavery, the supposed opportunity of humiliating us is too tempting to be allowed to slip, and I shall be much mistaken if Your Lordship does not discover the existence of this feeling should the Commissioners be honoured by personal intercourse with you.

But the Envoys will also carry with them the means of enlisting the good will of the great commercial Nations of Europe towards their Confederacy in the liberal character of their Tariff, which will, at the least, offer a marked contrast to the stringent regulations recently adopted by the United States. The Southern Congress has adjourned without actually passing the new Tariff which I erroneously informed Your Lordship, in my Dispatch, No. 35 of the 14th Instant, that it had adopted, but there is no doubt that its provisions will be carried out, with some small modifications, as soon as the Congress shall re-assemble. This, with the opening of the Coasting trade to foreigners will, I make no doubt, be urged by the Commissioners as a strong ground for recognition.

The third and last despatch which is of importance in the present connection was dated April 19, and was received at the Foreign Office on the 10th of May — four days before the arrival of Mr. Adams. Already, a week before, on the second of the month, the three Commissioners — Yancey, Rost and Mann — had been granted an informal interview, in no way implying recognition, by the Foreign Secretary. The legal

questions involved in the action of the Federal Government had been referred to the law advisers of the Crown. On the 6th of May Lord John Russell formally announced in the Commons the policy of neutrality and that belligerent rights would consequently be conceded to the Confederacy. On the 9th, Sir George Lewis, the Secretary of War, communicated to Parliament the Queen's Proclamation. On the 11th, President Lincoln's Proclamation of Blockade was officially communicated to the British Government by Mr. Dallas. On the 14th, the day before the arrival of Mr. Adams in London, the Queen's Proclamation appeared in the *Gazette*. The following despatch, therefore, arrived too late to exercise any influence on the action of the government, but it nevertheless was distinctly confirmatory of the conclusions previously arrived at and upon which action had been based. It reads as follows:

Since the fall of Fort Sumter on the 13th Instant there has been no event of marked importance within the State of South Carolina. The Squadron of Men of War and Transports which was to be seen off the Harbour of Charleston during the attack upon the Fort has disappeared, and no attempt has been made either to retake the Fort or to retaliate upon the Confederate Forces, although this matter would be easy in their present exposed and disorganized condition. Thus far in the contest, the military movements of the United States have been characterized only by weakness and indecision. No advantage has been taken of their manifest superiority in numbers, and especially of the possession of the entire Navy. We can only hope that this vacillation proceeds from a desire on the part of Mr. Lincoln to avoid, if it be possible, a civil war.

In the meantime, the Southern cause is daily gaining strength, and I have no doubt whatever that the whole fifteen Slave-holding States will soon be united under the Flag of the Confederate States. North Carolina, which forms a portion of this Consular District, is on the high road to Secession, having already taken possession of the Federal Forts by order of the Governor, Mr. Ellis.

In the event of actual conflict I am inclined to think that the South will, at the least, hold its own with the United States. It is true that it is inferior in Population, Resources, and general enlightenment to its gigantic neighbour, but then it is thoroughly in earnest, and there is no difference of opinion amongst its inhabitants. They all believe that they will have to fight for their very existence, and above all, to save their wives and children from the fury of the servile race. The North, on the contrary, is greatly

divided in sentiment. Thousands there side with the South in this unhappy question, and even of those who desire to maintain the integrity of the Union, a large proportion are not prepared to coerce their brethren into a permanent connexion with a Government which is distasteful to them.

Fears are entertained by many that the Union of the fifteen Slave states may increase the probabilities of war. I do not incline to this opinion, but rather believe that the very aspect of such an unanimity of purpose may deter the Government of Mr. Lincoln, or, what is of more consequence, the conservative portion of the North, from commencing a conflict which can only end in the ruin of both sections of this distracted Country. A very few weeks must decide the question. The success of Fort Sumter has increased the warlike feeling here, but even here the difference is fully appreciated between the defence of their own soil and a war of aggression beyond its limits.

While Consul Bunch's entire characterization was condemnatory, it will be noted that he never questioned the fact that the South had already actually established its independence. This he seems indeed to take for granted. The influence of such a conclusion reached by an intelligent official on the spot upon the mind of the Foreign Secretary at just this formative period is obvious.

Up to the end of January, 1861, Lyons had not reported in any detail his views as to the administration about to be installed at Washington. The make-up of the incoming Cabinet of President Lincoln was indeed yet uncertain; that Seward would be Secretary of State had been made known, and it was assumed that his would be the controlling influence in the Cabinet. At this time the inchoate "Premier" was deeply involved in those attempts at Southern conciliation which, now matter of familiar history, later drew upon him much criticism. Occasionally, however, the foreign representative found some opportunity to talk with the senator from New York, and on February 4, 1861, in an official letter to Russell, Lord Lyons says:

Mr. Seward's real view of the state of the country appears to be, that if bloodshed can be avoided until the new Government is installed, the seceding States will in no long time return to the Confederation. He has unbounded confidence in his own skill in managing the American people. He thinks that with the influence and

the Patronage of the Federal Government at his command, he shall have little difficulty in turning the tide of popular feeling in the South. He thinks that in a few months the evils and hardships produced by secession will become intolerably grievous to the Southern States; that they will be completely reassured as to the intentions of the Administration; and that the conservative element which is now kept under the surface by the violent pressure of the Secessionists, will emerge with irresistible force. From all these causes he confidently expects that when the Elections for the State Legislatures are held in the Southern States in November next, the Union party will have a clear majority, and will bring the seceding States back into the Confederation. He then hopes to place himself at the head of a strong Union party, having extensive ramifications both in the North and in the South, and to make *Union* or *Disunion*, not *Freedom* or *Slavery* the watchwords of Political Parties. I am afraid he would not be reluctant to provide excitement for the public mind by raising questions with Foreign Powers.

In all this Mr. Seward seems to take it for granted that Mr. Lincoln will leave the whole management of affairs to him.

The series of despatches and even more the private letters now exchanged between Lord Lyons and Lord John Russell are of exceptional interest, throwing, as they do, much light upon the disposition of those then representing Great Britain and guiding its policy. They disclose the information upon which action was based. The most noticeable feature was, perhaps, the complete absence of guidance, so far as those about to be responsible for the American outcome were concerned, and the consequent utter impossibility under which the foreign representative labored of forming any accurate forecast of the policy proper, under the circumstances, to be pursued. The divergence of individual judgment was complete; yet everyone, groping his own way, none the less felt the utmost confidence in the conclusions he had reached, quite irrespective of the altogether different conclusions reached by others. Throughout the British correspondence this confusion of thought and council is reflected. The following, for instance, is from a despatch of Lord Lyons to Consul Bunch in Charleston, South Carolina, written December 12, 1860 — immediately after the election of Lincoln and before the secession of South Carolina had actually taken place:

I wrote to Lord J[ohn] R[ussell] concerning some of the puzzling questions likely to be raised by the secession of South Carolina. . . . Your conversation with Mr. Pitt is very important. . . . I am afraid the very exaggerated and very false ideas they have in the South about cotton will lead to very foolish conduct. It is true that cotton is almost a necessity to us, but it is still more necessary for them to sell it than it is for us to buy it. Besides there are plenty of places where cotton can be grown. The only difficulty is to produce it as cheaply as in these States: the moment the price rises above a certain point it will be extensively cultivated in many parts of the world.

Suppose the notion of the South's withholding its cotton could possibly be realised, it is evident from all experience that other cotton would be got elsewhere or a substitute be found and that the old state of things would never return.

It seems to be very generally thought here, that the S. C'ians will be persuaded to let the U. S. Customs Authorities work on for a time, until the negotiations for an amicable secession either succeed or are abandoned. If not, I suppose the Fed. Gov. must either send a man-of-war to collect the duties or must make some arrangement, by which foreign vessels as well as those of the non-seceding States must be saved from incurring loss or inconvenience from its neglecting to do so. Technically, I suppose it might declare Charleston to be no longer a Port of Entry, and then treat all vessels landing cargoes there as smugglers. But I do not suppose it would resort to a childish measure of this kind.

The following letter from Lord Lyons to Lord John Russell, dated Washington, January 7, 1861, is marked "Private and Confidential." A portion of the letter has already been used by Lord Newton in his *Life of Lord Lyons* (I. 30).

With regard to Great Britain, I cannot help fearing that he [Seward] will be a dangerous Foreign Minister. His view of the Relations between the United States and Great Britain has always been that they are a good material to make political Capital of. He thinks at all events that they may be safely played with — without any risk of bringing on a war. He has even to me avowed his belief that England will *never* go to war with the United States. He has generally taken up any cry against us — but this, he says, he has done from friendship, to prevent the other Party's appropriating it, and doing more harm with it, than he has done. The temptation will be great for Lincoln's Party, if they be not actually engaged in Civil War, to endeavour to divert the Public excitement

to a Foreign Quarrel. I do not think Mr. Seward would contemplate actually going to war with us, but he would be well disposed to play the old game of seeking popularity hereby displaying insolence towards us. I don't think it will be so good a game for him, as it used to be, even supposing we give him an apparent Triumph; but I think he is likely to try to play it.

This makes me more than ever impatient to settle the San Juan and Hudson's Bay Questions. I confess however I am almost in despair about them. If General Cass had staid in office, I really believe the thing might have been done in time. The choice of the Attorney General, Mr. Black, for a successor to him is most unfortunate. He is a lawyer, who can only attend to one thing at a time, and neglects all other business now in order, I suppose, to give the President legal advice on the Crisis. There are not eight weeks left of Mr. Buchanan's Administration. It was impossible to get the simplest bit of business through Mr. Black's office in that time, when he was Attorney General.

In a letter, marked "Private," of January 21, 1861, Lyons wrote to William S. Lindsay, M.P., subsequently so pronounced a Confederate sympathizer:

. . . It is really impossible to get any of the official people here to give a moment's attention to any matter, however important, which has not a direct bearing upon the question of the dissolution of the confederacy. Each time I have entered with them upon the subject of your proposals they have been less heedful of what I have said. Still I think I might have done something, had the men who discussed the subject with you remained in office. But General Cass, Mr. Cobb and Mr. Trescott have all abandoned the Administration. From the President himself, harassed as he is with dissensions in his Cabinet, as well as with the perilous state of the country, one can hardly expect attention to the details of other business. The new Secretary of State is rarely to be found at the State Department, and is seldom or never prepared to speak upon any other subject than the crisis. The Members of Congress are as little disposed as the Members of the Executive Government to turn their attention to matters less exciting than disunion and civil war. In fact the house is on fire, and neither those who are fanning the flames nor those who are endeavouring to extinguish them, can think of anything but the conflagration.

In a letter to Lord John Russell, dated January 21, 1861, marked "Private," Lyons said:

The absence from his Post of Mr. Tulin, the Consul at Mobile, in Alabama, is inconvenient. There is an idea that the Southern Congress will be held at Montgomery the Capital of that State — and it might be convenient to have some one who could be depended upon to watch its proceedings. To send a special Agent, whether avowedly as British Agent or not, would probably give rise to a great deal of suspicion and annoyance here and in the North. It would raise awkward questions, if we were to appoint a *new* Consul at this moment for an Exequatur: the seceding State would probably not allow a Consul to act, who held an Exequatur from the Federal Government granted since the Secession.

The following extract from a letter of Charles Greville to Lord Clarendon, written at this time, and printed in Maxwell's *Life of Clarendon* (II. 237), throws incidental light upon the views as respects cotton as an industrial staple, the institution of slavery, and the possible impending outcome of the American situation, somewhat vaguely entertained by prominent English public men:

. . . Any war will be almost sure to interfere with the cotton crops, and this is really what affects us and what we care about. With all our virulent abuse of slavery and slave-owners, and our continual self-laudation on that subject, we are just as anxious for, and as much interested in, the prosperity of the slavery interest in the Southern States as the Carolinian and Georgian planters themselves, and all Lancashire would deplore a successful insurrection of the slaves, if such a thing were possible.

The following from Lord Lyons to Lord John Russell, marked "Private and Confidential," was written just as the sessions of the Peace Congress at Washington were about to begin. It was dated February 4, 1861:

Mr. Everett, who is here with a monster Union Petition from Boston, came to me a few days ago in a state of great despondency about the Country. He said it had occurred to him that perhaps the mediation of the Great Powers of Europe between the North and South might be beneficial. It would not do, he said, for England alone to offer her mediation — but she might do so in conjunction with France and Russia. Such a mediation he thought would probably take place in Europe, if any of the States on that Continent should be in the same condition as was the Confederation. I reminded Mr. Everett that the States of Europe regarded them-

selves as belonging to the same political family, while hitherto the United States of America had haughtily repudiated the notion that the Powers of Europe had any title to interfere, and this not only as to the affairs of the United States themselves, but as to those of any other part of America. Would it not cause a great deal of irritation in this Country, if Europe now came forward to settle the domestic quarrel now raging here? Mr. Everett said, perhaps it would, but still he thought a declaration of the Great Powers of Europe would have great effect on the Southern States, which looked a great deal to Foreign support. He said that he had hinted something of the kind to the Russian Minister, M. de Stoeckl — but that he had not mentioned the idea to anyone else here — and he begged me not to allow it to transpire here that he had spoken to me about it.

I have never heard anything of the kind suggested by any one but Mr. Everett. I should very much hesitate to proffer mediation *unasked*. Among other difficulties, I doubt whether Public Opinion in England could be brought to the point of toleration of Slavery, at which even Northern Americans (except the most ardent abolitionists) have arrived. It would I should think, be difficult for England to be a party to an arrangement for securing and perpetuating Slavery anywhere — and the Northern States are quite ready to yield on everything except the *extension* of Slavery.

I have given you an account in a Despatch to-day (No. 40) of a long conversation I had yesterday with Mr. Seward. He is extremely friendly to me personally — but I confess my fears of him as Foreign Secretary are increasing. He was especially unsatisfactory on the Tariff question. He repeated (no doubt for my instruction) a conversation he had had with M. Schleiden, the Bremen Minister, who appears to have suggested the imprudence of giving European Commerce and consequently European Governments strong reason for supporting the South. Mr. Seward said he had told M. Schleiden that nothing would give so much pleasure as to see a European Power interfere in favour of South Carolina — for that then he should "pitch into" the European Power and South Carolina and the seceding States would soon join him in doing so. I am afraid he takes no other view of Foreign Relations, than as safe levers to work with upon public opinion here.

He says that the reason he will not commit himself to any definite plan for a settlement of differences at present, is that he is sure that at this moment no plan would be accepted by both Parties — and that he does not choose to weaken his position by making himself responsible for a rejected Plan. In this I think he is wise. Whether he will bring about a better state of things as soon as he expects, remains to be seen.

It was in apparent reply to suggestions of this character that Lord John Russell at a later day wrote Lord Lyons from the Foreign Office, April 6, 1861, a memorandum submitted before transmission to Lord Palmerston, and reading as follows: "I have to instruct you to recommend conciliation in the event of your Lordship's opinion being requested, but never to obtrude advice unasked."

Recurring to the earlier stage of development, the question of the San Juan water boundary was then under discussion. President Buchanan sent a message to the Senate on this subject February 21, 1861.[1] Referring to this message, Lord Lyons wrote to Lord John Russell in a letter marked "Private and Confidential," as follows:

I am very glad indeed to get the Draft of a Convention about San Juan etc., and I shall attack the President himself about it immediately. I am afraid he will tell me that it is impossible for him to attend to it, that it is too late, or (what I fear is true) that it would be impossible for him to carry it in the Senate, now that the Seceding Senators have withdrawn. Nevertheless it is our last chance, and I am more than ever anxious to get these questions out of the way before Mr. Seward comes in. For he shows more than ever a disposition to play his old game, of raising excitement by a dispute with Foreign Powers — and of course England is the power most useful for his purpose. He has asked one of our Colleagues to invite the French Minister, Mr. Mercier, and me to dinner, in order that he may talk politics with us. I should not be the least surprised if he were to tell us both not to be annoyed if he used a high tone with us, and appeared hostile to France and England, for that he would be merely conforming to a necessity of his position, and would be actuated by the kindest motives towards the two countries. I had hoped that he had been convinced of the danger of this game by a conversation which he had with the Duke of Newcastle at Albany; but he has such unbounded confidence in his own sagacity and dexterity, that nothing which can be said to him makes much impression.

Such being, as I believe, the disposition of the man who will be at the head of the Foreign Department and Prime Minister of this Government in three weeks' time, it may perhaps be worth considering whether it will not be more than usually important to act, if possible, in concert with France, should it become necessary to resist attempts to exclude our vessels from Southern Ports. As I

[1] *Works*, XI. 148.

mentioned in my last letter, Mr. Seward himself told me that he *wished* some Foreign Power to resist any measure taken against South Carolina. He would hardly, I suppose, adopt an intolerable tone of bullying towards England and France united; although, in language at least, nothing would probably exceed his fierceness towards England, if he thought he had her alone to deal with.

He is playing a difficult game in home politics. On the one hand, he tries to rally moderate opponents by vague conciliatory speeches; on the other hand, he keeps his own Party together by pointing out that he has never *voted* for any concession whatever, and declaring that he never will.

Moreover he has little or no personal acquaintance with the President Elect, and very little knowledge of his views or intentions, or means of judging of the amount of influence he himself will have with the new Chief Magistrate.

This letter, it will be noted, was written prior to the inauguration of President Lincoln. I come now to the subsequent period, after Lincoln had been inaugurated and Seward, ceasing to be a member of the Senate, had been installed as head of the Department of State.

In a despatch of March 18, 1861, marked "Private," Lyons wrote as follows:

Upon the troubles of the country I go in conversation little beyond preaching vaguely peace and conciliation, except on the one point of interference with Foreign Commerce. I have not hesitated to urge the considerations against that, pretty strongly — and to point out that it would in all probability be a fatal step to the party which first adopted it, by bringing the Powers of Europe into the quarrel, and throwing their weight into the other scale.

The date of the following despatch (March 26, 1861) is of much interest, read in connection with the record of Secretary Welles covering the same momentous period. Concerning that period, Mr. Welles wrote:

The Secretary of State spent much of each day at the Executive Mansion and was vigilant to possess himself of every act, move and intention of the President and of each of his associates. Perhaps there was an equal desire on their part to be informed of the proceedings of the Administration in full, but less was known of the transactions of the State Department than of any other.[1]

[1] *Diary*, I. 14.

Lord Lyons's despatch to Lord Russell is as follows:

Mr. Seward came to me on the evening of the 20th instant, and asked me to let him speak to me very confidentially. He went on to express great apprehension lest *any* Power should recognize the Southern Confederacy. He seemed even to feel alarm lest Brazil or Peru should do so. In fact the immediate object of his visit appeared to be, to endeavour to ascertain through me, whether there could be any truth in private information which had reached him that Brazil had determined already to recognize the new Confederacy. Brazil, he said, might perhaps be led to do so, by community of feeling on Slavery; and Peru might hope to avoid a compliance with the demands made by the late Administration. He then told me that he was studying the Papers on the Peruvian Question, with an earnest desire to find that the late Administration were in the wrong. He said that at all events he should be disposed to renew Diplomatic Relations with Peru and reopen the negotiations; possibly he might in the end be compelled to come to the same conclusion to which his Predecessor had come, but he sincerely hoped not. He wished to avoid giving Peru any motive for recognizing the Southern Confederacy; "besides," he added, "the case of the Peruvian Government is just our own at Charleston."

The Peruvian Papers, to which Mr. Seward referred, were those submitted to Congress, of which a copy was put into my hand by Judge Black on the 7th January, and transmitted to you in my Despatch of the 10th of that month, No. 9. Speaking generally, the principle asserted in them by the United States Government, was that a Foreign vessel having complied with the regulations of a *de facto* Government which it found in power at a Port, was not afterwards liable to be called to account by a *de jure* Government.

I told Mr. Seward that I could not offer an opinion as to the probability of the Peruvian Government's recognizing the Southern Confederacy; but that I could not help thinking that the applicability of the principle maintained by the late Administration to the present state of affairs at Charleston, and other Southern ports, was a reason for wishing to find it correct and not erroneous. It seemed to me, I said, to afford the Government of the United States a good foundation for adopting the course most consonant to their interests; in fact to enable them to avoid interfering with Foreign Commerce and so getting into trouble with Foreign Powers, and at the same time to maintain, if they pleased, that the authority *de jure* in the Southern Ports still belonged to the United States.

Mr. Seward observed that he considered it all important to ward off a crisis during the next three months — that he had good hopes,

that if this could be effected, a counter-revolution would take place in the South — that he hoped and believed that it would begin in the most distant State, Texas; where indeed he saw symptoms of it already. It might be necessary towards producing this effect to make the Southern States feel uncomfortable in their present condition by interrupting their commerce. It was however most important that the new Confederacy should not in the mean time be recognized by any Foreign Power.

I said that certainly the feelings as well as the interests of Great Britain would render Her Majesty's Government most desirous to avoid any step, which could prolong the quarrel between North and South, or be an obstacle to a cordial and speedy reunion between them, if that were possible. Still, I said, if the United States determined to stop by force so important a commerce as that of Great Britain with the cotton growing States, I could not answer for what might happen.

Mr. Seward asked whether England would not be content to get cotton through the Northern Ports, to which it could be sent by land.

I answered that cotton, although by far the most important article of the trade, was not the only point to be considered. It was however a matter of the greatest consequence to England to procure cheap cotton. If a considerable rise were to take place in the price of cotton, and British Ships were to be at the same time excluded from the Southern Ports, an immense pressure would be put upon Her Majesty's Government to use all the means in their power to open those ports. If Her Majesty's Government felt it their duty to do so, they would naturally endeavour to effect their object in a manner as consistent as possible, first with their friendly feelings towards both sections of this Country, and secondly with the recognized principles of International Law. As regarded the latter point in particular, it certainly appeared that the most simple, if not the only way, would be to recognize the Southern Confederacy. I said a good deal about my hopes that Mr. Seward would never let things come to this, with which it is not necessary to trouble you.

I thought Mr. Seward, although he did not give up the point, listened with complacency to my arguments against interference with Foreign Commerce. He said more than once that he should like to take me to the President to discuss the subject with him. The conclusion I came to was that the questions of a forcible collection of the duties in the Southern Ports, and of a blockade of those Ports were under discussion in the Cabinet, but that Mr. Seward was himself opposed to these measures, and had good hopes that his opinion would prevail.

It would appear however that a change took place in the inter-

val between this conversation and yesterday. Mr. Seward, the principal Members of the Cabinet, the Russian Minister, M. de Stoeckl, and the French Minister, M. Mercier, with some other people dined with me. After dinner Mr. Seward entered into an animated conversation with my French and Russian Colleagues and signed to me to join them. When I came up I found him asking M. Mercier to give him a copy of his instructions to the French Consuls in the Southern States. M. Mercier made some excuse for refusing, but said that what the instructions amounted to was that the Consuls were to do their best to protect French Commerce "sans sortir de la plus stricte neutralité." Mr. Seward then asked me to give him a copy of my instructions to Her Majesty's Consuls. I of course declined to do so, but I told him that the purport of them was, that the Consuls were to regard questions from a Commercial not from a political point of view; that they were to do all they could to favour the continuance of peaceful commerce, short of performing an act of recognition, without the orders of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. Seward then alluded to the Peruvian Papers, and speaking as he had done all along very loud, said to my French and Russian Colleagues and me: "I have formed my opinion on that matter, and I may as well tell it to you now as at any other time. I differ with my Predecessor as to *de facto* Authorities. If one of your ships comes out of a Southern Port, without the Papers required by the laws of the United States, and is seized by one of our Cruisers and carried into New York and confiscated, we shall not make any compensation." My Russian Colleague, M. de Stoeckl, argued the question with Mr. Seward very good-naturedly and very ably. Upon his saying that a Blockade to be respected must be effective, Mr. Seward replied that it was not a Blockade that would be established — that the U. S. Cruisers would be stationed off the South Coast to collect duties, and enforce penalties for the infraction of the United States Customs Laws. Mr. Seward then appealed to me. I said that it was really a matter so very serious that I was unwilling to discuss it; that his plan seemed to me to amount in fact to a paper blockade of the enormous extent of coast comprised in the seceding States; that the calling it an enforcement of the Revenue Laws appeared to me to increase the gravity of the measure, for it placed Foreign Powers in the Dilemma of recognizing the Southern Confederation or of submitting to the interruption of their Commerce.

Mr. Seward then went off into a defiance of Foreign Nations, in a style of braggadocio which was formerly not uncommon with him, but which I had not heard before from him since he had been in office. Finding he was getting more and more violent

and noisy, and saying things which it would be more convenient for me not to have heard, I took a natural opportunity of turning, as host, to speak to some of the ladies in the room.

The immediate question which is critical is whether we shall admit the Southern Privateers and their prizes into our Ports.

M. de Stoeckl, and M. de Mercier inferred, as I do, that within the last two days, the opinions of the more violent Party in the Cabinet had prevailed, at all events for the moment — and that there is a danger that an interference with Foreign Trade may take place at any moment. I hope it may still be prevented by the fear of its producing a recognition of the Southern Confederacy. But I am afraid we must be prepared for it.

It may perhaps be well, with a view to the effect on this Government, that the Commissioners who are on their way to Europe from the Southern States, should not meet with too strong a rebuff in England or in France. Such a rebuff would be a great encouragement to violent measures here. In fact, notwithstanding my contradictions, the Senate, and indeed, I fear, the President, is not uninfluenced by the bold assertions made by some Members of the violent Party, that they have positive assurances from Your Lordship and other Members of Her Majesty's Government that *under no circumstances whatever* will Great Britain recognize the independence of the South.

M. Mercier thinks it advisable that he and I should have a discretionary power to recognize the South. This seems to me to be going too fast. I should feel a good deal embarrassed by having such a power in my pocket, unless the contingency in which it was to be used should be most clearly stated. What does appear to be of extreme importance is that England and France should act in concert.[1]

In this connection the dates are of extreme historical interest, affording, as they do, a glimpse of chaotic conditions. March 29, the British Minister is advising the Foreign Secretary in London that "prudent counsels appear to be again in the ascendant"; meanwhile, only three days later, on April 1, the American Secretary of State is handing the President a memorandum, subsequently referred to (III. 445) by Nicolay and Hay as "an extraordinary State paper, unlike anything to be found in the political history of the United States" — a recommendation of world-warfare as a desirable alternative to domestic disturbance. That memo-

[1] Newton, *Lyons*, I. 31.

randum was on March 29 in the pocket of the Secretary; and yet, fairly incomprehensible as such a statement now sounds, it is none the less true that with a vital crisis immediately as well as obviously impending, there had been as yet not a "single [Cabinet] sitting to deliberate on the general line of policy [to be adopted] towards the Southern Confederacy." All this we now know. Had, however, Lord Lyons and Lord John Russell at the time been cognizant of it, could the conditions have been considered by them other than fairly incomprehensible? Would, under such circumstances, any line of action foreign nations might have decided upon been unwarranted? In the light of Seward's memorandum, would a policy of friendliness naturally have suggested itself?

On the 9th of April, in a letter marked "Private," Lord Lyons thus expresses himself as respects the President:

> I am doing all I can to make the Government here aware of the disastrous effect of their blockading the Southern Ports, or attempting to interfere with Foreign Commerce. Mr. Lincoln has not hitherto given proof of his possessing any natural talents to compensate for his ignorance of everything but Illinois village politics. He seems to be well meaning and conscientious, in the measure of his understanding, but not much more.

On the 12th of April, the date of the attack on Fort Sumter, Lord Lyons wrote as follows:

> Immense activity is shown in fitting out ships of war in several of the Dockyards. In fact the coercion party having at last got their own way in the Cabinet, are doing their best to make up for lost time.
>
> If solemn declarations are adhered to, the immediate consequence will be civil war and the secession of the Border States. There is still perhaps *some* hope, that the evident disinclination on both sides to shed blood, may render the coercion mild and the resistance nominal. I am afraid the probabilities are the other way.
>
> I do hope they will not be so ill-advised as to interfere with Foreign Commerce. But all these naval preparations look painfully like a blockade.

A week later, April 23, the crisis in Charleston having in the meantime arrived, Lord Lyons thus wrote in a despatch marked "Private":

My own opinion is that any interference in the quarrel at the present moment, short of a down right alliance with one side against the other, would probably only bring upon us the hatred of both. Such an alliance is of course entirely out of the question.

The Blockade has not yet been officially announced to me. If it be carried on, with reasonable consideration for Foreign Flags, and in strict conformity with the Law of Nations, I suppose it must be recognized. At all events it could hardly be disputed without express orders from Her Majesty's Government. Before such orders could arrive, the season during which British vessels ordinarily frequent the Southern Ports would be over.

I understand that the Northern Ports insisted upon a Blockade, as a *sine qua non*, condition of their giving their support to the Government. Of course they could not endure to see Foreign Trade diverted to the South.

As regards the Southern Privateers, I suppose the principle of Neutrality would prevent our interfering with them either — unless they threatened danger to our Merchant Vessels, or filibustering expeditions against places not in the United States. The United States Navy ought to be quite sufficient to keep them down, and there can be no doubt of its desire to do so. As a matter of technical law, I suppose we have the right to seize Privateers, if we please, which sail under a flag which we do not recognize.

I have just seen the Consul and Vice Consul from Baltimore who have come over to report to me the state of affairs there. They describe the anti-union and anti-North excitement as tremendous. The town seems to be entirely in the hands of the Mob. The Vice Consul, who has managed to get through from New York, says that the excitement there against the South, and especially against the Baltimore people, is equally fierce.

At Washington great alarm is felt, first, lest the town should be immediately attacked from the South; and secondly, lest it should be starved, as both Virginia and Maryland refuse to allow provisions to come to it. These alarms seem not to have much foundation.

The following, marked "Private," was written from Washington, April 27, 1861, in the midst of the confusion which prevailed after the fall of Sumter:

In common with the most influential of my Colleagues, I exhausted every possible means of opposition to the Blockade. The great North Eastern Cities insisted upon it, not only as a measure of vengeance, but as one essential to the preservation of their own

prosperity. They could hardly be expected to make sacrifices for the contest, unless they were secured from seeing their Trade diverted to Southern Ports. I think the Blockade is less likely to be injurious or to raise awkward questions, than any of the irregular modes of closing the Southern Ports which were proposed. Until September it will interfere very little with any Trade which we carry on with the South in the ordinary course of things. But it will of course effectively prevent the new trade which might perhaps have sprung up under the influence of the opposing Tariffs of North and South. The official announcement of it, which I have only just received, seems extraordinarily vague. I conclude the exact date of the commencement of the effective Blockade at each particular Port will be announced in proper form hereafter. I hope that we shall succeed in obtaining a tolerably liberal application of its rules as far as Foreign vessels are concerned.

Mr. Seward has talked (not to me) of the United States being now willing to adhere to the Declaration of the Congress of Paris abolishing Privateering. I am always rather afraid of touching upon the principles laid down in the Declaration. It may perhaps be a good thing to secure the adherence of the United States to them — though how long after the present crisis the adherence may be maintained, is, I think, not a little doubtful. The time at which the offer would be made renders the thing rather amusing. It would no doubt be very convenient if the Navies of Europe would put down the Privateers, and thus leave the whole Navy of the United States free to blockade the Ports against European Merchant Vessels.

The Consuls at New York and Boston having been withdrawn, by the interruption of Post and telegraphs, from the influence of the calming potions, which I administer to them when I have the means of doing so, seem to have taken the Northern War Fever. As the Governors have refused to send the Arms free from the British Public Stores without my sanction, I hope no great harm is done. Mr. Archibald is so valuable a public servant, that I have been sorry to send him even the very mild reproof, of which I sent you a copy officially to-day.

I have been rather puzzled what to say to the Admiral.[1] Every Consul and every British Subject wishes to have a Man of War or a Fleet if possible at his door. I don't see that the Men of War could be of any practical use, except as places of refuge, in case of a bombardment or actual fighting in a town. There are naval as well as political objections to having our Ships here without strong neces-

[1] Milne.

sity. The temptations to desert are very strong and very generally yielded to by our Men of War when in American Ports. With the practice, which has grown up here, of putting out lights and removing Beacons and Buoys, it might be easier to get a ship into one of these harbours or rivers than to get her out again. I should like to have ships as near at hand as possible without being actually in American Waters. The case of a strong joint Naval demonstration of England and France united to enforce respect to any decision they might come to, about Blockades, Privateers, or other matters, would be a very different thing. Not that I think even a joint intervention of this kind a thing to be desired in itself.

In their terror some of the inhabitants of this town went to my Prussian Colleague, Baron de Gerolt, and proposed that the Diplomatic Body at Washington should propose to mediate between the Northern and Southern Governments, to prevent bloodshed and to obtain an Armistice until Congress met in July. I told Baron de Gerolt that the object was no doubt excellent, but that without discussing the plan farther, there was in my mind one objection which was fatal to it. I was certain that neither party would accept the mediation. Baron de Gerolt said he had reason to think Mr. Seward would not be unfavorable to the plan. I spoke in the afternoon to the French Minister, M. Mercier, who entirely agreed with me. On the following morning appeared Mr. Seward's letter to the Governor of Maryland (a copy of which I sent you in my Despatch No. 159) scornfully rejecting the "arbitrament of any European Monarchy." In any case I should have felt great difficulty in consenting to take part in a mediation without your orders — and I should have little or no hope of its being successful.

On the 2d of May, Lord Lyons thus wrote, of course confidentially, to Lord John Russell:

Mr. Seward is so arrogant and so reckless towards Foreign Powers that I felt my only chance of keeping him within bounds was to make a firm stand in the case of the *Peerless*.[1]

I was afraid that other vexations would be multiplied during the Blockade.

I have, however, avoided all personal altercation with him and kept our personal relations on such footing that neither of us will feel any embarrassment in treating questions confidentially or otherwise.

As the Cabinet have gone altogether beyond their Constitutional powers in Warlike proceedings it is unhappily absolutely necessary

[1] See *Proceedings*, XLVI. 37.

for them to keep up excitement until Congress meets in July in order to obtain a bill of indemnity.

Communicated to the Premier by the Foreign Secretary, the despatches referred to elicited the following memorandum:

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 23/5/-61.

These Communications are very unpleasant.

It is not at all unlikely that either from foolish and uncalculating arrogance and self-sufficiency or from political Calculation Mr. Seward may bring on a Quarrel with us. He would be tempted to do so if our American Provinces were defenceless, and his Colleagues might be deterred from doing so if they felt or knew that our Colonies were in a good State of Defence.

It seems to me desirable that Three Battalions instead of one should be sent without Parade to Canada. The main Force for Defence must of Course be local but everybody knows the advantages of a regular Force as Foundation for an irregular army.

The views at this time entertained by Lord Palmerston are set forth as follows in a letter addressed to Edward Ellice, M.P.:

The day on which we could succeed in putting an end to this unnatural war between the two sections of our North American cousins would be one of the happiest of our lives, and all that is wanting to induce us to take steps for that purpose is a belief that any such steps would lead towards the accomplishment of that purpose, and would not do more harm than good. The danger is that, in the excited state of men's minds in America, the offer of any one to interpose to arrest their action, and disappoint them of their expected triumph, might be resented by both sides; and that jealousy of European, especially of English, interference in their internal affairs might make them still more prone to reject our offer as impertinent.

There would, moreover, be great difficulty in suggesting any basis of arrangement to which both parties could agree, and which it would not be repugnant to English feelings and principles to propose. *We* could not well mix ourselves up with the acknowledgment of slavery and the principle that a slave escaping to a free soil State should be followed, claimed, and recovered, like a horse or an ox. We might possibly propose that the North and South should separate amicably; that they should make some boundary line, to be agreed upon, the line of separation between them; and that each confederation should be free to make for its own internal affairs and concerns such laws as it might think fit — the two confedera-

tions entering, however, into certain mutual arrangements as to trade and commerce with each other.

Do you think the time is come for any arrangement of such a kind? or is it not in the nature of things and in human nature that the wiry edge must be taken off this craving appetite for conflict in arms before any real and widespread desire for peace by mutual concession can be looked for? [1]

The following, marked "Private" and dated Washington, May 6, 1861, naturally did not reach its destination at the Foreign Office before the issuance of the Proclamation of Belligerency. Nevertheless, it throws a strong reflective light thereon.

Mr. Seward's Despatch to Mr. Adams about your conversation with Mr. Dallas, and his conduct about the *Peerless*, are a painful illustration of the character of the man we have to deal with. I will hope that he has not a deliberate intention to quarrel with us: but I think he has a strong inclination to try to what extent he may make political capital by high-handed conduct and violent language towards us. My hope that he does not intend to pick a quarrel with us does not rest, as might be supposed, on considerations of the insanity which doing so at this crisis in the affairs of this country would seem to indicate. I can perceive little or no understanding in Mr. Seward, either of the comparative power of the Great Countries of Europe and the remains of the United States, or of the importance to their Government of conciliating the European Powers or at all events of not forcing them into hostility. As he thought last autumn that all excitement would instantly subside in the South as soon as Mr. Lincoln's Election was decided; as he declared when Congress met in December that the talk of secession would all be over in thirty days, as he announced in January that at all events sixty days more was the extreme limit of the continuance of secession agitation; as he declared in February that it was impossible but that in one month after he was in office, he should have brought all the States back to the Union; as he proclaimed six weeks ago that his measures had been so successful that the return of the Seceders in November was quite certain and that no drop of blood would be shed; as he maintains, I believe now, that the first appearance of Northern Troops in the South will be hailed by an oppressed Union Majority — so it is conceivable that he may hold that if a War arose with a Foreign Power, the South would embrace the

[1] This letter has already been printed in Ashley, *Life of Palmerston*, II. 405.

North and share its perils. Such a notion is of course simply absurd — but then so were all Mr. Seward's previous notions about the South. The President and the rest of the Cabinet, if not so ignorant of the South as Mr. Seward, are if possible, still more ignorant of Europe, and some of them are much more violent than he is.

With such a Minister for Foreign Affairs, and such a Government, to keep on good terms will be no easy matter. And behind them is the violent party, or indeed one may say the ignorant mob of the North. I imagine that the immediate cause of the order to seize the *Peerless* was the desire to announce this act of vigour to some violent partisan in Massachusetts, who had urged it on the Government and reproached them with want of energy. I am in the greatest apprehension that similar causes may produce similar proceedings at any moment. The next step may be to seize a suspected Privateer in Canadian Waters, or to commit some other violation of Canadian Territory. My own plan with Mr. Seward has been to remonstrate more in sorrow than in anger, to endeavour to make him see the extreme folly of such conduct without wounding his vanity, and to keep on such terms with him personally as may at all events afford me the means of endeavouring to keep him straight by friendly warnings as well as by strong remonstrances. At the moment I am anxious too to be able to obtain, if possible, some relaxation of the Blockade, in favour of British subjects, in individual cases of hardship. I have thought moreover that you would not wish me to push the matter of the *Peerless* too far here, but to content myself with such a protest as would leave the means to be adopted to prevent a recurrence of similar acts of violence or threats of violence, entirely open for your consideration. I think our best chance of preventing future difficulties is to be firm in the beginning.

I confess I can see no better policy for us than a strict impartiality for the present. The sympathies of an Englishman are naturally inclined towards the North — but I am afraid we should find that anything like a quasi alliance with the men in office here, would place us in a position which would soon become untenable. There would be no end to the exactions which they would make upon us, there would be no end to the disregard of our neutral rights, which they would show, if they once felt sure of us. If I had the least hope of their being able to reconstruct the Union, or even of their being able to reduce the South to the condition of a tolerably contented or at all events obedient dependency, my feeling against Slavery might lead me to desire to co-operate with them. But I conceive all chance of this to be gone for ever. The question

now is only how long and how bloody the war will be, and how much injury it will cause to both Divisions of the Country. The injury inflicted on both will be felt in England — but the consequences of the sudden failure of the supply of cotton from the South are appalling.

Whether we shall think it possible to allow our supply of cotton to be materially interfered with by the Blockade, is a question which it is not for me to prejudge. I hardly see however what is to be gained by M. Mercier's plan of announcing now that we will not recognize the Blockade in September. It would hardly produce less commotion here than a refusal to recognize it *ab initio*. An immediate refusal however would hardly be worth while, as we have very little Trade with the South in summer. My own notion would be that whatever we determined to do, we should announce a *short* time beforehand, be prepared on the spot with ample means of carrying our determination into effect, and positive orders to execute them, *coûte que coûte*, instantly. Our best chance of avoiding extremities would undoubtedly be to act in entire concert with France. If there is any hope of dividing us, this Government will be encouraged to try any amount of violence against one separately, probably against England, as that would cause the greater excitement in this Country. But even Mr. Seward could hardly be violent against England and France united, especially if their decisions were urged firmly and judiciously.

The next fortnight, if as is expected, it see the war actually begun, may decide a great deal. One cannot but hope that the North, notwithstanding its apparent fury and unanimity may in the end get tired of the War. It would seem by President Davis' Message that the South only asks to be let alone. I do not think the sensible men in the North have any expectation of conquering the South. The War is made from wounded pride — from a natural reluctance to acquiesce in the diminution of the greatness of the Nation.

The following, marked "Private and Confidential," has already, in part, been used by Newton in his *Life of Lyons* (I. 41). The date, May 21, is of interest.

One of the great difficulties I have to contend with in my endeavours to keep this Government within such bounds as may render the maintenance of peace possible, is the persuasion, which prevails, even with sensible men, that *no* outrage will compel England to make war with the North. Such men, although seeing the inexpediency and impropriety of Mr. Seward's treatment of the European Powers,

still do not think it worth while to risk their own mob popularity by declaring against it. If they thought there was really any danger, they would no doubt do a great deal to avert it.

Of these men the most distinguished is Mr. Sumner. He has considerable influence in Foreign questions, and holds the important office of Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. He is in correspondence with many people in England, and I believe with the Duke or Duchess of Argyll. I think no greater service could be rendered to the cause of peace, than to make Mr. Sumner aware of the real perils to which Mr. Seward and the Cabinet are exposing the Country. If some means cannot be devised of checking them, they will carry not only arrogance, but practical vexations to a pitch, which will render the maintenance of peace impossible. If Mr. Sumner's correspondence from England convinced him that there was a real danger in Mr. Seward's proceedings, he might do a great deal to put a stop to them. I think I have done something to shake his confidence, but I believe he still relies to a great degree upon assurances he received from England, under circumstances wholly different from those which now so unhappily exist.

It will be noted that it was on May 21, the day this letter was written, that Secretary Seward completed his memorable despatch to Mr. Adams, subsequently revised by President Lincoln, but manifestly calculated in the Secretary's mind to give practical effect to his memorandum of "Thoughts for the President's Consideration" of April 1. The foreign-war panacea as a remedy for domestic complications had in May reached its climax in the mind of the Secretary of State. The original despatch,[1] as prepared by the Secretary for Mr. Adams, previous to its submission to the President, should be read in immediate connection with the following letters. There is reason to believe that it was in direct consequence of the intervention of Mr. Sumner that the despatch in question underwent the changes it did at the hands of the President.[2]

Later (May 27) Lord Lyons sent to Lord Russell an extract from a letter just received by him from William H. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, then on his trip through the Confederacy. In his letter of transmission, Lord Lyons thus expresses himself:

I have some hope that we have made an impression upon the President and the Cabinet, and even upon Mr. Seward, which may

[1] Nicolay-Hay, IV. 269–276. [2] *Proceedings*, XLVI. 41–42, 77.

tend to keep him within reasonable bounds. Much will depend upon the conduct of France. The hope of the anti-English Party is that she will try and engage us in difficulties here, and then leave us in the lurch, and play her own game in Europe.

The following is from W. H. Russell's letter to Lyons:

NEW ORLEANS, May 21st, 1861.

The further I travel the more satisfied I am of the terrible results of the struggle which seems quite beyond the reach of evasion. There is on the part of the South an enormously exaggerated idea of its own strength and of its "faut vivre" for the rest of the world, which nerves its sinews, and there is also the desperation of position which one must feel who sits on a barrel of powder and who is menaced with a hot poker. They are resolute and unanimous to a most extraordinary degree — they are stronger than I expected to find them — but they — I speak of the men — not of the South as an "it" — will, I think, discover that they are ill-fitted for a defensive and protracted contest; more especially will they lose heart, when or if their sheet-anchor fails them, and England and France permit the Blockade for a year or more. Their ideas of political economy are enough to drive the venerable A. Smith out of his quiet resting place with a fresh edition of the "Wealth of Nations" in his claw.

The following from Lord Lyons to Lord John Russell (June 4, 1861), already printed by Lord Newton (I. 42), is of value. It throws light on a possible move which, had it been made, would, as subsequent developments show, have resulted in what might well have proved irreparable injury to the Union cause:

The present game of the violent party appears to be to discover or invent some shade of difference in the conduct of England and France, in order to use violent language, or even to take violent measures against England, without necessarily involving themselves in a quarrel with France also. The plan most in vogue at this moment seems to me to send me my Passports. After their experience in the case of Sir John Crampton,[1] they look upon this as a measure, which would gain them mob applause, by its appearance of vigour, without exposing them to any real danger. They have not hit upon any fault to find with me personally, except that

[1] Moore, *Digest of International Law*, IV. 533.

I *must* have written unfriendly despatches to my Government, because my Government has taken a course which they do not like. The whole is no doubt an attempt to carry a point by bluster which will perhaps fail, if it be encountered with mild language and very firm conduct. For my own part, I conceive my best line will be to avoid giving any possible reason for complaint against myself personally, and to keep things as smooth as I can. If Her Majesty's Government concede nothing to violent language, it will *probably* subside. But there is such a dementia in some of the people here, that we must not be surprised at any act of violence they may commit.

In studying this material, the fact always to be kept in mind is that the end both Lord Lyons and Lord John Russell had in view was to avoid an interruption of trade rather than to use such interruption, should it occur, as a ground for recognition of the Confederacy. Recognition was the essential point at issue — the danger-spot in the situation. It was persistently urged by both the French representative at Washington and the Paris government. But the policy gradually formulated in Lyons' mind and by him communicated to Russell became at last definite. When, officially, the blockade was declared, he thought it no cause for recognition, and was tolerant of its undeniable inefficiency during the earlier stages of the conflict.

While the British Minister at Washington was thus keeping in close touch with a very confused situation, the London relations between England and America were to the last degree meagre and unenlightening. All that Mr. Dallas, the American Minister, knew of English policy or of the Foreign Secretary's intentions in certain contingencies is summed up in his despatches to the Secretary of State of March 22 and April 9, 1861.[1] In his interviews with Lord John Russell, Mr. Dallas drew from him merely a general expression of England's friendly feeling toward the United States and a hope that there might still be a peaceful solution of the issues presented. The Foreign Secretary distinctly declined to make any pledge in regard to English policy. Absence of any well-defined national policy at Washington and a deep-seated distrust of the Secretary of State were the most noticeable factors in the British Foreign

[1] *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1861–62, 80, 81.

Office situation — uncertainty, not unfriendliness. It was, however, agreed that it would be better for Great Britain to await Mr. Adams' arrival before taking definite action; or, at least, Mr. Dallas so understood Lord John, though the latter subsequently denied that any formal assurance to that effect was given. There is, however, no room for doubt that in the Foreign Secretary's mind, whatever he might intimate officially, a separation of the American Union was already an accomplished fact, and the hope of Great Britain centred upon the idea of this separation being peaceful in character. The Foreign Secretary was at this time continuing his instructions to Lyons to recommend conciliation, "but never to obtrude advice unasked."

Viewed historically, it is an interesting query, whether the doubt and even apprehension expressed by the British Foreign Secretary of Seward's temper was not at the moment a distinct benefit to the United States. The Southern Commissioners at this juncture reached England. The natural inference to be drawn from the documents is that in spite of Lyons' advice to Russell to treat the Commissioners well, the effect upon Russell of Seward's attitude was to treat them coolly. In any case that Russell was distinctly worried by Seward's aggressive speech and opportunist political attitude is apparent; moreover, as we now know, he was right. He had ground for apprehension.

Such were the official communications on a most complex political situation which reached the British Foreign Office. Meanwhile, unofficially Lord John must have sought light in his namesake's letters. These were now appearing regularly in the *Times*, and on March 29 W. H. Russell thus wrote from Washington; his letter was printed in the issue of the *Times* for April 16:

> . . . It is difficult for one who has arrived so recently in this country and who has been subjected to such a variety of statements to come to any very definite conclusion in reference to the great questions which agitate it. . . . As far as I can judge — my conclusion, let it be understood, being drawn from the prevailing opinions of others — "the South will never go back into the Union." On the same day I heard a gentleman of position among the Southern party say, "No concession, no compromise, nothing

that can be done or suggested shall induce us to join any Confederation of which the New England States are members"; and by another gentleman, well known as one of the ablest Abolitionists, I was told, "If I could bring back the Southern States by holding up my little finger I should consider it criminal to do so." . . . But most impartial people, at least in New York, are of opinion that the South has shaken the dust off her feet, and will never enter the portals of the Union again. She is confident in her own destiny. She feels strong enough to stand alone. She believes her mission is one of extension and conquest — her leaders are men of singular political ability and undaunted resolution. She has but to stretch forth her hand, as she believes, and the Gulf becomes an American lake closed by Cuba. The reality of these visions the South is ready to test, and she would not now forego the trial, which may, indeed, be the work of years, but which she will certainly make.

Subsequently he thus wrote under date of April 15, his letter appearing in the *Times* of May 11, — three days before the issue of the Proclamation of Neutrality and Belligerency:

The confidence of Mr. Seward in the strength of the name and of the resources of the United States Federal Government must have received a rude blow, but his confidences are by no means of weakly constitution, and it will be long ere he can bring himself to think that all his prophecies must be given up one after another before the inexorable logic of facts, with which his vaticinations have been in "irresponsible conflict." It seems to me that Mr. Seward has all along undervalued the spirit and the resolution of the Southern Slave States, or that he has disguised from others the sense he entertains of their extent and vigour. The days assigned for the life of the secession have been numbered over and over again, and secession has not yet yielded up the ghost. The "bravado" of the South has been sustained by deeds which render retreat from its advanced position impossible. Mr. Seward will probably find himself hard pushed to maintain his views in the Cabinet in the face of recent events, which will, no doubt, be used with effect and skill by Mr. Chase, who is understood to be in favour of letting the South go as it lists without any more trouble, convinced as he is that it is an element of weakness in the body politic, while he would be prepared to treat as treason any attempts in the remaining States of the Union to act on the doctrine of secession.

Lord Lyons had by this time (April 9) become satisfied that the so-called radical party in the Cabinet would probably have its way. A policy of conciliation would no longer be attempted, and a coercive course toward the South was to be adopted. In a letter of the same date he repeats his advice as to the treatment to be accorded the Southern Commissioners. They were to be received with deference, though not, of course, in any official capacity.

> . . . The only point which I venture to suggest for consideration with regard to the reception of these gentlemen is that their meeting with a very marked rebuff might be an encouragement to the violent party here, who maintain that any measure whatever may be taken by this Gov. against foreign commerce, without provoking the resistance of England, or inducing them to improve their commercial position by a recognition of the Southern Confederacy.

In a despatch dated April 15, Lord Lyons described to Russell the fall of Sumter, advising him that war had at last actually begun.

With the fall of Fort Sumter and a recognition of the fact of a civil war, a number of new and most perplexing questions naturally presented themselves; but Lord John Russell's treatment of them is not now to be considered. Meanwhile, in the period previous to May 1, 1861, the British official attitude may be summed up in the statement that Lord Lyons at Washington, in a state of great mental uncertainty, was consistently hoping that some solution might be found of the issue presented under which the Union would be continued. At the same time, however, he was intent on British commercial interests, and was inclined to a belief that the assertion by him of the extreme unwisdom of any national interference with the British trade to Southern ports might tend toward some more or less satisfactory solution of the problem. On the other side of the Atlantic Lord John Russell, entertaining a gradually diminishing hope that there might be no separation, soon became persuaded that separation was inevitable and disruption final. It is evident that prior to the 1st of May he was considering the early arrival of a date when recognition must be granted to a new, independent and slave-holding state. The practical question, however, which the official at the head of the English Foreign Office had to confront was not sentimental.

It related to England's attitude and her legal relation, under international usage, toward the American combatants. In solving this question, neither ideals nor humanitarianism played any part. England's first need and the Foreign Secretary's first duty was to determine and announce for the benefit of all concerned, and more especially for British subjects, the position of that country under the accepted principles of international usage.

Subsequently, four years later, and after the termination of Civil War hostilities, the Proclamation of May 13 was thoroughly discussed in a lengthy diplomatic correspondence between Mr. Adams and Earl Russell. The contention of Mr. Adams was that such an act of recognition was just and proper only when it became necessary (1) "to provide for an emergency by specific measures" involving a necessity of protecting personal interests of the neutral and should (2) extend only to the necessary provision for the existing emergency, avoiding implication in the struggle. Only, he added, (3) "if, after the lapse of a reasonable period, there be little prospect of a termination of the struggle, especially if this be carried on upon the ocean, a recognition of the parties as belligerents appears to be justifiable."

From the American point of view, the situation as it existed in early May, 1861, should perhaps be judged by this test, obviously extreme. The facts in the case, now far better understood than they then were, appear from the record. It was on the 6th of May, Mr. Adams having left America on the 1st of that month, and reaching Liverpool on the 13th, that Lord John Russell formally announced in the House of Commons that belligerent rights would be conceded to the Confederacy. Five days earlier, on May 1, he had sent for Mr. Dallas, in consequence of reports then generally current as to the intention of President Lincoln and the Washington administration to institute a blockade of the Southern coast.[1] Five days later, on

[1] [From the Diary (Ms.) of Benjamin Moran, Secretary of the American Legation in London when Dallas was Minister, are taken the following entries: "Wednesday, May 1, 1861. Lord John Russell yesterday requested an interview with Mr. Dallas this morning at one o'clock, and Mr. Dallas went. His Lordship said he had been privately informed that Mr. Lincoln meant to blockade the Southern ports, and this Government would object to it. Such a measure might prompt them to recognize the Southern Confederacy. Mr. Dallas assured

the 11th of May, President Lincoln's Proclamation of Blockade was officially communicated. This blockade was to be conducted in accordance with the rules of international law. May 14, the official copy of the consequent Proclamation of Neutrality appeared in the London *Gazette*.

The blockade thus promulgated, it must be borne in mind, directly and radically involved what then constituted the largest branch of British foreign commerce — the trade in cotton as a raw material between the ports of the Confederacy and Liverpool. From the day the blockade took effect, a condition of war existed. As Earl Russell subsequently said, it became "necessary for England to determine at once upon facts and probabilities whether she should permit the right of search and blockade as acts of war, and whether the letters-of-marque or public ships of the rebels, which might appear at once in many parts of the world, should be treated as pirates or as lawful belligerents." Fundamental, this is also historically indisputable. It is next necessary to bear in mind the facts disclosed in the material now submitted. The official communications which reached the Foreign Secretary have been sufficiently referred to. Meanwhile, on the very day in May when Sir George Lewis, on behalf of the Ministry, formally announced in the Commons the Queen's Proclamation, W. H. Russell was writing from Montgomery, announcing that the local papers of that morning contained "the proclamation of

him it was in error, which seemed to give satisfaction. . . . Friday, May 3, 1861. Lord John Russell has found out that Mr. Dallas was wrong about the power of the President to blockade, and is rather grumpy. . . . May 7. Lord John Russell said last night in the House of Commons, that the Southern Confederate States must be recognized by Great Britain as belligerents. This is regarded by many as a strong indication that they mean to recognize this pretended Confederacy, and the result is great anxiety among merchants. My opinion is that Lord John was hasty and the Government will take the back track. . . . *Saturday*, April 11, 1868. I received a letter from Mr. W. Hunter to-day asking me to let him know if Mr. Dallas ever received Mr. Seward's Circular of the 20th April, 1861, and the proclamation of blockade of the 19th, and if so when, and if he communicated the latter to Ld. Russell. He received them on the 10th May, and had an interview with his Lordship at his house on the 11, but he never reported it home that I know of. He told me he would write his despatch about that and also about the presentation of his letter of recall when he got home and send me a copy to record, but he never sent such copy. I therefore don't know what passed at the first named interview on the 11th, nor do I know if he ever presented a copy of the proclamation to Lord Russell. I have written home in full to Mr. Hunter this day and mentioned these facts." — W. C. F.]

the President of the Confederate States of America, declaring a state of war between the Confederacy and the United States, and notifying the issue of letters-of-marque and reprisal." It is true this letter did not appear in the London *Times* until three weeks later — on the 30th of May. It nevertheless announced facts connected with British commerce and interests which had been clearly foreshadowed in London on the first of that month. Under the circumstances, it was obviously necessary that the British Admiral commanding the South Atlantic station should have his instructions and clearly understand to what extent interference with British commerce and rights was affected. Did a state of war exist, and was he to guide himself accordingly? An exigency might arise any day, and, in fact, might well have arisen before the formal instructions, if sent at the earliest possible moment, could have reached their destination at the Bahamas. Not less than twenty days would then have been required to convey to the British Admiral these instructions. Thus, assuming that despatches were promptly forwarded from London on May 9, when Sir George Lewis announced to the Commons the Queen's Proclamation of Belligerency, they would not have reached Admiral Milne prior to the date — May 30 — when Russell's letter appeared in the *Times*. Referring to the Proclamation, Russell said:

"It need hardly be observed that the protection of British interest demands that an efficient squadron of vessels be at once sent to the American waters in the face of such contingencies as will inevitably arise." He also informed the British public that the Montgomery government "had already numerous applications from the ship-owners of New England, from the whalers of New Bedford, and from others in the Northern States for these letters of marque, accompanied by the highest securities and guarantees." He significantly added, "I leave it to you to deal with the facts." Finally in this letter he said, "The Government at Washington seeks to obtain promises from Lord Lyons that our Government will not recognize the Southern Confederacy, but at the same time refuses to give any guarantees in reference to the rights of neutrals. The blockade of the Southern Ports would not occasion us any great inconvenience at present because the cotton loading season is over; but if it be enforced in October, there is a prospect of very serious and embarrassing questions arising as to the rights of neutrals under

treaty obligations to the United States Government; the trade and commerce of England and the law of blockade in reference to the distinctions to be drawn between measures of war and means of annoyance." But almost at the same time he stated that of the few ships then at anchorage in Mobile Bay "nearly all are British." In like manner, on the first of May he wrote from Savannah a letter appearing in the issue of the *Times* of May 28th, in which he stated that while there were but few ships in the river, of those nearly all were "under British colors." And on returning from a visit to Fort Pulaski, at the entrance of Savannah Harbor, on May 1st, he describes the party as intent on the approach of a large ship, "which turned out to be nothing more formidable than a Liverpool cotton ship."

So far, therefore, as the conditions and circumstances which would justify the Proclamation of Belligerency on the part of the British government, it is difficult to suppose a case stronger than then really existed. The blockade was in effect. The rules of war were in operation, and might at any moment be rigidly applied. The British Admiral had to be instructed, and that at the earliest possible moment. Letters of marque had already been applied for and, it was fairly to be assumed, had been issued. Those sailing under these letters of marque either had or had not rights on the high seas. The British Admiral might at any moment be called upon to take action. He not only had a right to immediate instructions, but that he should have those instructions was incumbent upon the government. Under such circumstances, it is not at once apparent how every caution and consideration stated or implied subsequently by Mr. Adams was not included in the actual situation.

Bearing these historical facts in mind, it seems not unfair now to say that a careful scrutiny of the official and private papers of the period nowhere indicates that "unfriendliness" toward the National Government, attributed to the British Foreign Secretary. On the contrary, his course throughout seems to have been that of one seeking light, and sincerely anxious to do nothing likely to wound American sensibilities.

Dr. Storer called attention to a large number of British posters, exhibited on the walls of the room, encouraging and urging enlistment in the army. A gift by him to the Society,

they constitute an interesting continuation of the political posters shown in December, 1913.[1]

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. J. C. WARREN, THAYER, SUMNER, HART, W. R. LIVERMORE and SANBORN.

[1] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 53.

William Endicott

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM ENDICOTT.

BY ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

THE subject of this memoir was a unique personality. He was born at Beverly, January 4, 1826. His father was William Endicott, who succeeded Robert Rantoul, Senior, in the country store established by the latter at Beverly in 1796. William is a name of frequent recurrence with the Endicotts — a Dorsetshire family — and one William Endecotte was a "full fellow" on the rolls of Exeter College, Oxford, in 1580. Since 1774, the Endicotts of New England have spelled the name with an "i." The elder William Endicott was of the nearest generation of descendants living in his day, from the Colonial Governor, and was a son of Robert Endicott of Beverly, whose wife was a Holt of Danvers. This Beverly William Endicott died at Beverly in 1899, when lacking in age but a month of his full century. He was nine months old when Washington died. He married in 1824 Joanna Lovett, the eldest child of Robert Rantoul, Senior, and she was the mother of our subject, and died at St. Louis while journeying at the West in 1863.

William Endicott of whom we write showed, as a child, marked intelligence and activity. I grew up in close touch with him — too close, perhaps, to view him objectively and to see him in his true perspective. When we went nutting or berrying or fishing, not only was he the life of the party, but he was sure to bring home more nuts or berries or fish than any other member of it. When told that his mother's cousin, Andrew Preston Peabody, had, as a child, first learned to read the inverted page while he stood at the knee of a teacher who was hearing recitations, it appeared that young Endicott had mastered the same odd accomplishment. As a schoolboy he passed a summer vacation on a farm at Andover. There he solved

the mystery of cheese-making — constructed a practicable toy cheese-press and in it made miniature cheeses, of the size of a Spanish dollar, which he distributed among his playmates.

He was destined for Harvard College, but his parents hesitated to fit him for professional life, medical advisers questioning whether he could bear the strain. Pulmonary consumption was the universal dread in Beverly at that time, attributed by Agassiz, when he first visited the town in 1846, to the conformation of the coast. It has since lost much of its terror. But, on leaving the Beverly Academy, an incorporated school, well kept at that time by Thomas Barnard West of Salem, young Endicott, at the age of fourteen — he had no further schooling — joined his father in his local business and was there not long after discovered by the late Charles Fox Hovey, who had just left the Boston firm of J. C. Howe and Company and had, with partners, set up in business for himself, and was building at that time his summer residence on the high ground west of Gloucester Harbor. The Endicotts were customers of the Hovey Company, and Mr. Hovey, in riding through Beverly to Gloucester — there was no railroad to Gloucester then — often stopped and did business with them. In this way he was aware of the rare faculty shown by the subject of this sketch in grasping business problems, and became anxious to offer him a place as treasurer in his Boston warehouse. He did not wait long to welcome him as a partner. Mr. Hovey was a Jeffersonian Democrat and a very independent thinker, and was in declared sympathy with the anti-slavery agitation then becoming rife. The Endicotts held like political views, William Endicott, Senior, having supported Crawford for President in 1824, and later Jackson. Young Endicott's maternal grandfather had been a rigid Federalist and a disciple of Timothy Pickering, imbued with all the party's jealousy of slave-representation and slavery extension, often chosen to office through that party's support, and only quitting it or what remained of it in 1828, in revolt against the protectionist policy of Clay, Secretary of State under John Quincy Adams, then a candidate for a second Presidential term. It was this so-called "American System" which drove scores of old-line Federalists, with Pickering at their head, into the support of Jackson.

No sooner had young Endicott found himself in the receipt of an income than he began to indulge the public spirit which marked his career. At times he lived in Boston and at times spent the night in Beverly, for the railroad lately opened made the latter course possible. He early joined a little group of young townsmen in offering concerts, in stimulating the growth of a public library, and in sustaining the historic Lyceum. When he passed between Beverly and Boston day by day, the extent to which he made himself the medium of transmission for messages and errands at the service of his friends — there was no express conveyance then — anticipated his life-long practice of bearing others' burdens. Before the Civil War broke out he had identified himself with the new "Republican Party," and supported Julius Rockwell for Governor in 1855 and Frémont for President in 1856. He was contributing to party funds, attending party conventions, and was so far recognized as a co-worker with Whittier, and Dr. Howe, and Amos A. Lawrence, and George L. Stearns, in extra-political efforts to save Kansas to Freedom that, when the John Brown raid startled us in 1859, he was among those branded as "suspect" by the Mason Senatorial Committee. But his sympathies were, in the main, with the advocates of political movements and constitutional measures — of such steps as Lincoln, and Chase, and Whittier, and Sumner, and Judge Hoar, and Governor Andrew advocated, rather than with the extremists who denounced the Constitution and distrusted and disparaged the Union. He disliked their methods, and while he made a contribution which secured to Garrison the statue in Commonwealth Avenue, because he thought the man who unselfishly supports his honest convictions at the risk of his life has earned a monument, he said from first to last that the extremists, sincere as they were in their efforts, played but a small part in the abolition of slavery. He thought, with the old Federalists, that we had been drawn, under the stress of revolt against British despotism, into making a necessary compact with the Southern colonies which they had come to feel their interests compelled them to annul. He thought the North should keep faith, but he would enforce an equal obligation on the South.

From time to time he took active part in political conventions. He was present in 1856 at the gathering in Philadelphia

which nominated Frémont, and again at the mortifying fiasco at Cincinnati in 1872 where, unable to profit by the moderation of such advisers as Carl Schurz, and Horace White and himself, public-spirited men, called together to attempt the defeat of Grant for a second term in the Presidency, adopted the inconsequent step of nominating Horace Greeley. During the years when Butler was storming the Republican citadel for that party's nomination as Governor of Massachusetts, Mr. Endicott made it a duty to be present and active during the midnight disturbances preceding those conventions, and did much to defeat the struggles of a political ambition which was at last rewarded only by recourse to the support of another party.

Mr. Endicott had a disinclination for public life. Often urged to become a candidate for Congress, he uniformly refused. He distrusted his capacity for addressing people in numbers. He was probably right in thinking that he did better to rely on his facile pen and his earnest, persuasive, personal appeal for bringing his clean-cut convictions to the notice of the possible convert. But in practical politics he was no dilettante. He was willing to bear his share of the unpleasantness of election-day drudgery rather than have to reflect that unsatisfactory results might have been less serious but for his inaction. Three days before his death, though suffering much, he cast his vote in the State election.

He was an indifferent speaker. His choice of phrase was nice and scholarly, but his voice was not effective, nor was his presence commanding, and he always shrunk from speaking in public. Twice I saw him called on without notes to address a gathering. In both instances he acquitted himself well. Once he addressed this Society in the commemorative observances on the death of Norton. And once he addressed the Massachusetts Republican State Central Committee at a dinner tendered, in Henry Cabot Lodge's first year in the chair, to Governor-elect Robinson, on the defeat of Butler. But his contributions to the campaigns in which he enlisted were mainly literary and financial, and in the Butler campaign, and again in the McKinley-Bryan campaign of 1896, he produced financial papers which were reprinted throughout the country and even in English journals of authority, such as John Bright's *Daily News*, as apt to afford aid to the stability of our currency

and of the public credit. His printed reminiscences show how deeply he studied fiscal questions.

Mr. Endicott's active career was co-terminous with the latter half of the nineteenth century. This was a period of rare activity in our quarter of the world. Great industrial and scientific changes were afoot. Facilities for the transportation of persons and freight took the great start which made possible the wonderful development of our Northwest, and facilities for the transmission of intelligence, quite as vital to the rapid growth of the country, went through a radical revolution. The relation of an active-minded, public-spirited man to the developments going on about him has an interest beyond mere personal concern.

The first transcontinental railway enterprise was undertaken, at the beginning of this era, by eastern capitalists who proposed to unite by continuous lines the Great Lakes with Mobile Bay. Such needed legislation as Senator Stephen Arnold Douglas could not secure at Washington, from the general government, remained for my father, representing the corporators of whom he was one, to secure at Springfield from the State of Illinois. But the Illinois Central Railroad, after starting out auspiciously, was plunged into untold disaster, which was precipitated by the defalcation of its president, and prolonged by the panic of 1857. My father died suddenly in 1852, and Mr. Endicott joined Charles Greely Loring in an effort to extricate his estate from the disorder. From that time on there was no year in which Mr. Endicott was not actively studying the problems of railway traffic, until federal legislation, enacted in Roosevelt's time, made it unsafe, in Mr. Endicott's view, longer to hold railroad securities.

This experience, coupled with an inborn detestation of war, and the natural leaning of an importer and a Democrat towards the greatest practicable freedom of trade, promptly brought him into sympathetic touch with Richard Cobden, the father of the anti-corn-law agitation in England, the apostle of the British free-trade evangel, the negotiator of the epoch-making commercial treaty between England and France, when, in 1854, that statesman made his second tour of the United States in the interest of a group of English holders of securities in the Illinois Central Railroad. Mr. Cobden, with many friends

who followed his lead, was involved in the common disaster. He suffered in repute and in purse, and he died at the close of our Civil War, after noble service rendered in behalf of the struggling Union. In the Cobden Club, formed the next year, Mr. Endicott was made an honorary member, and with John Bright he maintained an intimate and friendly correspondence while they both lived.

The momentary success of the first Atlantic cable enterprise was announced late in 1858, but the enterprise was doomed to a long interval of coma before it reached its ultimate issue. Mr. Endicott had his own reasons for putting its claim to a rigid test. Doubters were many. Mr. Endicott sent a despatch to the bureau of Hovey and Company in Paris, conveying by cable an item of personal intelligence which could by no conceivable form of collusion have reached Paris at the time of its receipt in any other way, and that despatch hangs there framed to-day — silent witness to a fact having at that time very considerable import for the sender. An adventurous group of capitalists had taken measures to unite New York and Chicago with St. Petersburg, Paris and London, by means of electric wires strung on poles across Alaska, Bering Strait and northern Asia. Funds were in hand for the preliminary steps, surveys were practically complete, and the enterprise only awaited the failure of the submarine experiment that it might feel the vital spark.

Quem, si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis!

Though marked throughout by close attention to the routine of business, Mr. Endicott's life was not without its picturesque features. At one time he was condemned for months to absolute vacuity of mind — the penalty of overwork — and was directed to seek some region which mails and telegraphs did not invade. Only the polar zones would answer now, but at that time such a resort was offered by the drowsy current of the Nile. Weeks of listless drifting in a sumptuously equipped dahabieh restored his vigor and left him more a stranger to what was going on in the busy world than the deaf-mute of our day is permitted to be. The comparison is a fair one, for he was a long time treasurer of the Perkins Institution for the Blind and greatly interested in what he found there, and especially in the acquirements of Helen Keller, sometimes entertaining

her at his Beverly home. Friends had died, business ventures had gone wrong, a portion of his life had drifted away during his enforced period of occultation. Before leaving Egypt he had been presented at the sybaritic court of the Khedive, and had sipped coffee from his golden cups and shared a whiff from his amber-tipped chibouk. Few men not wedded to sea life had crossed the Atlantic oftener than he. Finding himself one year approaching at the Christmas season the neighborhood of Palestine, he thought it would be a pleasant memory to pass the yearly festival at what is claimed to be the Holy Sepulchre and to take part there in the prescribed observances of the hour. On arriving he found a party of Greek Church pilgrims engaged in a wrangle for precedence with a party of pilgrims of the Church of Rome, and it became so violent as to call for the intervention of Mussulman militia to preserve the peace!

The number and variety of groups with which Mr. Endicott kept himself in touch bear witness to the catholicity of his tastes. He was constant for thirty years in his attendance at the monthly dinners of the Saturday Club. Certainly it was no small compliment for a little club, made up of the very first characters — a club of which Dr. Holmes could say that "Emerson was the nucleus around which it gathered," a club of which Agassiz could say that "it had enlarged his view of life," a club at which every foreigner worth meeting who came to America was a guest, a club where Emerson "found his attitude mainly that of a listener" and which he looked to for his ideal of club life — "In our club no man shall be admitted who is not worth in his skin five hundred thousand. One of them I hold worth a million, for he bows to facts, has no impertinent will, and nobody has come to the end of his resources" — for such a club, "a focus of good-sense, wisdom and high patriotism, whence sprung many measures important to the country" — for such a club as this to invite one who had no claim to authorship, or statesmanship, or comradeship, but was a simple, unassuming business man, only qualified by keen native wit, a close touch with such careers while in the making as Whittier's, and Lowell's, and Judge Rockwood Hoar's, and Judge John Lowell's, by a very broad intelligence of what was passing in the world at large and a friendly hand for everybody — for such a club to invite him was the compliment of a lifetime.

He was a founder and a working member of Mr. Forbes' Loyal Publication Society. He was honored with an election as president of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, which he declined, and as president of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which he accepted after serving for a full generation as its indispensable first treasurer; and he was reckoned by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as its wheel-horse — one of its earliest, its most active and its most untiring helpers. At the Massachusetts General Hospital and McLean Asylum he indulged himself for years in the luxurious munificence of a free bed or two, and for a quarter-century he served that charity in the onerous and exacting function of a State Director. When Governor Butler found himself constrained by his sense of public duty to dispense with his further service, and named a Director to succeed him, a vacancy by resignation was at once created, which could be filled by the Board without recourse to the executive conscience. To it he was elected, so that his service continued without interruption. In company with ex-Governor Long, and with an eminent practical builder, he was appointed by Governor Ames to the Commission of Three which supervised the State House Extension of 1889, and his exact system of accounting — he dispensed with all clerical aid, his own delicate handwriting serving him to the exclusion of secretary, typewriter and stenographer — has left on record at the State Capitol a lasting memorial of what was understood in the nineteenth century by devotion to public duty.

That the men who did the fighting should seek the fellowship of the men who stayed at home and did the financiering was an honor upon which both Mr. Forbes and he set a high value. But nobody perceives more keenly than the soldier what a terrible load the war-financier is bearing, nor what Sumner meant when he wrote to Fessenden that the next great battle was to be fought in Wall Street, nor what it means to the country if obligations are not promptly met and service-money promptly forthcoming, nor what a hopeless mob a great army becomes the moment it finds itself in need of food and clothing. Mr. Endicott was the last survivor of the honorary membership of the Loyal Legion of Massachusetts.

Mr. Endicott married, in 1856, Mrs. Annie Thorndike,

widow of John Frederick Nourse of Boston. She died in 1876, leaving him with two children.

It would be idle, in a paper of this kind, to attempt a catalogue of the public philanthropies and private charities with which he filled his life, and yet without this feature the picture is unfinished. Unpaid service seemed to be his highest privilege. He was one of those helpers who make a friend's predicament their own. Trusts and directorates and presidencies seemed to reckon themselves fortunate if they could secure his name. Many of them he filled for a generation. Two of these, to name no others, were the presidencies of the Suffolk Savings Bank and of the New England Trust Company. And when the time came for him to turn them over to less enfeebled hands, he found himself resigning them by dozens.

In stature Mr. Endicott was slight, his movements were quick and nervous — "alert in body and mind" — and his exceptionally little feet and hands were a constant reminder of the Huguenot extraction of his mother's kin. He was no indifferent French scholar. Born at the starting point, in time and place, of the New England Unitarian movement, Mr. Endicott never had affiliations with any other sect, and his will made a substantial addition to the trust funds of the Boston Young Men's Union and to the ministerial fund of the old First Church of Beverly in which he grew up and with which he was allied until, just before the war, he became a proprietor in King's Chapel at Boston. He was a Resident Member of this Society from March 8, 1906, until his death, contributing to the *Proceedings* two valuable papers of personal reminiscence, and constant to a degree in his attendance on our meetings until growing infirmity made it a burden for him to climb the stairs. Mr. Endicott died in Boston, November 7, 1914, and was buried at Beverly, where he retained through life a cherished summer home.

And so the old Commonwealth adds one more name to her list of worthies.

ALBERT THORNDIKE TO CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

BOSTON, December 7, 1914.

DEAR MR. ADAMS:

Not one of the notices about William Endicott (that I have seen) has laid enough stress on the "personal" side of his character. It

is hoped that when the Massachusetts Historical Society memorial — which is the important record made — is written, this will be more strongly brought out. To those who knew him at all intimately, the delight of his personality as distinctly marked the man as did his public successes.

He was fundamentally of strong will, firm opinions and earnest, though in manner very simple and unassuming, almost mild, notwithstanding his ability to enforce well his purpose. His bearing was unassuming and absolutely democratic; he held himself the same before all men. Those who met him knew this; but those who had seen him often also knew him as one of never failing kindly humor and wit, one who quickly saw and seized the humorous side. A joke was never forced by him nor humor overplayed; but the point was lightly and spontaneously brought out in a characteristic way, or if brought out by another, gratefully appreciated. Even in talk of serious things, the wit and the smile were ready and often used. Notwithstanding all the work accomplished, this lighter vein was, with him, always near the top.

In his remarkable, tenacious and accurate memory were stored a host of anecdotes of the people he had met in his long and active life. Whether it was a statesman, a man of business, or even those in the humblest walks of life, what he had ever known of interest about them, he remembered. He would tell the stories well and wittily, but with exactness, and often minutely dated them, though they might be sixty or seventy years old. It was a delight to hear him reminisce; and though likely that part of the pleasure was in the manner of the telling, still it is wished that various of these tales, trivial but entertaining, and touching on so many sorts and conditions of men and covering so much time, could have been preserved. Such things were not for a formal paper; so his *Reminiscences*, written for the Historical Society, do not have them.

From his interest in grave subjects and the seriousness of his work, one might think of him as ponderous and solemn. Those who come after us will not know him, if they cannot see more of him than his achievements, his broad charity and kindnesses. With all this was the lighter side, the quick, quaint and gentle wit, the constant cheeriness (even in suffering), the love of the little brightnesses of life and the ability to joke (even when serious), all of which kept around him an atmosphere such as few are blessed enough to live in. Yours very truly,

ALBERT THORNDIKE.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; VICE-PRESIDENT JOHN D. LONG, in the absence of PRESIDENT ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported a list of donors to the Library since the last meeting; and called attention to the gift of Mrs. Daniel Denison Slade, which includes a number of early American imprints, chiefly from the Bromfield and Tracy libraries.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts: a photograph of a miniature by Gilbert Stuart of John Henderson, the actor (1747–1785), from Francis Wellesley, of Westfield Common near Woking, England; a photograph of a miniature by Malbone of Edward Coverly of Boston, from Miss Alba Davis; Hedley Fitton's etching of Trinity Church, Summer Street, Boston (Iconographic Society of Boston), from C. F. Adams; a photograph of Gutzon Borglum's head of Lincoln, from Grant Leet of Washington; a colored woodcut of a corner of Louisburg Square, Boston, from D. Berkeley Updike; two medals from Ezra H. Baker; and five paper money tokens of Rogers of North Weymouth, and a token of Lewis, sutler of the 23d Massachusetts Regiment, from Robert Bird of Canton; medal of Carnot, President of the French Republic, by Alphée Dubois, 1889, from Edward Gray; medal designed by Frances Grimes for the Women's Auxiliary of the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association, from G. H. Norcross; and a John C. Lane Norwood School medal, from Mrs. John C. Lane. A cast of Houdon's bust of John Paul Jones was received on deposit from Dr. Edward W. Emerson.

The following letter was submitted, with the accompanying relic:

BOSTON, January 20, 1915.

MY DEAR DR. STORER; — In pursuance of our conversation some weeks ago, I send you with this a tiny fragment of wood, which came

from the first coffin in which George Washington reposed. You will remember that the tomb at Mt. Vernon was reconstructed at some time about the middle of the last century, and his body placed in a new coffin, that which encloses it now. The old one, I believe, was cut up into relics which were distributed among Government officials and other persons interested. This bit came to the Honorable William Scott, at that time a Member of Congress from western New York, who was a connection of my family by marriage. He gave it to my father, from whom I received it when I was a small boy; and it has been laid away with my childish treasures ever since, labeled as you see, by my own hand as a boy. The line of transmission is direct enough to insure its authenticity. If you think well to offer it to the Historical Society, it is quite at your service for that purpose. Believe me, yours very sincerely,

W. H. VAN ALLEN.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from William Crowninshield Endicott accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported that Messrs. George C. and B. Pickman Mann have deposited with the Society the papers of their father, Horace Mann (1796–1859), about three thousand in number. Of his services to education, to Massachusetts and the nation, it is not necessary to speak. Only a partial use has been made of this collection in print, and few of the letters received by him during his long and fruitful public life have as yet seen the light. The collection is an important addition to the Society's material on the political history of Massachusetts. It will be recalled that Mr. Mann succeeded John Quincy Adams in the House of Representatives in 1848.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of our late associate Lucien Carr and summarized the facts of his life and of his connection with the Society. Mr. THAYER, a life-long acquaintance and friend of Mr. Carr, paid a feeling tribute to his memory.

Mr. BASSETT read the following paper on

DEVELOPMENT OF THE POPULAR CHURCHES AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

By a popular church I mean one that by its organization and doctrines appeals most strongly to the middle and lower

classes. Among such churches the most important are the Methodist, Baptist, and to some extent the Presbyterian organizations. Along with them ought to be classed several minor churches, which are not numerically important, but whose doctrines and forms of government, as well as the class of people to whom they appeal, make them as truly popular as the larger bodies just mentioned. The English Church is not popular in this sense, although it by no means intended to leave out of its scope of activity any class of people. It was, in its direction and in its appeal, the church of the colonial ruling class, and it remained during the national period the church which the more aristocratic portion of the people tended to join in a large part of the country.

For the purposes of this paper the Congregational Church also is not included among the popular churches. It was the established church of New England, it was within the direction of the ruling class of society, and it ought to be considered an aristocratic organization, although its government was democratic in form and it continued to have within its membership large portions of the middle and lower classes. It had the fortune to experience in the seventeenth century a "Great Awakening," a profound revival movement, which renewed its evangelical spirit in many respects. In passing through this experience before the Revolution it underwent a stage of development somewhat like that which the more popular churches of the South and Southwest were to undergo during the period with which this paper deals.

One of the recent historians of the Protestant Episcopal Church [1] describes the years 1784–1811 as a "Period of suspended animation and feeble growth." At that time this church had been well planted in America for more than a hundred years. It had enjoyed the advantage of public support and to it had belonged in most colonies the upper class. It had received much assistance from the established church in England through the intervention of a missionary society to which many charitable people had given money. During the period after the Revolution the general religious life of the country was exceedingly vigorous. Why, then, should this

[1] Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, ch. XIV.

one church, at this particular time, have come so near to extinction? It could not have been because of the doctrines of the church; for they were the same as in recent years, when the church has most successfully appealed to many parts of the world. Nor could it have been on account of disestablishment; for the Congregational Church of New England, once an established church, passed through such a process without serious loss of effectiveness, and in our own time we have seen the Roman Catholic Church disestablished in France with a gain in its spiritual vigor. Nor could it have been the existence of scepticism, at that time widely prevalent in America; for other churches have encountered scepticism without disaster. In fact, there is more scepticism in the United States today than a century ago, and yet the churches are as vigorous as they have ever been.

It is also significant that in the post-revolutionary period the Episcopal Church reached its lowest state in the South, where, in colonial times it had been most favored. Statistics of communicants are not accessible, but we may learn the general condition of the church from the statistics of the clergymen. In 1776 there were nearly two hundred clergymen in the colonies south of Mason and Dixon's line. In every colony taxes were paid to support them, although they were paid very irregularly and sparsely in North Carolina and Georgia. In South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland there were valuable glebe-lands. Some of the clergymen were Tories and returned to England when the war began — how many does not appear. Others were cast adrift when the church was disestablished, their parishes, it seems, making no effort to retain them by private subscriptions. At the end of the Revolution the number in parishes was a mere handful. Virginia offers an illustration. In 1776 there were ninety-one clergymen in the province: in 1783 they were only twenty-eight, and of these but fifteen had parishes.[1] That these remained faithful was due as much to inertia as to the state of vitality in the church. When the Protestant Episcopal Church was organized in 1785 one of the clergymen selected to be made a bishop was Rev. David Griffith, of Virginia. He was not able to go to London for consecration because the Virginia

[1] Tiffany, *Protestant Episcopal Church*, 47; Meade, *Old Churches*, I, 17.

church could not raise enough money to pay his travelling expenses. Three calls for this purpose were made on the parishes, but only £28 could be secured. When Bishop Madison was consecrated in 1790, he went to London partly at his own expense. But in spite of the acquisition of a bishop, the Virginia church continued in a condition nearly comatose. Its life was so feeble that the bishop ceased to visit his parishes, and so loyal a churchman as John Marshall openly doubted the success of efforts to keep it alive. The convention of the diocese did not meet from 1805 to 1812, and for many years there was only one ordination within its jurisdiction. It was Bishop Meade who restored life to the church in that state. When he was chosen to the office in 1813 only seven clergymen and eighteen laymen could be brought together in a diocesan convention. The Revolution left the North Carolina church in a still worse condition. In 1793, after many efforts, a convention of three clergymen and three laymen was assembled. A bishop was chosen, but he died before he was consecrated. It was not until 1817 that the church was drawn out of this Slough of Despond and a diocese was regularly organized.

While the Episcopal Church was in this prostrate condition in the South, it was in a healthy and progressing state in the North, as the minutes of the general convention show. In 1814 reports were received from the various dioceses, and in them we read that the state of the church in Massachusetts was "highly flattering," in Connecticut it was "increasing in numbers and in vital religion," in New York the congregations were increasing in numbers, loyalty, and the "spirit of evangelical piety," and in Pennsylvania there was "an increased attention to the concerns of the church." But the reports from the South were of another tenor. We read: "The Church in Maryland still continues in a state of depression," and in Virginia it was in a "deplorable condition." North Carolina was not reported, but there was a word of hope from South Carolina, where, it was declared, "the various parishes are making exertions to provide for their ministers and to re-establish divine service in the vacant churches." [1]

A great deal has been said about the effects of Toryism on

[1] *Journals of the General Convention*, I. 411–419.

the Anglican Church in America at the time of the Revolution. Probably the effect has been overestimated. Those parts of the United States from which the Tory exodus was strongest were three: Boston, New York, and the Cape Fear region of North Carolina. From each were withdrawn many people, but those who went from the two cities named were to a large extent previously collected from a large surrounding area. Those drawn from North Carolina were mostly Presbyterians. It does not seem that enough Tories not Presbyterians left the South to have made any considerable impression on the Anglican Church there; and the withdrawals from the New England and Middle states could not have affected the church seriously, since in those states the church did not fall into the decay which afflicted it in the South. In the same spirit, it does not seem probable that the Episcopal Church was greatly discredited by the fact that it had been an establishment of the English government, now so unpopular. Among the leading men of the Revolution in the South were many Episcopalians. The colonial gentry of the South organized and led the Revolution there; and the colonial gentry were formerly the support of the Anglican Church there.

The best historian of the Episcopal Church in the South in the period under consideration is Bishop Meade. He knew well the Virginia church and was not disposed to shield it from criticism. Assigning the facts just mentioned to a subordinate position, he gives two chief causes of the decline of the Virginia church, the immoral lives of the colonial clergy and the lack of evangelical preaching. To be addicted to excessive dram-drinking, to patronize the race meets, and to promote cock-fighting were common with the clergy of Virginia and Maryland. We hear of some ministers who were atheists, or who fought duels.[1] In other words, the clergyman was not differentiated from the typical man of the world. This was largely due to the fact that there was no colonial bishop with authority over the clergy. To the colonies came incompetent ministers, who had no prospects in England, and there was no way of forcing them out of their colonial parishes or of compelling them to rule their wayward impulses. The fashionable and worldly clergymen were the most popular in a fashionable and worldly

[1] Meade, *Old Churches*, I. 18.

society, and they overshadowed and caused men to forget the small number of plain and sincere men who served more faithfully in some of the parishes.

As to the character of the preaching, it was affected by the same disease that produced at that time a cold and formal faith in the mother-country. Tillotson and Burnet set the standard, and their sermons were read or imitated in colonial pulpits as freely as in Great Britain. Bishop Meade complains that they were not suited to the needs of Virginia. They dealt with natural religion and went no further than to teach morality. In his researches he went through the library of many a deceased parson, turning his sermons over with an eye to discover what colonial preaching was like. "Brief and most unimpressive" are the words with which he dismisses these sermons.[1] His testimony is corroborated by that of the early Methodist preachers. Bishop Francis Asbury, who was a Wesleyan preacher in America for thirteen years before the Methodist Church was organized on a distinct basis, gives us the best view of this kind. Considering himself still a member of the old church, he always attended the parish church when possible. His diary, so faithful a witness of the events of the day, contains repeated reference to the cold and lifeless sermons he heard. Rev. Samuel Davies, who was a Presbyterian minister in Virginia before he was president of Princeton, said: "Had the doctrines of the gospel been solemnly and faithfully preached in the Established Church, I am persuaded there would have been few dissenters in these parts of Virginia." It was not, he added, the forms or the articles of the church that displeased the people, but the character of the preaching.[2]

Under the formal preaching of the day a great deal of scepticism grew up among the upper classes; and it must be reckoned with as one of the forces which conditioned the religious history of the times. It was a scoffing and flamboyant kind of scepticism, based on Bolingbroke and Hume. We must remember that it was not until the progress of nineteenth-century science gave free thought a firm basis to stand upon that it ceased to be, in the mouth of the average intelligent defender, both superficial and abusive. It would not be proper to speak of the prevalence of scepticism among the

[1] Meade, *Old Churches*, II. 354. [2] *Ib.*, I. 16.

middle and lower classes in the South. "Irreligion" would be a better word in connection with these people. Most of them believed in the existence of a hell and in the power of an angry God to punish sinners. Their swaggering about unbelief was but aping the ways of their betters. At the end of the Revolution their numbers were great, especially in the newer parts of the South and West. A large number of settlers had come into this region in quest of homes. Some of them belonged to one of the old churches and were devout enough to keep up their religious life without preacher or meeting-house. But far more of them drifted away from such church moorings as they had once had, and irreligion went hand in hand with a vast amount of coarse and wild living. The English established church of colonial times had no hold on this class. Its power was only slight over the corresponding class of society in the tide-water region. But now that it was swept away, the middle and lower groups of society, both in the interior and on the coast, were as sheep without a shepherd, and there was wonderful opportunity for religious reorganization. It was at this time and in this way that the popular churches came into the South and Southwest, and succeeded, after thirty years of missionary work, in rebuilding the religious life of these sections on new bases.

When the Revolution ended, the Presbyterian and Baptist churches were the strongest popular churches in the South. They had appeared sporadically in the coast region at an early day; but they got their foothold in the interior during the middle decades of the eighteenth century. To this region came many Scotch-Irish and some Highlanders, all stout Presbyterians. They settled as the land suited them; but hard after came the Presbyterian missionaries sent out by the churches in the older North. The object was to gather up those who had once held the faith, lest they should forget it. The result of their efforts was the organization of congregations throughout the Piedmont region. In this period came the Great Awakening, in which the Tennents, Gilbert and William, created a profound impression among the Presbyterians of New Jersey and Philadelphia. For a short period the church of Knox and Calvin cast aside its habitual conservatism and became a revival organization. From these two

colonies went out two great streams of Presbyterian influence, one across the mountains into the Ohio valley and the other into the South. It was a cardinal doctrine of this church, then as now, that ministers should be educated; and to meet the necessity and to supply properly educated ministers for this field of church extension efforts were made which resulted in the organization of Princeton College. There was much division among Presbyterians. Some congregations were of Irish and some were of Scottish origin, and between them were variations of doctrine which made it difficult to establish unity as long as the old influences continued. But the greatest source of disagreement was the question of revivals. As revivalists the Tennents and their friends always encountered opposition, those who supported them being called New Side, and those who opposed being known as Old Side, Presbyterians. In 1783 the Presbyterians were probably the largest religious group in the South.

But the Baptists were also very strong. In Virginia they took the lead in the movement to disestablish the Anglican Church. A few congregations appeared in the coast region of the South in the seventeenth century, but they were of the General Baptist persuasion. That is to say, they believed in immersion but were Arminians, preaching general salvation. About the middle of the next century missionaries from the Philadelphia Baptist Association appeared in Virginia. They were Regular Baptists, holding the doctrine of election. They had much success in the back counties of Virginia and became so strong that they drew to themselves most of the General Baptists of the region lying to the southward. About 1756 a third Baptist movement appeared in the South, led by Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall. They came from New England, where they had come under the influence of George Whitefield. They were generally Arminians and emphasized the necessity of conversion. They were revivalists, and their preaching was attended with hysteria, shouting, and manifestations of nervous excitement which the people of the day considered visitations of God. Stearns and Marshall settled in North Carolina, where they founded the Sandy Creek church, a centre from which went out many lines of influence to South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia itself. Followers of this movement

were known as Separate Baptists. Their rapid growth brought them into rivalry with the Regular Baptists, and efforts to unite the two groups were begun just before the Revolution. They ended with the triumph of the Regular Baptists about 1786. The Separates made a show of retaining their tenet of free grace, but Calvinism was a more popular doctrine and most Baptists held to it. In 1784 there were 20,940 Baptists in the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In 1792 the number had increased to 39,319, and in 1812 it was 109,331.[1] The Presbyterians seem to have given little care to the extension of the faith among any but the Scotch-Irish. They were not in general an evangelizing body. The Baptists, on the other hand, were earnest for conquests over the kingdom of Satan. Although the Arminianism of the Separates could not withstand the persistent logic of the Calvinistic Regulars, the former carried into the united group enough of that earnest revivalism which Whitefield kindled in New England and elsewhere, to leaven the whole lump. The Presbyterians insisted on an educated ministry, the Baptists, and especially the Separates, licensed many strong and fervent spirits to preach who had no more learning than the inefficient country schools afforded. Such persons were not skilled in theology, but they understood the hearts of the backwoodsmen, their brethren, and they gathered very many of them into the fold.

While the Baptists were winning their way in this region, the Methodists were conducting a still more rapid advance. The first members of this church to appear in the colonies were persons who had migrated to the New World after coming under the influence of the Wesleyans in England. They were mostly poor people, and in 1764 to 1769 they organized congregations in Maryland, New York, and Philadelphia. At the same time Wesley sent over preachers who began their ministrations in all parts of the seacoast. One of them was Francis Asbury, destined to be recognized as a bishop, and one of the most notable church-builders whom the country has seen. His diary is evidence of the religious condition of the day. It shows that there was not much success at first in New York

[1] Newman, *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*, 303, 307, 315, 332, 336, and 338.

and Philadelphia. The probable reason was that Lutheran, Presbyterian, Dutch, Baptist, and other churches were well established in these places and it was hard for the newcomers to break into their spheres of influence. In Maryland and the South the case was otherwise. Wherever the preachers went conversions were made and churches were established. It must be remembered that Methodism at this time was technically within the Anglican Church. Wesley had organized his societies under the protection of church communicants, and he did not consider them anything but societies. His preachers were fervid men from various walks of life and often without education; but he did not consider them clergymen. Some English clergymen gave them countenance, but mostly they frowned on the societies. In America the same attitude was maintained by the Anglican clergy, with a few notable exceptions. One of the latter class was Rev. Devereux Jarratt, parish rector at Petersburg, Virginia. Born in the colonies, he went to London for ordination, and while there became acquainted with the Wesleyan work. On his return he organized like societies in his parish and in the surrounding country. When the Methodist preachers appeared he received them gladly and his work inured to a large extent to the success of the Methodist movement. In America, as in England, there were always some persons in the old church who looked on the work of the Wesleys as a much-needed effort to revive spiritual living.

When the Revolution began, a few of the preachers returned to England. For a time Methodism was unpopular because it was thought to be identified with Toryism. But this was a transitory feeling. The best of the preachers, including Asbury, remained in America, and their efforts were so sincere that they soon regained the confidence of the people. By this time many native converts had begun to preach, and American Methodism was able thenceforth to stand on its own feet. How fast the societies grew is shown by the fact that in 1775 they contained 3,348 members, seventy-seven per cent of whom lived south of Pennsylvania; in 1783 they contained 13,240 members, eighty per cent of whom were in the South.[1] The societies were thus most prosperous in the region in which the

[1] The statistics are in the *Annual Minutes* for the years concerned.

Anglican Church had suffered most through the disintegrating forces of the time. Should they continue to be associated with a church which was well-nigh moribund? It was a serious question; for without their connection with the old church they were no church at all, and could not expect to do the work that seemed to await them as simple societies. The preachers, who understood the needs of their cause, had many times asked that the societies be recognized as a distinct church; but Wesley, to his death a High Churchman, had steadily refused. One of the charges often made against him was that he was ambitious and looked to a separate organization, and his refusal was all the more emphatic because of this charge. But when the real situation in America was brought home to him he could no longer hold back; and in 1784, at a conference of the ministers in Baltimore, the garments of a church were definitely put on. Wesley appointed two superintendents, who afterwards were called bishops. One of these men was Thomas Coke, a man of good family, a gentleman commoner of Jesus College, Oxford, and a doctor of laws from that university. He was first a curate, but was dismissed because he preached in the Methodist fashion with great success. He then joined the Wesleyan movement. The other was Francis Asbury, son of an English gardener, and one of Wesley's self-educated preachers. The union of the two men, socially so far apart in their origins, into the joint direction of the Methodist Episcopal Church was characteristic of the early Wesleyan movement.

From 1784 the new church grew rapidly. In 1790 it had a total membership of 57,631; in 1800, 64,894, of whom 42,729 were in the states of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In 1810 the total membership was 174,060, and of these 100,454 lived in the Southern states just named.[1] It will be interesting to note that in 1790 there were 11,682 colored members, in 1800 there were 13,452, and in 1810 there were 34,727. Most of the colored members were reported from the South. In 1796 there were 11,280 in that region, 11,849 in 1800, and 22,948 in 1910.

[1] The figures for the South, 1810, include a small number then living north of the Ohio, who by the method then used were included in the Western Conference. The number could hardly have been as many as 5,000.

On consideration these statistics seem to indicate that the Methodists gained very rapidly in the South in the days of immediate disestablishment of the Anglican Church. Then came a period of slow growth, followed by a rapid expansion after 1800. On the other hand, it seems that the church grew very slowly in the North until it had shaken off all its connection with the English Church, and that when the people of the North recognized in it a distinct church with doctrines which recalled the days of the Great Awakening they received it liberally.

The Methodists benefited through their espousal of Arminianism, which, from the standpoint of the revivalist has an advantage over Calvinism. It made a universal appeal and was more easily comprehended by the middle classes than the reasoning by which Calvinists must explain away some of the implications of the doctrine of election. The Methodists also benefited by their concentrated organization. The bishops, with their power to send ministers wherever there was need, were effective directors of church expansion. They were the generals of an army which they threw into whatever breach was most inviting. No other Protestant church had so strong and at the same time so flexible a command of its strategy. Methodism gained, also, through being a new organization. Presbyterians and Baptists lost much through having to spend efforts to harmonize disharmonious portions of the common faith, portions whose differences were partly connected with their geographical past and partly with doctrines.

In the last years of the eighteenth century a great revival swept over the South and Southwest. Perhaps it was somewhat related to a wave that visited the Baptists in the late eighties. At any rate it was in full force a decade later in Kentucky, Tennessee, and the whole seaboard region. Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and other smaller churches co-operated. The statistics show how great was its influence on church membership. The revival was accompanied by the usual emotional effects, one of its achievements being to develop camp-meetings, which seem to have been used to some extent before the revival began. One of the inevitable phases of such a movement is to draw attention to the ministers who do not accept the revival as a means of church policy. Thus

it happened that the fervid preachers of conversion discovered that there were some ministers who were not themselves converted. The natural result was opposition from the most conservative of the popular churches in the South, that is, from the Presbyterian Church. Reliance on uneducated ministers served as an additional reason for the cooling of this church toward the revival movement. The Cumberland Presbytery, in the Cumberland Valley in Tennessee and Kentucky, gave full support to revivals and was suspended by the Synod of Kentucky; and the suspension was approved by the General Assembly. The upshot of this was the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, organized in 1810 on an independent basis. Through its attitude on this question the Presbyterian Church, once the strongest in the South and Southwest, was forced after a while into second and then third rank in regard to numbers. Between its two great rivals, the race was always close. They became the churches of the middle-class farmers of this large region, as well as of that portion of the West in which New England influence was not paramount.

An interesting study could be made of the influence of the revival type of religion on the life and thought of the South. Many things combined to make the life of the middle classes there what it was. Among them were the isolation due to the predominance of rural life, the small amount of education accessible to the small farmers, and the intellectual monotony which always closes down on an exclusively agricultural people. Another thing was the character of the preaching the people heard and accepted. It cannot be doubted that the rigid preaching of Puritanism by New England ministers left a deep impression on the New Englander's intellectuality. It must be equally true that the fervent appeals to induce men to lose themselves in the Spirit of God left its impress on the Southerners. It would seem that such exaltation, preached by masters of the art of firing the imagination, would increase the emotionalism of the hearers and lessen their faculty of sober and dispassionate reasoning.

This study is not long enough to enable the writer to take into consideration the several minor churches that were as truly popular in their influence as the large organization he has mentioned. Among them were the Lutherans, the Mora-

vians, the Quakers, the Christians, the Disciples, and the Roman Catholics. Most of them had influence within small localities. It is difficult to assign them proper positions in the religious history of the time; but taken together the minor churches but served to strengthen the popular movement about which we have been speaking.

In the North the religious development was steady after the Great Awakening. Congregationalism, the one great privileged church of this section, had room for spiritual religion for both the aristocracy of the town and the humblest citizen; and it was resourceful enough to solve the problems of disestablishment without serious loss of power. It is true that it lost something through the Unitarian schism, which came to a focus about 1815, and from the gradual loss of its own members who came to desire a warmer ritual than Puritanism could give and who for that reason joined the Protestant Episcopal Church. In the West it lost something also through a tendency to combine with Presbyterianism when there were not enough Congregationalists in a community to make it wise to struggle alone. In the Middle States the churches from the first were founded in accordance with the needs of racial and social groups, and they tended to maintain themselves in their own fields. In the region north of the Ohio were two strata of population, one from New England and one from the mixed American, German, and Scotch-Irish population that had settled on the eastern side of the Appalachian system. Into the former were projected New England churches, the Congregational Church being the most important of them. Into the latter were carried the ideas and institutions of the heterogeneous mass from which the people came, and among these institutions were the churches of the South and Southwest. Here we find Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and the members of the minor churches as truly as in the older region near the coast.

It has often been remarked that New England is a land of steady habits. The Puritan code of conduct was a great leveler of human actions. When it had laid its hand on a community for some generations spontaneity and natural impulses were lowered. At the same time, the power of cooperation and the faculty of fitting into the great machinery

of the community were exalted. In the South no such force came into the consciousness of the people. Religion followed natural impulses, and it formulated a less rigid code of morals than prevailed in Puritan countries. It did not weigh down individuality, neither did it organize the communities for social reforms. Being a thing of the spirit, it was rather ignorant of, and indifferent to, terrestrial things. It was one of the important factors that entered into the evolution of Southern society in the early nineteenth century.

Mr. Theodore Clarke Smith then read a paper on

General Garfield at Chickamauga.

When Congressman Garfield, senator-elect from Ohio, was nominated for the Presidency in 1880, his career was ransacked for incidents suitable for creating a picturesque and winning impression. The campaign value of his early poverty and work on the Ohio canal was instantly recognized, and there were many quotable speeches and sayings which could be used to illustrate his stalwart Republicanism; but his war record, although covering a period of two years, revealed but one episode that was in the slightest degree dramatic. That was his ride back to the battlefield of Chickamauga after the commanding general had fled with the routed Union right wing, and his narrow escape from destruction at the hands of the Confederates. So General Garfield's ride became a prominent feature of the campaign biographies, decorated the speeches of stump orators, was depicted by campaign artists and caricatured until the tradition was established that about the only things of significance done by the Republican candidate of 1880 were to drive a canal boat in youth, volunteer for the war, ride bravely back to Thomas's position under a storm of shot, and then, after a few years in Congress, receive the nomination in recognition of his personal and military virtues.

In the mass of biographical material at Mentor covering the life of the murdered President, it happens that almost the only important episode regarding which he has left inadequate records and about which the existing information is least satisfactory, is precisely that of his participation in the battle of Chickamauga and the famous ride itself. At no time

did he write for publication any description of his doings on that day, and while he undoubtedly gave information to his friends for their personal use, he in no case allowed the publication of any account of the battle over his name or using his name as an authority. Even in his memorial oration on General Thomas he carefully kept to the subject in hand, eulogized Thomas's record in general terms, and avoided anything which would commit him to any view of the details of management or generalship. In spite of the fact that his own participation in the battle was such as to win him fame and promotion to a Major-Generalship, he resolutely refrained from any report of his own doings.

All that is possible, then, for a biographer, is to discover from the despatches of the time, from reminiscences of other less reticent generals and from contemporary reports of newspaper correspondents, the bare outline of what General Garfield did. It appears that, as Rosecrans' chief of staff, he went with the commanding general in his various movements on September 19 and 20, receiving reports from corps and division commanders and writing Rosecrans' orders. He did not, however, write the "fatal order" to Wood, which caused that general to march his division out of line to "support" General Reynolds, thereby creating a gap at the precise moment that the terrific Confederate charge under Longstreet burst upon the Union right wing. None of Garfield's orders were phrased so barely or peremptorily as that which commanded Wood to "support" Reynolds, and it is safe to say that if he had had the drafting of the message it would never have forced Wood to his disastrous step. In fact, according to the sworn testimony of the officer who carried the fatal order from Rosecrans to Wood, Garfield, seeing his perplexity, "called out that the object of the order was that General Wood should occupy the vacancy made by the removal of General Brannan's division."[1] This was repeated by the officer to Wood, but that general, seeing the peremptory wording of the message, did not feel warranted in accepting the report of Garfield's oral emendation, and moved his men out of their places.

When Rosecrans was forced to fly from the field after the

[1] Testimony of Col. L. Starling, Crittenden Court of Inquiry, *War Records*, 50. 983.

rout of the Union right wing, and was cut off from going directly to the Union left, Garfield fled with his chief toward Chattanooga. At Rossville, about three quarters of the way there, the two separated, Rosecrans to continue to the city to prepare the place for receiving the broken army, Garfield to make his famous ride to the front, to discover whether General Thomas's corps was still unbroken and to report to Rosecrans.

After arriving at the field, it may be gathered that Garfield spent the afternoon in company with Generals Thomas and Granger, who were at or near the Snodgrass house in the rear of the "Horseshoe Ridge," where the patched-up line of fragments of regiments was making its famous and magnificent defence, hour after hour, while Longstreet's troops hurled assault after assault on them. Very probably he remained there until fighting stopped, and then found his way to the other Union wing where Thomas had carried through a perilous but successful extrication of half his force from behind intrenchments that were in danger of being surrounded. A persistent tradition associates him with a discharge of artillery that closed the fight on the extreme Union left. In any case he saw the best of the fighting and accompanied Thomas to Rossville, when, after dark, in response to an order from Rosecrans, he withdrew his exhausted but unbeaten men. Since he was without any special duties, he had unrivalled opportunities to observe, and it is a matter of keen regret that he never saw fit to preserve his recollections. They would have been of unique interest. The next day he returned to Chattanooga and resumed his duties of chief of staff, relinquishing them after three weeks in order to take the reports of the battle to Washington and make a personal statement to Stanton and Lincoln of the needs of the army. Here again it is much to be regretted that no record seems to have been kept of Garfield's interviews with Lincoln and the Cabinet, for his answers to their questions must have gone to the heart of the whole affair.

Meanwhile a controversy had begun, which involved Garfield indirectly, over the conduct of Rosecrans on the second day. Why, it was generally asked throughout the army, did he go to Chattanooga, instead of making his way to the front and sharing in the glory of the fight that Thomas made against odds? He had done well at Stone's River under similar circum-

stances; he had held his troops together at Corinth — why did he fail now? By the time that Rosecrans was ready to write his report of the battle he was aware that his prestige was seriously damaged and that it behoved him to find a satisfactory, cogent reason for his retreat. He could not fail to see that Garfield by his ride had won credit that might well have gone to himself; that would, in fact, have made him a hero had he, alone of the routed right wing, made his way to the fight.

Hence in his official report, undated but probably written two weeks at least after the battle, he says: "Hearing the enemy's advancing musketry and cheers I became doubtful whether the left had held its ground and started for Rossville. On consultation and further reflection, however, I determined to send General Garfield there, while I went to Chattanooga, to give orders for the security of the pontoon bridges . . . and to make preliminary dispositions either to forward ammunition and supplies should we hold our ground, or to withdraw the troops into good position. General Garfield despatched me from Rossville, that the left and centre still held its ground." [1] Rosecrans' doom, however, was sealed. The general impression created by the battle of Chickamauga was so unfavorable to his reputation — especially his flight to Chattanooga — that the administration and General Grant agreed in removing him from command on October 16, before Garfield with the reports could reach Washington. His former chief of staff, having been elected to Congress from the nineteenth Ohio district, resigned from the army and began the career which ultimately brought him to the White House. But he did not forget his old chief, and not only did he make an eloquent speech in defence of his military services on February 17, 1864, but a year later he introduced and carried through a resolution giving Rosecrans an opportunity to appear before the Committee on the Conduct of the War and defend his record. On this occasion Rosecrans, again in a position to make an official statement, gave a new version of the decision to go to Chattanooga which added materially to that given in the official report. On April 22, 1865, he said: "Forgetting my past record, and influenced by calumnies put in circulation, it has been thought that I needlessly or languidly forsook the field of battle on the

[1] Rosecrans' Report, October, 1863, *War Records*, **50**. 60.

20th." He then entered upon a justification of his course. In the main it followed the line sketched in his report of 1863, but went into great detail as to the importance of securing the safety of the trains, and of preparing for an eventual retreat to Chattanooga. The striking addition to the original statement is found in the following words: "When, therefore, I reached Rossville, and became satisfied that, though cut off from the main body of our army, . . . we still held the field in front of Thomas, two things were to be done: first, to ascertain the condition of affairs at the front; the other to have this train moved to a place of safety. . . . Having explained this to General Garfield, my chief of staff, it was determined that the movement to the front, being less complicated, should be performed by him, while I made the dispositions and gave the orders just spoken of. . . . Out of the performance of these two duties, dictated by candor and a pure desire to do the best for the country, unjust and sycophantic men have undertaken to construct the means of injuring my military reputation." [1]

The growth in the defence is now evident. Rosecrans hoped to excuse his withdrawal by pointing out that his presence was unnecessary at the front, even though this involved a material modification of his first version. Two years later the Rosecrans account was reproduced in a still more emphatic form in a letter written by Colonel Goddard, formerly on his staff, in March, 1867. "General Rosecrans therefore started for Rossville, his first intention being to join, but falling in with General Garfield at or near Rossville, and getting reports from Thomas that he continued to hold his position, and knowing that the fate of the army depended upon our ability to hold Chattanooga . . . he decided to go himself to Chattanooga and send Garfield to Thomas with instructions to hold his position at all hazards." [2]

The official reports of the leading generals were published shortly after the battle, but the complete mass of evidence — Confederate and Union — was not of course put in print until the *Rebellion Records* were established in 1880, and the volumes concerning the Chickamauga campaign did not appear until

[1] Rosecrans Campaigns, 32, in *Senate Report*, No. 142, 38th Cong. 2 Sess.

[2] Copy in Garfield Papers, referred to also in *Harpers' Pictorial History*, II. 549.

ten years later, in 1890. The Rosecrans version, then, held the field, and although it did not save its author from severe criticism, it remained uncontradicted by Garfield. In 1871 an opportunity was offered to Garfield to give his own version of his ride in official form when, at the request of the War Department, he made a report of his military record. But instead of furnishing a narrative of his doings at Chickamauga, he contented himself with the bare statement, "I wrote every order save one from the Army headquarters during the two days of the Battle of Chickamauga." Clearly Garfield had no intention of committing himself on the events of that day, in print.

The explanation for this regrettable reticence is to be found in the peculiar relations between Rosecrans and Garfield, which created for Garfield such a dilemma that silence seemed the only way of escape. In January, 1863, he was sent to Rosecrans' camp and immediately became intimate with his commander. The two men's friendship began in an unusual method by discussing religion — a subject of absorbing interest to Rosecrans who had become a Roman Catholic not long before. Night after night the two men, the Catholic and the Disciple, sat up until the small hours, debating religious dogma and truth, and, remarkable to relate, became firm friends while retaining all their original opinions wholly unchanged. To keep this agreeable and candid new friend with him was one of the main reasons why Rosecrans made Garfield his chief of staff, and the home letters of the Ohio man show a mingled amusement and amazement at his sudden rise. During the long months of constant association Garfield, like all of Rosecrans' companions, came to have a warm affection for his chief; but at the same time, reluctantly grew to recognize Rosecrans' irresolution and lack of driving power. Yet so great was his influence that in June, 1863, Garfield's opinion as to the advisability of an advance against Bragg prevailed over the almost unanimously contrary opinions of the corps and division commanders, and Rosecrans, in the Tullahoma campaign, had the success of manœuvring Bragg easily and rapidly out of Tennessee. Again during the summer, Rosecrans' over-caution and hesitations drove Garfield to despair. In July, 1863, he wrote to Secretary Chase, who had been his

friend and correspondent since the year before: "Thus far the General has been singularly disinclined to grasp the situation with a strong hand and make the advantage his own. I write this with more sorrow than I can tell you, for I love every bone in his body, and next to my desire to see the rebellion blasted is my anxiety to see him blessed. But even the breadth of my love is not sufficient to cover this almost fatal delay."[1] Garfield's inmost feelings regarding Rosecrans he seems to have confided to Chase alone, for he continued to command Rosecrans' regard and to exercise over his chief a considerable although by no means a controlling influence. The movements leading up to the Union occupation of Chattanooga were largely planned by Garfield, and his aid was repeatedly recognized publicly and privately by Rosecrans. Garfield wrote on August 23 to his wife: "There is so much of myself in the plan of this campaign that I must help realize my ideas. . . . I am doing a work here for which I shall never get a tithe of the credit that others will. Let it pass. I am glad to help save the Republic."[2]

Just what part Garfield played in advising his chief during the events of September 19 and 20 does not appear. So far as the records go, Rosecrans made his own decisions, and Garfield's part was strictly that of a writer of orders, until the celebrated ride. After the battle we find Garfield again working vigorously to aid in bringing order out of confusion, and continuing to support his late commander in public, always defending his ability and his military record. In Congress, as already stated, he took occasion to give marked evidence of his loyalty to Rosecrans, and he is reported to have used his influence as a Congressman in Rosecrans' behalf during his occupancy of a command in Missouri. It was this strong personal regard for Rosecrans and his feeling of loyalty toward the man whose chief of staff he had been that prevented Garfield from saying anything about the battle of Chickamauga. But this silence itself is significant. If Garfield had not felt that the battle was a damaging affair, he would scarcely have found it necessary to take refuge in silence. For a man of his temperament to have written as a mere advo-

[1] *Garfield to Chase*, July 27, 1863. *N. Y. Sun*, March 8, 1880.
[2] *Garfield to his Wife*, August 23, 1863, Garfield Papers.

cate would have been pretty nearly impossible; hence he said nothing. If Rosecrans' death had occurred before his own, his tongue might have been loosened, but Rosecrans outlived his ex-chief of staff and no such opportunity was ever offered.

On the single point of the ride, however, Garfield seems to have felt that his pride was touched, for we find that not long after the war he took pains to give his friends a different version of the affair, and that soon found its way into print. Apparently the first to revive this was Henry Mills Alden, who was preparing for Harpers their *Pictorial History of the War*. The following extract from a letter dated March 7, 1867, indicates pretty clearly what Alden had already gained from Garfield and what use he intended to make of it:

I am much indebted to you for going over the affair with me at Williamstown last summer. You gave me a *picture* of the battle, or the outlines for a picture, which I have missed elsewhere. I wish to be fortified in one point: Did I not understand from you that when you, with General R. were leaving the right, the General had no idea that Thomas was holding his ground or could hold it? If I remember rightly you said that, on your way to Rossville, the question arose as to whether the firing heard by both of you on Thomas's line was the firing of an army disorganized and in retreat, or of an army holding its position: and that you thought it was the latter. Rosecrans differed from you, having evidently reached a settled *conviction* of the rout of the whole army. Do I remember rightly? I ask, because Rosecrans explicitly states in his evidence before the Congressional Committee that he was "satisfied that we still held the field in front of Thomas." The time and place are the same referred to by you, viz. when you both reached Rossville. He states moreover that it was determined between you "that the movement to the front being less complicated" you should go to Thomas while he looked after the rear. On the contrary, I believe you told me that you begged his permission to go to Thomas. This is important. I will not use your name in this connection as my authority — but I want to tell the exact truth, and no man knows so well as you where the truth here is. Therefore I wish to be assured that my memory of our conversation serves me right.[1]

Garfield's reply has not been preserved, but it is clear from the treatment of the episode in the *Pictorial History* that his version lay at the bottom. "Rosecrans," runs the narrative,

[1] *Alden to Garfield*, March 7, 1867, Garfield Papers.

"had already arrived at a conviction that the entire army was defeated. He judged that the firing was scattered and indicated disorganization. Garfield, who doubtless had a more correct ear, thought it was the firing of men who were standing their ground. He felt that Thomas was not beaten, and as General Rosecrans was determined to go to Chattanooga he asked permission to go to Thomas. This was given. Rosecrans went to Chattanooga and telegraphed to General Halleck that his army was beaten."[1] The identity of this information with that gained by Mr. Alden from Garfield at Williamstown in the summer of 1866 is evident. In a full footnote the author goes further and distinctly denies that Rosecrans knew that Thomas was holding his own, thereby directly contradicting Rosecrans' own statement of 1865.

The next year another personal friend of Garfield, Whitelaw Reid, in his sketch of Garfield's military career furnished for *Ohio in the War*, observed about the ride, after quoting Rosecrans' statement that he sent Garfield to the front, "Such were the statements of the report, and in a technical sense they were true. It should not be forgotten, however, in Garfield's praise, that it was on his own earnest representation that he was sent — that in fact he rather procured permission to go to Thomas and so back to the battle than received orders to do so."[2]

By 1868, then another version of the ride was in print, not incompatible with Rosecrans' original report, but entirely so with his later modification. Even with only part of the war material at his command, Alden was able to point out that Rosecrans' and Goddard's assertions of 1865 and 1867, that they knew that Thomas was holding his ground, were inaccurate and without support. Historians and biographers were then at liberty to use whichever they preferred. Some few adhered to the Rosecrans official statement, but more, when they mentioned the matter, tended to follow the Alden-Reid story, possibly because it was more picturesque, possibly because it seemed more reasonable. In 1876 General Opdycke wrote to Garfield as follows:

I have been asked to prepare for the TIMES a full account of that battle, and I would feel pleasure in doing so if I were in possession of data. . . . I should want what each division did, and any special

[1] Alden and Guernsey, *Harpers' Pictorial History of the War*, II. 548.
[2] Reid, *Ohio in the War*, I. 757.

points of interest — any special heroism and by whom. I should want details of the dramatic scene of the Chief of Staff urging Rosecrans to stop running away and return to his army, and the final separation, and your joining us in the battle. . . .[1]

Again Garfield's reply is not in existence, but the inference to be drawn from Opdycke's letter is unmistakable. In 1880, when the campaign biographers seized upon the ride with avidity, they usually followed Reid's account, but it is possible that some of them may have drawn the narrative directly from Garfield himself, since they nearly all went to Mentor in search of material. None of them, however, use Garfield's name as authority any more than did Alden or Reid. He was determined, apparently, not to criticise in public his old chief's assertions.

A year later, however, Garfield was dead, and almost immediately Rosecrans broke silence with a third and still more remarkable version of his withdrawal to Chattanooga. In the San Francisco *Chronicle*, in 1882, he described in full detail the scene between himself and his chief of staff, giving the actual dialogue that took place between them. Rosecrans opened by saying, "By the sound of battle we hold our ground under Thomas," and followed by mentioning all the orders to be given at Chattanooga. "General Garfield, when asked if he could not deliver these orders, urged that there were so many orders he thought the commanding General had better give them and send him to General Thomas." Rosecrans again spoke of the indispensable orders, when Garfield again urged, "I can go to General Thomas and report the situation to you much better than I can give those orders." General Rosecrans said, "Well, go and tell General Thomas my precautions, etc." "General Garfield," he continued, "had further urged as a reason for General Rosecrans going to Chattanooga that a new line should be selected . . . and this should be done by the commanding General himself, and that the officer in supreme command should be on the ground to assign the various commands to their positions."[2]

Here we find a new claim, that Garfield himself was to blame for Rosecrans not being at the front, and that while

[1] *Opdycke to Garfield*, February 5, 1876, Garfield Papers.
[2] *Society of the Army of the Cumberland*, 1903, 87–89.

Garfield urged that he be allowed to go to Thomas, he did it on the ground that Rosecrans ought to go to Chattanooga and that his task was a comparatively simple one. Rosecrans apparently wished to make the dead chief of staff shoulder some of the blame which had attached to himself, but this version never attained much success outside of a small number of officers of the Army of the Cumberland who were more or less attached to Rosecrans' fortunes. One was Major Bond, the staff officer who wrote the "fatal order" to Wood. He furnished a version of the affair to J. R. Gilmore, who wrote an article on "Garfield's Ride" for *McClure's Magazine* in 1895. Here Garfield appears as urging his own incompetence for assuming the responsibility of issuing orders at Chattanooga, and as welcoming the return to the front as a means of escaping a task too hard for him.[1] General H. V. Boynton, Secretary of the Chattanooga National Park Commission, also accepted the Rosecrans version in a publication of the same year, 1895, and repeated it later.[2] Another was Colonel Cist, who adopted a combination of the two stories for his *Army of the Cumberland*, 1882. Here he makes the two men differ as to the status of the Union left wing, and has Garfield urge Rosecrans, in case he thinks the army routed, to continue to Chattanooga and allow him to return. Fiske and others have followed him.[3]

On the other hand, several writers have come out openly, citing Garfield as authority for the assertion that Rosecrans was broken in spirit after the rout and could not be persuaded that Thomas was holding his own. First, General Opdycke, in *Battles and Leaders*, published in 1882, observed, "Rosecrans says that he sent Garfield to the front, while Garfield has many times said that he insisted on going — that the sound of battle proved that Thomas was still holding the enemy in check." [4] In Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*, a footnote cited Garfield as authority for the assertion that Rosecrans was broken and despairing,[5] and finally in 1900 General Cox, in his *Reminiscences*, gives a long account of his interview with Garfield after the battle. Rosecrans, according to Garfield, was in a state of

[1] J. R. Gilmore, *McClure's Magazine*, v. 358.
[2] *The National Military Park, Chickamauga*, 1895, 290.
[3] H. M. Cist, *Army of the Cumberland*, 1882, 225.
[4] *Battles and Leaders*, III. 671.
[5] Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, 1892, VIII. 102.

collapse. When Garfield requested to be allowed to return, "Rosecrans assented listlessly and mechanically." Cox adds: "As Garfield told it to me, he leaned forward, bringing his excited face close to mine, and his hand came heavily down upon my knee as in whispered tones he described the collapse of nerve and will that had befallen his chief. The words burned themselves into my memory." [1]

After 1890 there was a touchstone for the whole matter, for the original reports and papers were published, and in them we can see whether any support is to be found for the Rosecrans or for the Garfield versions. It would be too long a process for the present occasion to run through the evidence in detail; nor is it, perhaps, worth while regarding a matter that is incapable of definite proof. It is a striking fact, however, that during the afternoon of September 20, from the time Rosecrans left Garfield until he received his first despatch from the front, a little before five, to the effect that Thomas was still holding out, he does not seem to have issued any orders that have been preserved, except one to Thomas to assume command and withdraw to Rossville. Another order to Garfield, undated, instructs him to tell Thomas to retreat to Rossville "should he be retiring in order." [2] In acknowledging Garfield's first report, Rosecrans adds, "I trust General Thomas has been able to hold his position." [3] Further, after receiving Garfield's first despatch, Rosecrans telegraphed its substance to Halleck, beginning, "We have met with a serious disaster," [4] and the same phraseology is used to Burnside in another telegram. So far from sending ammunition and supplies to Rossville, he had apparently done nothing, for Negley telegraphed from Rossville at 7 P. M. asking for food for the exhausted troops.[5] Even after the receipt of Garfield's report only two orders are preserved, neither one relating to the trains, for whose safety Rosecrans was supposed to be caring. He first heard regarding them from General Negley at Rossville at 8.40 P. M.[6] By the next day we find that some steps had been taken, as re-

[1] J. D. Cox, *Reminiscences*, II. 10.
[2] *McMichael to Garfield*, *War Records*, 50. 140.
[3] *Rosecrans to Garfield*, ib., 50. 71.
[4] *Rosecrans to Halleck*, ib., 50. 142.
[5] *Negley to Rosecrans*, ib., 50. 143.
[6] *Negley to Rosecrans*, ib., 50. 144.

ported in despatches of Bond 9.25 A. M.;[1] but the general impression produced by a reading of the despatches and of the wording of Rosecrans' own telegrams gives little or no support to his later versions of the withdrawal to Chattanooga. When to this negative evidence is added the overwhelming positive evidence found in the testimony of the McCook, Crittenden and Negley courts of inquiry, to the effect that nobody among the officers and men who had fled with the rout had any idea whether Thomas was holding his own until late in the afternoon, one is driven to the conclusion that the Garfield version has greater verisimilitude than that of the discredited commander who was trying to rehabilitate his reputation by a favorable explanation of what was at best a grave blunder. But what Garfield himself thought of Rosecrans' decision can only be surmised. Delicacy, arising from his former relations to the Commander of the Army of the Cumberland, compelled him either to justify Rosecrans' action or to take refuge in silence. Hence it is that the culmination and crisis of his military career remained forever undescribed.

Mr. FREDERICK L. GAY presented a note and documents on

REV. FRANCIS MARBURY.

Francis Merbury (or Marbury) was born about 1556, and was the son of William Merbury of Girsby, Lincolnshire. He was matriculated pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, in Easter term, 1571.[2] He left the university without taking a degree, and within a few years was ordained deacon by Edmund Scambler, Bishop of Peterborough. His preaching at Northampton brought about his imprisonment for a time. On his release he returned to that place, notwithstanding he had been particularly forbidden to go there. He was then brought before the High Commission over which Bishop Aylmer presided in the Consistory in St. Paul's, November 5, 1578.[3] There took place the remarkable conference between the Bishop of London and Merbury which is given at length below. It is a good example

[1] *Bond to Garfield, War Records*, 50. 150.

[2] *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees in the University of Cambridge from 1544 to 1659.* By John Venn and J. A. Venn. 1913.

[3] *Biographical Register of Christ's College*, 1505–1905. By John Peile. 1910.

of verbal fencing, by no means lacking in give and take or in deadly thrusts. To us, however, it is noteworthy in showing the mental effects of heredity derived from a parent of a yet unborn child, at least in one case under practically like conditions. Anne Hutchinson was the daughter of Francis Merbury. She, as well as her father, underwent an ecclesiastical trial under great stress of mind and under similar circumstances. Though their spoken words differed, their respective attitudes toward their judges were as like as two peas in a pod. This "proud puritan knave" was truly the father of this "woman of a ready wit and active spirit."

Making his peace with those in authority, Francis Merbury was appointed a preacher at Alford in Lincolnshire by the bishop of that diocese. There his daughter Anne was baptized July 20, 1591. He was inhibited for causes unknown to him, and in a letter, given below, to Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer, dated October 15, 1590, he lays before him a statement of his teachings and beliefs in religious and civil matters.

Late in life Merbury was ordained priest by Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London, by permission of Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, June 24, 1605, and was presented to the living of St. Martin in Vintria. He was later appointed Rector of St. Pancras, Soper Lane, and of St. Margaret, New Fish Street. He died between January 25 and February 11, 1610–11, on which latter date his will was proved. The record of his ordination is to be found in the Bishop of London's Registry, Liber Ordinationum, 1578–1628.

The date and place of the marriage of William Hutchinson and Anne Merbury, or Marbury, as it is spelled in the record, have apparently escaped the notice of several genealogical writers. It is to be found in *The Transcript of the Registers of the United Parishes of S. Mary Woolnoth and S. Mary Woolchurch Haw.* By J. M. S. Brooke and A. W. C. Hallen. London, 1886, as follows (p. 138):

"St. Mary Woolnoth Marriages. 1612. Aug. 9. William Hutchinson, of Alford, Co. Lincoln, Mercer, and Anne, daughter of Francis Marbury, Minister, by license."

The text of the conference is found in a volume of some rarity, having neither name or place or date of printing, of which the title page is reproduced on the next page.

A parte of a regiſter, contayninge ſundrie memorable matters, written by diuers godly and learned in our time, which ſtande for, and deſire the reformation of our Church, in Diſcipline and Ceremonies, accordinge to the pure worde of God, and the Lawe of our *Lande.*

LVKE 19. 14.
We will not haue this man to raigne ouer vs.

VERSE 27.
Thoſe myne enemies which would not that I ſhould raigne ouer them, bring hither and ſlaye before mee.

VERSE 40.
I tell you that if theſe ſhould holde their peace, the ſtones would crye.

See the contentes of this Booke on the next leafe.

A collation gives:

Title i. l., The Table i. l., text pp. 1–548, (6) pp. additional, "A briefe answere to the principall pointes in the Archbishops Articles . . . written about an. 1583." Small quarto.

The book is a collection of forty-two Puritan tracts relating to Church discipline by writers of the time.

Dexter, ♯ 188. He gives 1590 as the probable year of publication. Copies are in the Prince Library, British Museum, Bodleian Library, Williams's Library and Yale College Library.

The conference betweene mee and the Bishop of London in the presence of Sir Ovven Hopton, D. Lewys, M. Recorder, and Archdeacon Mullins, *high Commissioners, in the Consistorie in Paules, the 5. of November last past, Anno* 1578. *many people standing by.*

Bish. Merburie, where were you since your last enlargement?

M. At Northampton.

B. That was the place whither you were speciallie forbidden to goe, for there you did all the harme.

M. I neither was, nor rightly may bee inhibited the place, neither have I done harme there, but (I trust) good.

B. As you say sir.

M. Not so, but I referre mee to the judgement of Gods Church there.

B. The last time you found more favour then you deserved, and more then (possible) you shall finde hereafter, and yet you vaunted that you had ratled up the Bishop of *Peterborow*,[1] and so you would mee.

M. Sir, if your eares be open to every Sycophant, you shall have such slanders enow, but for proofe bring forth mine accuser, for if bare wordes will serve, you may as well accuse me of high treason.

B. Well sir, now you are come, what have you to say to my Lord of P. or to mee?

M. Nothing but God save you both.

B. Nothing? Why, you were woont to barke much of dumbe dogs, are you wearie of your part?

M. I come not to accuse, but to defend, but because you urge me for advantage, I say that the B. of L. and P. and all the B. in England are guiltie of the death of as manie soules as have perished by the ignoraunce of the Ministers of their making whom they knew to be unable.

B. Whom such have I made?

[1] Edmund Scambler.

M. I accuse you not particularlie, because I know not your estate, if you have, you shall beare this condemnation.

B. Thy proposition is false, if it were in Cambridge, it would be hissed out of the schooles.

M. Then you had need to hire hissers.

B. If I finding one well qualified with learning admitte him, and hee after play the Trewant and become ignoraunt, and by his ignorance slay soules, am I guiltie of their death?

M. This is another question, I distinguish: I speake of them which never were able.

B. Distinguish? Thou knowest not a distinction. What is a distinction?

M. It is a severing of things which seeme to be the same.

B. Nay that is *differentia.*

M. Differunt quae non sunt ambigua, but wee distinguishe those things only which are *ambigua* (as) you differ not from the B. of L. but I may distinguish betweene you and the B. of L. because you remaine a man without the Bishopricke.

B. Here is a tale of a tub, how many predicamets ar there?

M. I answere you according to your question, if I say ther are enow of 7. for why doe you aske me questions so impertinent?

B. Howe manie predicables bee there? Where didst thou learne thy Logike?

M. The last time you spake much of *to prepon,* but this is *to parergon,* I am no Logitian.

Record. Marburie, use my Lorde more reverently hee is a Peere of the Realms: I perceive your wordes are puffed upp with pride.

M. Sir, I speake but the trueth to him, I reverence him so farre as he is reverend, and I pray God to teach him to die.

B. Thou speakest of making Ministers, the B. of P. was nevermore overseene in his life, then when hee admitted thee to bee a Preacher in Northampton.

M. Like enough so (in some sense) I pray God those scales may fall from his eyes.

B. Thou art a very Asse, thou art madde, thou art couragious, nay thou art impudent, by my troth I thinke he be mad, he careth for no bodie.

M. Sir, I take exception against swearing Judges, I prayse God I am not mad, but sory to see you so out of temper.

B. Did you ever heare one more impudent?

M. It is not (I trust) impudencie to answere for my selfe.

B. Nay I know thou art couragious, thou art fool-hardie.

M. Though I feare not you, yet I feare the Lord.

Rec. Is hee learned?

B. Learned? He hath an arrogant spirit, he can scarse construe Cato I thinke.

M. Sir, you doe not punish mee because I am unlearned: How beit I understand both the Greeke and Latine tongues, assay me to approve your disgrace.

B. Thou takest uppon thee to bee a Preacher, but there is nothing in thee: Thou art a verie Asse, an idiot, and a foole.

M. I humbly beseeche you sir have patience, give this people better example, I am that I am through the Lorde, I submit the triall of my sufficiencie to the judgement of the learned, but this wandering speach is not logicall.

Sir Owen Hop. Master *Merburie*, how prove you all the B. in England to bee guiltie of the death of as many soules as have perished by the ignoraunce of the unable Ministers which they have made?

M. If it please your worship, if they order unable or unmeet Ministers, they give imposition of hands over hastily to those men, which to doe the Apostle saith, Is to be partaker of other mens sinnes.[1]

B. The Greeke word *taxeos* importeth nothing but the examination of their lives?

M. It is general enough to include both, for it is set down before in the epistle as a positive law. A Bishop (which worde was then more generall) must be apt to teach: if he be not so approved to your conscience this is, *Koinonia amartion* after the Apostle,[2] you communicate with his sinnes in those respectes.

B. But what sinnes are those? I pray thee.

M. Soule murdering.

B. How provest thou that?

M. They are in a maner the wordes of the Prophet: My people are destroied for lacke of knowledge, but who should teach them knowledge?[3]

B. Knowledge? Have they not the Homilies and the Catechisme, it is more then they will learne me thinks.

M. Yea, or their Parish priest either to any purpose in manie places.

B. Why then belike by thy saying, they have too much of it alreadie.

M. And too little of the other.

B. What other?

M. I meane preaching, what can an ignorant Minister see more in those things then a booke learned parishioner?

[1] 1 Tim. 5. 29. [2] 1 Ti. 3. 2. [3] Hose. 4. 6.

B. O thou wouldst have all preaching, are not the Homilies Sermons?

M. God giveth his own blessing to his owne order, which is preaching, not reading.[1]

B. Marke you what his wordes insinuate, he condemneth reading in Churches, and hee closely seemeth to affirme that they are all damned, whose Minister is not a Preacher, you see what hee is.

D. Lew. By Saint Marie, these be pernicious errors, what say you to them Sir?

M. Master D. (saving your othe) I allowe reading of the scriptures in the Churches, for Christe read Esay in the temple and expounded that hee read in the olde.[2] I am no Judge, for God hath extraordinarie supplie when he taketh away the ordinarie meanes, but it is good for us not to tempt God, but to use thankfully the ordinary meanes.

D. L. Goe to the purpose, if I put a man to my Lorde, whom I take to be true, and he prove a thiefe, am I guiltie of his theft? No, neither is the bishop guiltie of the faultes of the Ministers, whom when he maketh there is good hope of.

M. Sir you argue *a paribus* but the reason holdeth not.

D. L. Why?

M. You may trie him that woulde bee a spirituall thiefe before you trust him: so yee cannot the other before he have stolne somewhat.

D. L. What triall would you have more then this, he is an honest man, and like to prove learned in time.

M. But in the meane while the people perishe, you will not commit your sucking child to a drie milch Nurse, be she never so honest.

D. L. A good life is a good sermon, & such slay no soules though they be not so exquisite.

M. To teach by example only, is good in a Matron whom silence beseemeth, this *petitio principij*, that they slay no soules was made manifest before out of Hosea. The Apostle telleth *Titus* they must be able *elegxein tou antilegontas*, to convince the gainsayers.[3] These are but evasions *veritas non quaerit angulos.*

B. This fellowe woulde have a Preacher in everie parishe Church.

M. So would Saint Paul.[4]

B. Where wouldest thou have them?

M. In Cambridge, in Oxford, in the Innes of Court, yea and some in Prison, if there wanted more, wee doing our part the Lord would doe his part.

[1] Reve. 10, 14, 17.
[2] Luk. 4. 17.
[3] Tit. 1. 5.
[4] Tit. 1. 5.

B. I thought where thou wouldst bee, but where is the living for them?

M. A man might cut a good large thong out of your hyde and the rest, and it would not be missed.

B. Perge mentire: Thou shalt dispose our livings orderly.

M. It is more then you can doe your selves, if living bee the default, they are too blame which have too much, whatsoever is the cause the Church feeleth the smart.

Mul. Sir, in the beginning of her Majesties raigne, there was defect of able men, and the Church was constrained to take such as it could get upon commendation of noble men.

M. I speake of a later time, as for noble men they are no sureties for us, as for the defect it cannot dispense with the absolute worde: Hee must bee able to teach, there is no such clause (except there be a defect).

Mul. Why then you will have a Preacher or els none, and so the Church shall be unserved.

M. It is better to have nothing then that which God would not have.

B. How proveth thou that God would not have them, when wee can get no better.

M. Doth he not say, Because thou hast refused knowledge, I will also refuse thee, that thou shalt be no Priest to me.[1]

B. Thou art an overthwart proude puritan knave, thou wilt go to Northampton, and thou wilt have thine owne saying to die, but thou shalt repent it.

M. I am no puritan, I beseeche you bee good to mee, I have been twise in prison, but I know not why.

B. Where was he before?

Keeper of the G. house. With me my Lord.

B. Have him to the Marshall sea, there he shall cope with the Papistes.

M. I am to goe whither it pleaseth God, but remember Gods judgements, you doe me open wrong, I pray God forgive you.

Francis Merburie.

Francis Merbury to Lord Burghley.[2]

To the R. honorable Sr. Willm̄ Cecil Knight Lord Burghley L. High Treasurer of England and one of her Maties. most honorable privy Counsel.

Right honorable, although I presume thus farre, yet am I not without an unfeyned and condigne sense of my wants and basenes,

[1] Hose. 4. 6.

[2] Cecil Papers, clxvii. 109.

humbly acknowleging my special unmeetnes thus to venture toward such a personage. The place therefor which your honour hath now so many yeares supplied (and yet to few by many, yf it please god to multiply them still) being managed by you wth so gret authority and wysdom, and moderation, and some p'ticular dignity of yours claiming interest in me and myne affayres of this nature, by reson of the place of myne abode hath moved me hereto. And so much the rather because I make this conscience of myne attempt, that having examined my thoughts asunder, I have thretned to myself a curse from above and evill successe from your honour, yf I seeke your face with a dishonest cause, or doe willingly offend in fraudulent pretenses.

I have bene according to lawe appointed a precher at Alford in Lincoln shiere by my L. B. of that dioces now some nomber of yeares, in which function (not excusing any defect) I may in the word of a christian man, and under ample testimony affirme your honour that I have bene carfull to my admesurement to sort the quality of my teaching to the holy nature of gods word, having both my conscience and that greater wittnes then conscience to record, that I am not advised that I have delyvered any unsounde doctrine. And howsoever my lacke of insight into some perplexed points in controversy hath kept me of conscience (as god knoweth) from special (I confess) and pregnant allowance, there, where many of riper judgment professe their resolution and that I have in a dewtifull maner craved pardon and desyred that my infirmity might be supported, so yet the things that I professedly hold and am bold to impart to your honour so worthy a magistrate of this realme are such (I hope) as may obteyne a dispensation thorough the moderate and loving request of those in authority.

Concerning the Communion booke, I have subscribed to the use of it and non other, in our churches, and although having never bene benificed it lesse urgeth me as a minister, yet to the utterm[ost] extent of my private vocation I have long and still doe ex . . . communicate in prayer, sacraments and whatsoever rits em . . . me or myne by lawe with the most exact observers of it.

The inimies of sett prayer I doe singularly mislike. A good construcc̃on of many things wristed to offence I have in desire of reconciling alienated affections sought owt.

Concerning the state, I have allwayes resolved that th' alteration of things therin of right dependeth upon the magistrate: whose authority is to be attended as the becke of god and that in these matters only a dutifull and discrete intimation belon[gs] to the minister, holding the punishment of these troblers (which in their new preiudicial elections teach the neglect of civil power) for sanc-

tified from god to the magistrate in suffering wherof without repentance they cannot have a good conscience. And where under color of zele there appeareth by consequent heedlessnes of the sacred credit of princes, and the traducing of the body politique by indirect and p'ticularising courses, I am so farre from them that I have bene a diligent adviser of men to take wyse notice of things and not to be without compassion of the temptac̃ons and perplexities of governours whose good endevours are often prevented by the importunity of those which professe frendship to the truth.

Concerning policyes in their administrations I hold them in reverent estimation, observing not only those for fooles with Solomon which beleeve every thyng, but those for wyse, by his counsel which having espied a thing, restraine theire spir[its] till after a more maturer deliberation, when every foole (as he sayeth) will be medling, enforcing also this poi . . that no man with a good conscience maye maligne a policy . . . of evill semblance except he can see into it without error: g[iving] instance of Solomons pretense to cutt the child in two in the . . . blameworthy but of most unrebukeable scope.

Thus my L I have taught as I am perswaded to the performance of some small duety to her excellent ma'ty, and the peace of gods church, and according to this is the effect of my labors as your honour by further inquiry may com̃annd to be competently certified and yet have bene inhibited for causes to me utterly unknowne by information often before attempted openly but never prevailing till now that both cause and accusers are conceled all suite to the contrary notwithstandinge. Your L as the scriptures speake in like case is as an angel of god, well knowing that wee stand before a people partly impatient of all reprehension and partly nourishing in them selves idolatrous affections, making insurrection against the truth but coming in at the postern of supposed puritanisme. For my part I humbly submitt my self to the censure not misiudging the proceedings. Neverthelesse that your honours wysdom may apprehend much more by this litle for a com̃on good I have at the earnest desyre of a multitude of her ma'ties most quiet and conformable subiects though utterly unknowne, made choise of your L and your person and that place so requiring to refer it to your honorable consideration with three petic̃ons from the chief gentlemen, the conformable preachers of those parts, and from the people my neighbors hath some change of this accident inmost humble maner bene assayed, but my L B of that Dioces being as he sayd otherwyse not unwilling yet having referred those causes to my L Archbyshop can not consent. Only my suit is to your honor to ponder this intimation and no further. Thus pardon most humbly craved I

comitt your Ho. to gods mercifull protection. Your Honours most humble,

Francis Merbury.

[Indorsed] 15 October, 1590.

Ordination.[1]

Ordines sacri proxime sequentes collati et celebrati fuerunt per Reverendum Patrem Richardum Londoniae Episcopum in magna capella sive Oratorio infra Manerium suum de Fulham in Comitatu Middlesex in festo sancti Johannis baptistae die lunae vicesimo quarto videlicet die Junii Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Quinto iuxta licentiam prius in ea parte per Reverendissimum patrem dominum Richardum Cantuariae Archiepiscopum etc. viva voce sibi factam at consessam: Presentibus tunc et ibimet venerabilibus viris Magistris Griffino Vaughan sacrae theologiae bacchalaureo Rectore de Asheted in Comitatu Surriae Hugone Bramham sacrae Theologiae etiam bacchalaureo Vicario de Dovercourt cum capella de Harwich eidem annexa in Comitatu Essex Ithello Griffith artium magistro et Owino Gwin sacrae Theologiae bacchalaureo presbyteris et Capellanis domesticis dicti Reverendi patris et dicto Reverendo patri in premissis assistentibus et in presentia Roberti Kemp Notarij publici in hac parte speciale assumpti, etc.

Presbiter.

Franciscus Merbury nuper de Alforde in Comitatu et Diocese Lincolnae nunc vero Civitatis London etatis XLIX annorum aut circiter natus in Civitate London diaconus ordinatus (ut asseruit) apud Burgum sancti Petri per dominum Edmundum Scambler nuper Petriburgensem Episcopum per plures annos elapsos, nunc Presbyter ordinatus sine ullo testimoniale eo quod bene notus est tam Reverendissimo patri domino Archiepiscopo praedicto quam domino Episcopo London praedicto, et nunc legitime presentatus ad Rectoriam scilicet Martini in Vintria Civitatis London per mortem naturalem Magistri Johannis Bateman Clerici ultimi Rectoris et Incumbentis ibimet vacentem.

[Translation.]

The sacred orders next following were collated and celebrated by the Reverend Father Richard,[2] Bishop of London, in the great Chapel

[1] Bishop of London's Register, Liber Ordinationum, 1578–1628. The abbreviations of the original record have been extended.

[2] Richard Vaughan.

Chas. Willson Peale pinx. et fec.
Worthy of Liberty, Mr Pitt scorns to invade the Liberties of other People!

or Oratory at his Manor of Fulham in the County of Middlesex, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, Monday, that is the twenty-fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord 1605, in accordance with permission in that case first given and granted verbally by the Most Reverend Father, Richard,[1] Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Then and there being present the Venerable Master Griffin Vaughan, Bachelor of Divinity, Rector of Asheted in the County of Surrey, Hugh Bramham, also Bachelor of Divinity, Vicar of Dovercourt with the Chapel of Harwich thereto annexed in the County of Essex, Ithel Griffith, Master of Arts, and Owen Gwin, Bachelor of Divinity, Priests and Domestic Chaplains of the said Reverend Father, and assisting the said Reverend Father in the premises, and in the presence of Robert Kemp, Notary Public employed in this particular case.

PRIEST.

Francis Merbury, recently of Alford in the County and Diocese of Lincoln, but now of the City of London, aged forty-nine years or thereabouts, was ordained Deacon in the City of London (as he asserts) many years ago in the Burough of St. Peter by the Lord Edmund Scambler recently Bishop of Peterborough, and was now ordained Priest without testimonial because he is well known both to the Most Reverend Father the Lord Archbishop aforesaid, and to the Lord Bishop of London aforesaid, and now was lawfully presented to the Rectory, to wit, of Martin in the Vintry of the City of London, vacant by the natural death of Master John Bateman, Clerk, the last Rector and Incumbent thereof.

Mr. CHARLES HENRY HART presented a paper on

PEALE'S ALLEGORY OF WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.

In the very important "Volume LXXI" of *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, recently issued, containing the *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham*, will be found, on pages 100 to 104, three documents of peculiar interest. One of them is the draft of a letter from John Singleton Copley to Charles Willson Peale, acknowledging from Peale an impression of his mezzotint allegory of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and the other two are broadsides issued by Peale, advertising the allegory. The original letter that passed from Copley to Peale varies in so many particulars from the

[1] Richard Bancroft.

original draft, as is often the way in such cases, that I have transcribed it, by permission, from the original in the Brook Club, New York, where it hangs pendant to Copley's portrait of Governor George Scott of Dominica.

BOSTON, Decr. 17, 1770.

DEAR SIR, — I received your favour of the 24 of Novr. with your kind present which came to hand in good order; it gave me a toofold pleasure; first because it is the portrait of that great Man, in the most exalted carractor human can be dignified with, that of a true Patriot vindicateing the rights of Mankind; and secondly for the merit of the work itself, and the fair prospect it affords of Americas rivaling the Continant of Europe in those refined Arts that have been justly esteemed the Greatest glory of ancient Greece and Rome; go on Sir to hasten forward that happy Era.

How little my natural abillitys or oppertunitys of improvements may be adiquate to the promoteing so great a work, yet I should sincerely participate with those great Souls who are happily possessd of boath in a soverain degree.

The Aligory strikes me as unexceptionably in every part and strongly expressive of the Ideas it is design'd to convey. the Attitude which is simple is possessed of great dignity with a becoming energy; from what the print expresses I am induced to wish to see the painting the force of Colouring gives strength and perfection to the Clear obscure.

Permit me to conclude with my sincere thanks for the kind notice you have taken of me as well in the expressions accompanying the print as in the print itself. for the first if not for boath, I cannot expect to be out of your Debt. I am Dear Sir Your sincere friend & Humble; Sert.

JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY

[Superscription]
For/Mr Chs. Wilson Peale/
portrait Painter in "Annapolis"/[1]
pr favour Meriland

The prospectus or advertisement proper, entitled "A/Description/of the/Picture and Mezzotinto/of/Mr. Pitt,/Done by/Charles Willson Peale,/of Maryland./" is reproduced in facsimile, in the volume, from an original in the Manuscript Department of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., where it was unearthed, some time ago, by the industry of Mr. Worthington C. Ford; but the supplementary broadside, en-

[1] Written by another hand.

Statue of Chatham at Cork, Ireland

titled "Extract of a Letter," is taken from one in the Public Record Office, London, where are the other papers printed. To collectors of Americana this print is a *rara avis*, much desired but seldom found, as there are but eight impressions known to be in existence.[1] It is a folio, height, 23 2/16; subheight, 21 13/16; width, 14 14/16, signed "Chas. Willson Peale, pinx. et feci." and lettered "Worthy of Liberty. Mr. Pitt scorns to invade the Liberties of other Peoples." It is not necessary to describe it in detail, as the reproduction speaks for itself better than words can; but the history of the picture, and of the figure and portrait of Pitt, is most interesting, and so little known as virtually to be unknown.

Pitt's career and his relation to the colonies have been traced and considered by so many hands and from so many viewpoints, and are so well known if not so well understood, that it is not essential to rehearse or even refer to them here, more than to say that he was the idol of a large portion of the colonies, and it was this sentiment that was the genesis of Peale's pictorial work, although it was not Peale who originated memorializing it in art. Indeed the idea had its birth in Ireland, where too Pitt was canonized as a Great Patriot. Dublin presented him with the freedom of the city, and Cork voted a statue to be erected in the municipality with the inscription "Vera Icon Gulielmi Pitt cujus si nomen audies, nihil hic de fama desideres," the order for which was given to Joseph Wilton (1722–1803), the most eminent British statuary of the period, later one of the foundation members of the Royal Academy of Arts, and sculptor of the monument to General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, erected in Westminster Abbey, as also of many busts and statues of distinguished persons. This statue of Pitt was finished in 1766, at a cost of £500, and was placed in the Exchange, then standing in Castle Street, in the city of Cork, whence it was subsequently removed to the Mansion House, and to-day will be found in the corridor of the Crawford Municipal School of Art, in Emmet Place, Cork, Ireland.

[1] Impressions located are: Public Library, Boston (Chaloner Smith); Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia (Phillips Collection); Horace W. Sellers, Philadelphia (Charles Willson Peale); Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, Ophir Hall, N. Y. (Maggs); Francis W. Halsey, New York (Fridenberg); R. T. H. Halsey, New York (J. T. Sabin); Lord Rosebery, London, England (Parsons); Frank M. Sabin, London, England (Mitchell).

Whether the atmosphere surrounding this Irish monument was wafted across the seas and stirred the colonials similarly to honor this friend of the colonies, or the idea they carried out originated with themselves, we do not know; but coincident with the erection of the statue in Cork, the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, on May 8, 1766, unanimously voted "that this house will make provision for defraying the expense of procuring from England a statue of the Right Honorable William Pitt," and on June 23 voted £7000 currency for the purpose which, on November 30, the treasurer of the colony was directed to turn into "good bills of exchange for £1000 sterling" and remit them to the agent in Great Britain toward payment of the statue.[1]

The agent of South Carolina, who was intrusted with this commission, was Charles Garth, member of Parliament for Devizes from 1761 to 1784, who by letter of July 9, 1766,[2] accepted with pride the duty intrusted to him and employed Wilton, who has, he wrote, "signalized himself remarkably by a statue of Mr. Pitt finished this Spring, for the city of Cork and admired by everybody here before sent to Ireland." He mentions further that Wilton has made in addition two busts of Pitt "which for likeness and workmanship both, are very greatly admired," adding, "I have given in your directions to have him at full length in a speaking attitude and suitable dress, with a roll in one hand, inscribed Magna Charta." It would seem that two designs were submitted by Wilton and forwarded to South Carolina by Garth, which as late as 1836 were in possession of Charles Fraser, a miniature painter in Charleston.[3]

Close upon the heels of South Carolina's action, the citizens of New York held a meeting at Burns Coffee House, June 23, 1766,[4] and petitioned the Assembly to erect a statue in honor of Pitt. The measure was carried through and Wilton was engaged also to make it, which he did by following, with slight changes, the one he was modelling for Charleston. Both statues were shipped about the same time — the South Carolina *Gazette* of May 17, 1770, announcing the arrival of the one destined for that colony, adds: "At the same time that the

[1] *South Carolina Hist. and Gen. Magazine*, XV. 22.
[2] *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, VIII. 216.
[3] *Ib.*, 217.
[4] 2 *Proceedings*, IV. 292.

above statue was shipped in Capt White two others were shipped for New York, one of his present Majesty cast in Brass, the other of Mr. Pitt, highly finished in marble, but considerably under the size of ours." [1]

The Charleston statue was placed on its pedestal July 5, 1770, at the intersection of Broad and Meeting Streets, near which spot it now stands within Washington Square. The South Carolina *Gazette* of July 11, 1770, describes it "of fine white marble, the Habit Roman, the right hand holds a Roll of Parchment, partly open, on which we read 'Articuli Magnae Cartae Libertatum.' The left hand is extended, the figure being in the attitude of one delivering an Oration." [2] This description shows that the instructions transmitted by Garth were carried out, and also, what is much more important, preserves a picture of what the statue was like originally, for it has suffered many vicissitudes. In 1780, April 16, the right arm was carried away by a British cannon ball, fired from James Island, and fourteen years later the statue was taken down from its pedestal in such a careless manner that the head was severed from the body, and when it was replaced no attention was paid to its position relative to the action of the figure, with the result that it is decidedly awry. The outstretched left arm has also disappeared, so that to the casual observer the statue has much the appearance of a mutilated antique.

The New York statue was erected September 7, 1770, at the intersection of Wall and Smith, now William Street; but during the occupation of the city by the British the head and right hand were struck off in September, 1776, by the soldiery in revenge for the insult previously shown by the Americans in pulling down the statue of the King, which had also been made by Wilton. The headless trunk remained standing until July, 1788,[3] when it was removed, and after sundry migrations, what remains of it is in the hall of the New York Historical Society. Maryland also fell into line, and in November, 1766, passed

[1] As well as can be judged from what remains of the two statues they were virtually of the same size.

[2] John Austin Stevens, in his discourse on *Progress of New York in a Century*, describes the New York statue *ad verbum* "from the journals of the day." *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, VII. 67.

[3] *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, IV. 59.

resolutions for a marble statue of Pitt in Annapolis, but it seems not to have materialized.[1]

The necessity for this somewhat minute account of the statues to Pitt, made by Wilton, will become apparent in the consideration of the Peale allegory; but before discussing that subject I must call attention to the extraordinary statements of Mr. Basil Williams, in his life of Pitt (1913), where in Volume II, p. 121, he says, speaking of the Cork statue, which is the frontispiece to his book: "It was made by the sculptor Wilton and was thought so good by Pitt that when he was consulted in 1766 by the agent for North [sic] Carolina about a statue of him for Charleston, he recommended Wilton again"; and further, on p. 206: "Garth their Agent in London writing on July 9, 1766, says he has consulted Pitt on the Sculptor . . . and Pitt had chosen Wilton who had recently finished the statue for Cork. . . . It seems to have been a replica of the Cork Statue." This is a most unusual and remarkable use of authority, for Garth says not a word about consulting Pitt in his letter of July 9, 1766; he mentions merely having advised Pitt of the action of the House Commons. Garth does say that Pitt did choose Wilton to make the Cork statue, which is a valuable endorsement of Wilton's likeness of Pitt, and there can be no doubt that Chatham was perfectly well satisfied with Wilton's work or it would not have gone forth to the public in so many different forms — three statues and two busts — when a man of his power and consideration could easily have prevented it were it not satisfactory to him. Neither are the American statues in any way replicas or duplicates of the Irish one, or alike in any details, as can be seen by comparing the reproductions.

Charles Willson Peale, who was a much better painter than he is generally credited with being, owing to his best-known pictures being the poorest examples from his brush, was born in St. Paul's Parish, Queen Anne's county, Maryland, April 15, 1741, and died in Philadelphia, February 22, 1827. Having tried many vocations he determined in his twenty-fifth year that art was the one he was best qualified to follow; and after some instruction from John Hesselius, the native-born son of

[1] Dedham, Mass., erected a shaft with a wooden bust of Pitt on top. It is represented in the *Dedham Historical Register*, I. 121.

Statue of Chatham at Charleston, S. C.

Gustavus Hesselius, the earliest known artist in America,[1] he visited Boston to get some hints from Copley, who was only a few years his senior, but with a reputation that extended not only over the colonies but to London. In December, 1767, Peale hied himself to London and the studio of Benjamin West, where he remained more than two years, returning to Maryland in June, 1770. While in London, Peale was not, as he writes in his autobiography,[2] "content to know how to paint in one way, but engaged in the whole circle of arts, except painting in enamel, also learned modelling and casting in plaster . . . and made some essays at Mezzotint scraping." These last words are full of import to our subject. At that time the atmosphere was, as we have seen, so full of the Pitt fever, that one of Peale's earliest pictorial endeavors was a large canvas, ninety-six inches high by sixty-one inches wide, an allegory of William Pitt, which attracted the patriotic connoisseurship of another son of Maryland — Edmond Jenings.[3]

This gentleman was the grandson of Edmond Jenings, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia — 1706–1710 — and son of Edmond Jenings, Secretary of State of Maryland, who married Ariane Vanderheyden, widow of Thomas Bordley. By her he had a daughter who became the mother of Edmond Jenings Randolph, better known as Edmund Randolph, a conspicuous member of Washington's cabinet, and one son named for his father and grandfather, who, born in 1731, accompanied his parents to England in 1737, where he was educated and bred to the bar. He was loyal to the colonies, acted in several quasi-diplomatic capacities in behalf of his native country such as secret agent at the court of Brussels and secretary for some time to John Adams. He resided in London in the vicinity of Kensington Square and was a daily visitor to the Westminster Library, dying in September, 1819, in his eighty-eighth year.[4] His armorial book-plate is in the Franks Collection at the British Museum and is one of the rarest among American *ex libris*. This cultivated American was requested by Richard

[1] *Vide Harpers' Magazine* for March, 1898.

[2] *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXXVIII. 264.

[3] This gentleman's name is usually wrongly given as "Edmund Jennings."

[4] *The Bordley Family*, 1865; *Monthly Magazine*, 1819, VIII. 182; *Annual Obituary*, London, 1821, 368.

Henry Lee [1] to secure for Westmoreland in Virginia a portrait of Lord Camden, which he failed to accomplish owing to the multifarious public engagements of this great lawyer and statesman. Instead Jenings wrote to Lee, November 1, 1768,[2] "As the honest cause of America hath been supported with true liberality by that great man Lord Chatham,[3] I could wish that his merits were not forgotten and therefore take the liberty of sending you by Captn. Johnson, his portrait which if you think it worthy of the acceptance of the gentlemen of Westmoreland, I beg you to offer them in my name. It was executed by Mr. Peele of Maryland who was recommended to me by several friends in that province as a young man of merit and modesty. I found him so, and heartily wish he may meet with every encouragement on his return to America which I believe will be soon." Jenings adds a very important P. S.: "The head of Lord Chatham is done from an admirable bust by Wilton and is much like him tho' different from the common prints." [4]

The gentlemen of Westmoreland accepted the gift and expressed much appreciation of the design. It was set up at Chantilly,[5] the seat of Lee, where it remained until 1825, when it was placed in the new courthouse of the county, to remain until 1848. It was then taken to Richmond, Va., and hung in the house of Delegates until 1902,[6] when, upon the erection of another new courthouse, in Westmoreland county, at Montross, the painting was returned and placed amid the environment originally intended for it. This was a canvas too important to the painter, both for size and subject, for him to allow it to pass out of his control without preserving a full memorandum. Accordingly Peale painted a duplicate nearly the same size as the original (ninety-three inches by fifty-six inches), which he brought with him back to Annapolis and subsequently presented to the state of Maryland, which the Assembly accepted by vote, April 16, 1774, offering Peale as a compliment for his "very

[1] *Life and Correspondence of Richard Henry Lee*, I. 49.
[2] *The Virginia Historical Register*, I. 72.
[3] Elevated to the Peerage, 1766.
[4] Williams says, p. 121, of the Cork statue: "It gives a more lifelike impression of the minister . . . than either of the two contemporary portraits by Hoare and by Brompton."
[5] *R. H. Lee to Langdon Carter, Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, I. 76.
[6] *Acts of Assembly of Virginia*, 1901–1902, 676.

genteel Present," the sum of "one hundred pounds common money." The painting hangs in the state capitol building at Annapolis. It was from this replica that Peale must have scraped his mezzotint plate, and it would be interesting to know to a certainty whether the work was executed in London or in Maryland. The probabilities are that it was executed and printed in London. As far as we know it was Peale's first plate, and he would hardly essay it alone without having someone skilled in the art at his elbow to advise and guide him. Then it seems quite certain that he could not get the necessary copper plate in this country, although he could have brought one back with him; but where was the plate-press and the plate-printer to pull off the impressions, after the plate was ready for proving? It is true Peale was a very ingenious mechanic and might have printed the plate himself, for he did, according to his diary, print his small plate of Washington in November, 1778, and got the copper plate for it a month before from a "Mr. Brook."[1] Notwithstanding these possibilities the mezzotint was doubtless a London product. The broadside prospectus of the print, that has been mentioned, appears to me to be from an American press. The "Extract of a Letter" I have not seen in the original, but as its size corresponds with the prospectus, they were doubtless issued from the same press contemporaneously; indeed, as it has no earmark, alone and unaccompanied by the prospectus it would have no significance or value. This "Extract" is a most important document in our investigation. Although it purports to be an excerpt from a letter, neither place nor date is given, and inherently it shows, I think, Peale's hand, merely cast in this form to make it appear adroitly as coming from a disinterested correspondent. It is really a plea for the correctness of the likeness of Pitt, which evidently had been attacked at the time as it has been since. Mr. Jenings, anticipating this result from its being an unusual and unfamiliar portrait, tells Richard Henry Lee it "*is much like him, tho' different from the common prints.*" Jenings' comparison is clearly one made with Pitt himself, while the comparisons made in the "Extract of a Letter" are all with engraved portraits of him, which makes it plain to me this was not written in England, where Pitt's living face was well known, but in

[1] *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXVIII. 247.

America, where his living face was unknown and his lineaments only familiar through the medium of engravings after the paintings by Brompton and by Hoare, which are in big wig and in the costume of the period. The Extract says:

> One of the Mezzotinto's was brought into Company, when all agreed it was Very clever; but some thought it "not like Pitt." . . . Perhaps it was hazardous to offer to the Public a Portrait so unlike the old Pictures, which have been long known among us. Very few have Seen any other Representation of the Great Man, and we know how Strongly First Impressions work on the Imagination: And, what is yet more disadvantageous to the Painter, not only First Impressions, but many Years intimate Acquaintance with the old Piece, has probably So fixed that Likeness in the Mind, that, were Mr. Pitt himself to be of a sudden present, and appear a Contrast to those Pieces, there would not be a total Want of Weak Minds, who might even struggle to conceive he was like himself — preferring the Likeness with which they were so intimate.[1] But between the old Copies and the present, I do not see that great Disparity that is pretended: Pray attend to them, and make all due Allowances — Twenty Years between the Drawing the one and the other — such Difference in his Age! In the one he is in modern Dress, with Neckcloth, a Wig, and full Suit: In the other, with his natural Hair, a loose Roman Habit, and Neck bare. I am assured that Gentlemen, who had seen the Proof-Copy, and among them Dr. Franklin, thought Mr. Peale's a very good Likeness of the Great Patriot, as he is at this Time, worn down with Sickness and Years, and with Fatigue in the Service of his Country.

The reference to Doctor Franklin having seen a proof-copy of the plate, evidently meaning a proving print and not an early finished proof, is very strong evidence, almost conclusive, that the plate was well advanced, if not completely finished, in England; for while a proof could have been sent across the water to him, it is not in the least likely that one was — certainly not in time for his remarks upon it to have come back and been incorporated in this printed circular, advertising the plate. Peale did not get back to Maryland until June, 1770, and it was only five months later, in November, that he sent his present to Copley of a finished print. It is true that

[1] Is this the source of John Neal's conceit in "Charcoal Sketches," where he says if Washington came back to earth and did not resemble Stuart's Washington he would be considered an impostor?

mezzotinting is of very rapid execution in comparison with the labor of a burin or line plate; yet for a novice to scrape the plate and send a proof across the ocean in those days, when Peale himself was twelve weeks making the passage, and get an acknowledgment from Franklin, who was proverbially deliberate in his correspondence, is next to impossible.

Not that it counts a feather's weight one way or the other in determining the nativity of the plate, but simply that all the evidence may be in, the print is recorded by Chaloner Smith in his *British Mezzotint Portraits*, 963, where the account of it and of its author is so amusing in its multiplicity of errors that it bears quoting: "Charles Wilson Peale was an American Painter who practised during the Revolutionary war and *afterwards visited Europe*. He studied with Copley and West. The following is *his only mezzotint*,[1] and it was almost certainly engraved *in America about 1777*. The likeness [of Chatham] is so indifferent that it must have been a fanciful one." The impression described by Smith was purchased at the sale of his collection of mezzotints, in 1887, by the Public Library of Boston, and at least three others have appeared in England, which is additional argument that the plate was made there.

Although we have Peale's allegory before us in the reproduction of the mezzotint, the artist's own description of his composition is not without interest. In his manuscript autobiography[2] he thus describes it: "Mr. Pitt is here represented in Roman dress, in the action of an orator, extending his right arm and points to the figure of Liberty, and holding a scroll in his left hand on which is written 'Magna Charta'; before him an altar with a civic crown on it and a flame rising, designate his zeal in the cause of liberty. The altar is ornamented with the bust of Hampden and Sidney, and wreaths of oak leaves embrace them. In the background is a piece of elegant architecture, Whitehall, in front of which King Charles I was beheaded."

This word-picture of his painting, taken in connection with the newspaper description of the South Carolina statue on its arrival, shows that Peale reversed the position of the arms, making the left in the painting hold Magna Charta instead of

[1] He made three mezzotint portraits of Washington and one each of Doctor Franklin, La Fayette and Rev. Joseph Pilmore.

[2] In possession of Peale's great-grandson, Mr. Horace W. Sellers of Philadelphia.

the right, and the right extended in place of the left, greatly to the advantage of the figure. The costume too is quite different, and again the advantage is with Peale. The head of Pitt in the allegory is confessedly from Wilton's bust of that statesman and, making allowance for the hard usage the Charleston statue has received, besides its exposure to the elements for almost one hundred and fifty years, by which all its fineness has been destroyed, leaving a mere ghost of what it originally was, the head in Peale's mezzotint closely follows that of the statue. Taking it all in all, this was a work of no inconsiderable magnitude to be undertaken by a young man of twenty-seven who had only been an art student a shade more than two years. It was of magnitude not only in size but in conception and execution, and shows a nice intimate knowledge of history almost unexpected in a colonist who had not had a collegiate education. Allowing for any hints he may have had from his preceptor West, who was to become the greatest history painter in England, he deserves high commendation for his accomplishment.

From this completed survey of the entire subject it is clear that the statue in Charleston is not a replica or duplicate of the one in Cork, Ireland, or the figure in the Peale picture a servile copy of either; but it seems quite certain that the Cork statue fathered the thought that produced those for America, and that Peale's portrait, to say the least, was inspired by the American marbles which he doubtless saw in the studio of the sculptor, Wilton. The plate too was scraped and printed in London and brought overseas for sale, when Peale got out his prospectus and "Extract of a Letter" together, for the latter without the former would be unintelligible, and set to work to sell the prints in which he was not successful, as we learn from his autobiography before cited. He writes, in the third person, "When he was in London he painted a whole length of Mr. Pitt in the idea that if he made a print of it that it would be readily sold in America. Therefore he made a large mezzotint print from his picture, but let it be remembered that he never sold as many prints as would pay him the cost of the paper, perhaps he did not take the proper method for the sale of them." Poor Peale had not learned how short-lived was the acclaim of the public; that the Idol of to-day was the football of to-morrow. What

was all aflame in 1768–69, when he began his commemorative work, was dead embers in 1770–71, when his allegory was ready for the market. This may be a sad commentary upon hero worship, yet it is true almost always of the living; but Peale's lesson accounts for the rarity of his mezzotint to-day. The only impression that I know to have been sold at public sale in this country was in the noted collection of Hon. James T. Mitchell, in Philadelphia, October 28, 1913, where a slightly cut-down copy brought $160. It is from that copy our reproduction is made, and we are indebted to Mr. Stan V. Henkels of Philadelphia for the use of the plate.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. THAYER, DAVIS, T. L. LIVERMORE, BRADFORD, and WENDELL.

MEMOIR

OF

ALEXANDER McKENZIE.

By JAMES SCHOULER.

The life of our late fellow-member affords the example of one who, at early manhood, obeying a spiritual call, turned from mercantile and secular employment to pursue classical and collegiate studies preparatory to entering the Christian ministry. Without early advantages of his own, he used well such advantages as came to him through others. Achievement followed opportunity; and successful achievement opened up new and broader opportunities in the direction he had wisely chosen after reaching majority.

Not unmindful of posthumous remembrance, Dr. McKenzie wrote out, in his seventieth year, notes for a narrative of his life and career, to which, about ten years later, he added at a final leisure many enlarged details of his personal recollections. These writings — which might well serve for a fuller biography — I am kindly permitted to use freely in preparing the present brief sketch of his life. From his own standpoint in the retrospect, there was nothing in his record of which he felt ashamed, nothing that he wished suppressed. He did not think the manuscript of any value to the world, as he modestly expressed himself, but he left it for his children and a few close friends to accept as a bequest. "I stand," he wrote, "not in the past alone, but in the future also, and I rejoice in the continuity of life."

Alexander McKenzie was born in New Bedford, Mass., December 14, 1830, the son of Daniel and Phebe Mayhew

Alexander McKenzie.

(Smith) McKenzie. The McKenzies (or Mackenzies) are illustrious in Scotland; and though never tracing his lineage clearly to the old country — his paternal grandfather, a seafaring man, having come to Nantucket in 1792 — Alexander felt well assured of his ancestry. "I was brought up," he writes, "to be proud of my Scotch blood, and I am. I am firm in this confidence as my father was. I remember that in his last illness he was bled, as the fashion then was. 'That is good blood,' said the doctor; and my father answered, 'It is Scotch blood.'"

Scottish-Americans are found sincere, industrious and self-respecting, whatever the condition of life; and Daniel McKenzie, a whaling captain for many years, was by all accounts a man of such attributes — manly, courageous and true to responsibilities. To his conspicuous strength of character, the son left an admiring tribute, and our fellow-member, Mr. Crapo, who knew both father and son in his boyhood, renders a like appreciation.[1] Captain McKenzie was a man of commanding presence, tall and strong; his heart was generous. He had a fine mind and carried to sea good books to read while on his voyages. Toward the close of his life he spent much of his time on shore in New Bedford, where he became prominent in local affairs, and was much sought after as a speaker and lecturer. "He was a born orator," writes Alexander; and the son considered his own gifts in writing and speaking as largely a filial heritage. As for the mother, quick, sensitive, strongly religious, and bearing cheerfully and patiently the watchful burden of a sailor's wife, while bringing up the children well and maintaining home and the household during her husband's absence, no praise, he felt, could be too great for her. The whaling pursuit was full of dangerous exposure and disaster, and letters or even tidings of the remote adventurers came in those days seldom and irregularly.

That incident of boyhood to which Mr. Crapo has alluded,[2] used sometimes by the preacher for moral illustration — "Throw a line to my boy" — Dr. McKenzie himself has preserved among his recorded recollections. It must have left a very strong impression on his mind through life. It had occurred when he was ardent, eager, impulsive, just upon reach-

[1] *Proceedings*, XLVIII. 12–15. [2] *Ib.*

ing adolescence. And proudly did young Alexander walk homeward when ashore again, hand in hand with the long absent father, until the mother met them both at the door, and husband and wife were joyfully reunited. It had been a three-years' separation, and the father never went to sea again. "I bless God for my father and mother," is the son's concluding comment upon his parentage.

Young McKenzie passed through the public schools of his native city with conspicuous credit. He did not excel in the sports; strange to say, he never learned to swim; and an inaptitude for athletics marked his whole course in life. But he could run well and showed a proficiency in games which required mental skill. He was fond of books and study and stood well at school. He so enjoyed the free range of reading allowed him in a local bookstore that he thought seriously of becoming a bookseller when he grew up. A bright, good-natured, well-dressed youth, McKenzie's youthful days passed pleasantly, in attending school regularly, and, when old enough, in learning to help his mother over the household chores during play hours. After graduating from the grammar school at the age of twelve, he entered the high school, keeping mostly at the head among larger boys, until at the age of sixteen he completed its course, and, like most of his companions, began responsible life, with his studies, which were essentially English, presumably completed.

Alexander's high-school master had a persistent "Why?" when conducting the recitations; and that interrogatory our youth carried with him into mature life, seeking sound arguments that might persuade himself whenever an existing state of facts presented some new problem. As to declamation, he records that on his first effort in school he broke down completely, but on a second trial did better. And with him in later life, as with many other orators in and out of the pulpits who are seemingly at ease, a conscious self-distrust clung to him always, by his own confession.

Seeking, then, his own fortune in life with the equipment of a good average education, McKenzie made his first earnings in his native city; but, failing to obtain a vacant clerkship in a New Bedford bank which he had applied for, he journeyed presently to Boston, a city of entire strangers,

with all his belongings packed in a small trunk and hat box. This was in 1847 and when he had reached his seventeenth year.

Finding a situation speedily with some lumber dealers, in Cambridgeport, young McKenzie made a fair start in Boston's vicinity upon a small salary. But he desired a better place; and this, by March, 1849, was procured for him in the neighboring city, with the aid of a prominent citizen of New Bedford whom his father knew. The firm of Lawrence, Stone & Co. stood high in Boston's business circles at this time and its members had strong social connections. The partnership dealt as commission merchants in the sale of woollen goods, the product of mills in Lowell and Lawrence. McKenzie's entrance into their congenial employment was a happy omen of the future. Beginning at the bottom he worked upward, gaining steadily the esteem of his fellows and the confidence of his employers. There must have been something peculiarly attractive in this young man, with his modest and methodical ways of working, his sobriety, his upright conduct while far from home, his reverent regard for the Sabbath and his wholesome week-day associations during the recreation intervals. The old bookkeeper of the firm began training him for a successor, showing him special marks of confidence. All other employees were good-natured and kind to him; and when, after a service of some length, Christmas came round and the head of the firm invited him to take a holiday dinner with his family, so marked an attention was a startling surprise and he felt deeply grateful in accepting.

Here began the first of those friendships with influential men which did so much to smooth McKenzie's pathway in later life and accelerate a prosperous and highly useful career. Samuel Lawrence had a large and attractive family of sons and daughters, and his wife, who came from Baltimore, was a beautiful woman in person and character. Both husband and wife highly appreciated the young man's good traits of character and became in time his warm friends.

Alexander had been religiously brought up by his devout mother, and both parents were by this time church worshippers by profession. He had been early taught to say his prayers, and on the first day of the week to attend church and the Sun-

day School. In 1847, and about the time he prepared to take life's discipline into his own keeping far from home, he joined with others in New Bedford the Trinitarian Congregational Church, making open profession of the faith. No emotional excitement seems to have led him to that momentous decision, but rather the sober sense of a sacred personal duty. Procuring letters of dismissal from New Bedford, he entered in fellowship the Central Church in Boston, then on Winter Street, and allied himself closely with its work and interests, joining its Bible class and attending in week-day course the social meetings. He thus made many pleasant church acquaintances and came to know well one of the ministers, Mr. Richards. In 1851 was formed the Young Men's Christian Association of Boston — now circling the globe in kindred organizations, having been started earlier in London — and McKenzie became speedily a member. For secular companionship he enjoyed the Mercantile Library Association of this city, which held many social meetings in those days, bringing young men of business into pleasant intercourse.

But our exemplary clerk was not wholly content with his present mode of life and occupation. He passed many weary days while approaching majority and yearned for some wider scope to the career of his full manhood. "I was not made," he records, "for a business career. I did not like the prospect before me. I saw other young men going to college while I was held back, and if I was not envious I greatly wished that I could go with them. I knew something of church life. I wanted to preach. . . . The life of a minister was full of attractiveness."

While in this frame of mind McKenzie found some trouble with his eyes, and consulted a Boston oculist, who advised him to transfer his abode to the suburbs of the city and get the benefit of country air and rural surroundings as a relief from his daily toil. Accordingly he went to Auburndale to board, where a pleasant home was recommended by a friend who had gone there already. It was with the family of Rev. Jonathan E. Woodbridge, a retired clergyman of the Congregational Church. Auburndale was in 1852 a village in the woods, and its surroundings were quiet and tranquillizing. The Woodbridge home was an ideal one, and McKenzie's summer experience brought him health and enjoyment, both hus-

band and wife of his hosts showing strong interest in their lodger.

One day, shortly before McKenzie purposed returning to Boston for the winter season, Mr. Woodbridge suggested to him that he should study for the ministry. "I am too old," was his reply — for he had now fully entered upon the period of manhood — "and, besides, I have not the means." These objections, Mr. Woodbridge thought, could be overcome; and his advice stirred the young man to earnest reflection. His half-slumbering wishes were at length fully aroused. He consulted Mr. Richards, his Boston pastor, on the subject, who encouraged the same idea. His father, when written to, offered no objection, while his mother rejoiced in heart. But Samuel Lawrence, his kind employer, opposed at first, for he had plans of clerical promotion in view. Finding, however, that the young man's heart was set in the new direction, he gave way; and the firm generously offered to assume the cost of his education, and, in fact, did so for about five years. As a fellow-companion in Boston said at this time, "Alexander is a living example of what a man gets by behaving himself."

With the way thus happily cleared for working out his new and nobler purpose in life, McKenzie in 1853 entered the junior class of Phillips Academy, Andover, when nearly twenty-three years old, to fit for college. The new educational life was congenial to him from the first; and he took a high rank in his studies, having begun his drill in the Latin grammar, before entering, with the kindly Mr. Woodbridge. No mortifying experience, as he found, awaited him in the academy for mingling with comrades much younger than himself. He took a prominent part in the various class meetings, besides conducting a church mission work on Sundays in a factory village nearby. It added much to his happiness that the Lawrences, while he was a student, made their summer residence at Andover, so that he saw the family often and gained much in their friendship.

Mr. Lawrence, though not himself a college man, had close interests with Harvard, and under his inducement McKenzie went to Cambridge in the fall of 1855, after graduating from the Academy, two sons of his patron entering at the same time,

one of whom became a fellow-member and fellow-graduate of the class of 1859. And here at Cambridge another influential friendship awaited McKenzie, in an invitation, of which he availed himself, to become the college chum and roommate of William Everett, the precocious and promising son of the choicest among Harvard's alumni, of those years, then at the height of his national renown as statesman and orator. Of the circumstances under which that auspicious arrangement was made, and the advantage thence ensuing, these *Proceedings* have made record; nor need I repeat here what I have elsewhere said as a classmate concerning McKenzie's college career, which was, in all respects, conspicuous and honorable.[1]

Harvard's class of 1859, I may remark, was one of unusual promise, and so McKenzie regarded it. If the fulfilment did not wholly correspond, this was in great measure because the sudden and violent tempest of Civil War swept this country just as each graduate was entering his chosen pathway of active life, too young to lead in affairs civil or military during those tremendous years and yet too old to rush to the rescue with a fresh and unhampered enthusiasm. Some died for their country; others, who returned home in safety to take up the broken thread of individual occupation, felt in some way the hindrance of that interruption for the rest of their lives.

They of our class, however, most of all, whose bent had been to the ministry, pursued post-graduate studies and the initial work of their sacred profession comparatively unimpeded; and among the foremost of these, if not the very first, was Alexander McKenzie. Graduating at Harvard in the summer of 1859, he returned to Andover to take up his theological studies at the Seminary. Eager to finish quickly, he was at first accepted as a "resident student," becoming presently the member of an advanced class and graduating in 1861.

In describing my personal recollections of this college classmate and friend I have elsewhere alluded to his exhortation on class unity, when in our sophomore year we met to discuss the Greek Letter societies, as probably his earliest effort in preaching before a congregation worthy of the name.[2] Finding nothing

[1] *Proceedings*, xliii. 414; xlviii. 8. [2] *Ib.*, xlviii. 10.

among his posthumous notes to contradict that assertion, I am disposed to let it stand. It would seem, however, that McKenzie, from his earliest connection with the Central Church of Boston, whether as clerk or a college student, had been accustomed to take a part in the week-day prayer meetings which he attended. And, viewed by his New Bedford acquaintance as already a collegian in training for the ministry, he found himself, when near graduation — probably about the close of his junior year — invited to preach at a Methodist Church there. This brought him, as he relates, to the point of applying to his own church for a license; and this, upon a special examination, was granted him in consideration of his years and advanced training. After this Mr. McKenzie preached at various places before he was ordained, and in fact previous to entering the seminary at Andover.

It thus came about, that, in the fall of 1860, while still a theological student, through the good offices of Professor Park, another of the influential friends who had become much interested in him, Mr. McKenzie was invited to officiate for a Sunday at the Congregational Church in Augusta, Maine, where a vacancy had occurred. He preached twice and the people were pleased with him. Officiating two Sundays more, at their request, he promptly received an invitation to the pastorate. But as he had not yet finished his course at Andover, they waited until his graduation and then renewed their call, which he now accepted. On the 28th of August, 1861, he was ordained and installed pastor.

This Congregational Church was the oldest, the largest and the most flourishing in the city. It was the church of the South Parish, established by the General Court of Massachusetts in the earliest years of the nineteenth century. "It was a notable set of parishioners," writes Dr. McKenzie of his first pastorate, and it was certainly not an overstrong statement in respect of a congregation that included, almost in adjoining pews, such men, together with their families, as James G. Blaine, ex-United States Senator James W. Bradbury, both of them church members, and Lot M. Morrill, afterward Senator and Secretary of the Treasury.

It was during his first pastorate that Dr. McKenzie began the practice of delivering his sermons *ex tempore*. At first he

did so only occasionally, but soon he abandoned the use of manuscript altogether; and he was so successful that his discourses had, to his hearers, all the charm and finish of his carefully written sermons. All the people were kind to him, sympathizing with him in joy and sorrow.

Dr. McKenzie's pastorate in Augusta covered most of the period of the Civil War. The city was the chief recruiting camp in the state, where many infantry and cavalry regiments and batteries of light artillery assembled for their first training; and the general government established there a huge military hospital. Dr. McKenzie preached every Sunday morning to hundreds of blue-coated soldiers who sat in long lines in the galleries of the old-fashioned meeting-house. He also took a large part in the ministrations to the sick and wounded men in the hospital.

He had the "courage of his convictions." The political atmosphere, in Maine as well as elsewhere, was highly charged with electricity during the war. On a Sunday morning, the day before the Monday on which the state election was to take place, the sound of a locomotive whistle broke the outer stillness, during McKenzie's sermon. In those days there were no Sunday trains on any Maine railroad, and the members of the congregation pricked up their ears. What did it mean? The train was bringing to their homes and scattering along the line of the railroad, soldiers to vote for the "Union" candidate for governor. The Republican party had, for that occasion, erased its name from the ticket, although Mr. Blaine, chairman of the Republican State Committee, was chairman of the "Union" committee. Dr. McKenzie was then undoubtedly a much stricter Sabbatarian than he was in later years. For on the Sunday following he denounced, in no measured language, the desecration of the Sabbath for political ends. His sermon was, of course, aimed directly at Mr. Blaine, who sat in his accustomed place and received the reproof somewhat as delinquents or offenders must have done in the early days of New England. But already the "Union" ticket had been successful.

This minister's recollections of Augusta were tender and touching. It was here, during his pastorate, that his mother breathed her last while on a summer visit, his father having

died in New Bedford several years earlier. It was here, too, that in January, 1865, he brought from Fitchburg, Massachusetts, a wife — his "first love," as he calls her — whose acquaintance he had first made as Miss Ellen H. Eveleth, the visiting niece of one of his parishioners. Exemplary in all the relations of life, his constant counsellor and companion thenceforth, she survives Dr. McKenzie with their two children, a son and a daughter.

During Mr. McKenzie's pastorate in Augusta the meeting-house was struck by lightning and burned; and minister and congregation joined zealously together in the erection of a new stone edifice in its place. Before this task was completed Mr. McKenzie received a call to the First Congregational Church in Cambridge, of historical renown. He at first declined, refusing to leave his present charge; but upon a second call, the new edifice in Augusta having at length been finished, he accepted, and was accordingly installed in Cambridge, January 25, 1867. And here, in the second parish of his ministerial service, he lived and labored for the long industrious remnant of his valuable life.

This Cambridge church, contemporaneous with Harvard College in the seventeenth century and commemorative of its famous early minister, Thomas Shepard, enlarged steadily its domains and prestige under Dr. McKenzie's direction. The old wooden house of worship became inadequate, so that by 1872 the beautiful memorial stone church on Garden Street, now in use, was built and dedicated. A handsome rectory close by was deeded to the minister for a residence. From the first his congregations were large and appreciative. Harvard professors and others eminent in Cambridge, in one generation or another, regarded him as their permanent pastor and spiritual guide. Students from Harvard and Radcliffe attended his Sunday services. The inner organizations of the parish were numerous and efficient. All things moved in smoothness and harmony during the forty-three years of this remarkable ministry. Young and old were devoted to their faithful and judicious presbyter; there was no discord, no schismatic outgrowth apparent, and the church advanced steadily in the high ideals all cherished together. Meanwhile this pastor received an honorary doctorate degree from Amherst in 1879

and from Harvard in 1901. Though from birth confined in residence to the eastern coast of New England, Dr. McKenzie's preaching and example became renowned, and calls were declined which came to him from other cities — Boston, New Haven, Chicago and New York City, besides the offer of a divinity professorship at one institution or another.

On the twenty-sixth anniversary of his installation Dr. McKenzie preached in his church a commemorative sermon; on the fortieth anniversary, in January, 1907, a celebration was held there at which President Eliot of Harvard and others spoke in warm appreciation of his ministry; and finally, on the forty-third anniversary, he retired from his work at the age of fourscore and became pastor emeritus. After a brief season of rest and recreation at home or abroad, he passed away peacefully at his home in Cambridge, August 6, 1914.

A chief inducement with Alexander McKenzie for accepting the call to Cambridge had been the desire to renew and strengthen those earlier ties which bound him to his alma mater. Soon after his installation in that city he preached in Harvard College Chapel, exchanging pulpits with the venerable Dr. Peabody, preacher to the University and a man much beloved. On the latter's retirement from his work, a board of preachers was instituted in 1886 at Harvard, composed of eminent clergymen of different denominations, who in turn conducted the chapel services on Sundays and at daily prayers. Dr. McKenzie was one of the five clergymen originally chosen to this board. He was also chosen one of the overseers of Harvard University in 1872, soon after the Massachusetts legislature had transferred the choice from the Commonwealth to the alumni, and was reëlected in 1878, serving for the full continuous space of twelve years. In 1875 he was made secretary of the board, a position which he retained until 1901. In these and other ways he was brought into very close contact with the University and with those graduates and instructors who led in its development during the period of its most famous progression and, indeed, throughout President Eliot's long and distinguished administration. He thus made many choice friendships, outside his own religious circle, among

college contemporaries, older or younger, and Harvard's educational work was constantly of the greatest interest to him.

My space hardly permits mention of the various other works, philanthropic or educational, allied to his pastorate, in which Dr. McKenzie bore a prominent part in these years. He served as a trustee of Bowdoin College, of Phillips Academy, of Wellesley College (being once president of the board) and of Hampton Institute. Interested through life in the special welfare of the mariner, he was president of the Boston Seaman's Aid and Boston Port societies. He was for several years on the school committee of Cambridge and served as a trustee of its hospital. In our Massachusetts Historical Society, which he joined in 1881, he bore a prominent part through many years of active membership, serving upon its council and the committee of publication. He grasped well the details of all such diversified pursuits; and his good judgment and habits of industry, combined with excellence as a preacher, and his liberal outlook upon the immediate problems of life while at the same time minister of a conservative faith, made his name and countenance much sought after.

One secret of Dr. McKenzie's steady influence in these various directions, was the constancy with which he cultivated a personal interest in those younger than himself, from one generation to another. No longer young, as it might have seemed while he was being educated among fellow-students, he surely found the true elixir of life when it came to dealing in his active ministry, as one confessedly mature, with those on decidedly the lower plane of youthful deference. "I do not write as an old man," he records at the age of eighty, "but as one who has retained the feeling and sympathy which belong to earlier years, and who has kept young by being so largely associated with young people." So, too, did the zest of living increase by his manifold acquaintance with helpful and congenial friends, during his long and favored experience. On the whole, he did not think that his four years of business experience in Boston had fitted him less for his sacred vocation than an unbroken training for college would have done. "They gave," he writes, "a practical nerve to my character. I learned to know men; to know young men and their feelings and tendencies. I came

to know something of the real world. I gained a certain orderliness and method of later use. A ministerial life is so varied that nothing comes amiss."

Among the blessings of a long life recounted by Dr. McKenzie was that of continuous good health. When he first preached at Augusta in 1861 he was far from robust, and people cautioned him against attempting too much. But a physician there whom he consulted said to him, "Go on and do your work," and he found that advice excellent. In his seventieth year he could record that from the day he first entered Phillips Academy down to 1899 he had not missed an appointment, a lecture or a service by reason of sickness, though on one or two occasions kept back by some accident. His profound interest in affairs committed to him were a constant safeguard to his health, and the infirmities of old age crept over him almost imperceptibly.

Of Dr. McKenzie's long Cambridge pastorate, one of his most intimate parishioners still surviving,[1] whose church attendance began when a college student in 1878, writes thus: "Without exception, in my judgment, no one of the many conspicuous and able preachers of the time to whom I have listened equalled him in the moments of his highest inspiration and effort, as a pulpit orator, either in respect to the depth, incisiveness, accuracy and breadth of his estimation of spiritual truth, or in the beauty, flow, choice, force and appropriateness of the language in which he expressed his thought. It is noticeable that he almost never chose the same text the second time in his own pulpit. . . . As a pastor he was in some respects unique, in my observation. He was by nature diffident and reticent in approaching strangers, as I found to my confusion when he first called upon me as a freshman. In calling upon those whom he knew well, or upon those from whom he expected information or aid in the pursuit of truth, he showed more courage and warmth; while with his personal friends he was not only companionable, but abounding in good stories and rich humor, all the more effective because revealed with a sober and somewhat solemn countenance. He was not addicted to making calls, but would the more often call where he felt at ease. At the same time, I never have known a minister

[1] Frank Gaylord Cook, Esq.

who, after once learning the name, address and circumstances of a parishioner, more tenaciously kept him in his memory and thought, or watched over his welfare more faithfully."

In his philanthropic activities the welfare of the mariner was never forgotten by this son of a sea captain, for, as was well said of him, "the sea was in his blood." "It was a rare treat," writes one of his lay workers in the Seaman's Friend Society of Boston, "to hear him address an audience of sailors. His wit and eloquence found full expression; and the appreciation of the men, and their readiness to respond to an appeal from him, was as gratifying as it was remarkable. He never forgot, in his own church service, to pray for the sailor, and everywhere where opportunity offered he made telling appeals to men and women for help for the men of the sea, who are doing so much for us at such heavy cost." [1] And so, too, did this clergyman's helpful labors and sympathy extend warmly to the uplift and educational training of our colored races. The Hampton Institute of Virginia says of him: "He was accustomed to come to Hampton some days before the meetings of the trustees, and his sermons in the school church were thoroughly enjoyed. Certain of his sermons were long remembered by the graduates of the institution. One of them, on the text 'He shall Be Like a Tree,' made a deep impression. He was an enthusiastic friend of the school and did much to make its work known throughout New England. After his health became infirm, he was unwilling to give up his yearly visit to Hampton. In Dr. McKenzie's death Hampton loses one of its most devoted friends." [2]

Not only had Dr. McKenzie a rare gift of making friends, as others have testified, but he himself rejoiced in the many personal friendships of his life as a "wonderful blessing." "It has been a happy life," he concludes in the retrospect, "and though sorrows have entered it at many points, I should be glad to begin it again and live it over under the same conditions." Few of us, I imagine, can say this of ourselves at the age of threescore and ten. "If my reason and mem-

[1] *Sea Breeze*, October, 1914 (Mrs. Sarah C. Chapin). See also the tribute by Charles F. Stratton, *ib.*

[2] *Southern Workman*, September, 1914 (editorial).

ory remain," he reverently adds, "at the end I shall give God thanks for countless, ceaseless mercies; for unmeasured patience and forbearance; for love which passes understanding. I hope to be able to show that witness when I pass on."

MARCH MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the PRESIDENT, Mr. ADAMS, in the chair.[1]

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper read the following letter:

MRS. LIDIAN EMERSON BRIDGE TO THE SOCIETY.

WEST MEDFORD, March 4, 1915.

GENTLEMEN, — On behalf of the heirs of my father, Dr. Charles T. Jackson, I desire to present to the Massachusetts Historical Society the medal and decorations, now held by you on deposit, which were bestowed upon Dr. Jackson for his discovery of the anaesthetic use of ether.

We also take pleasure in presenting to your Society the volume containing the diplomas, affidavits and important letters relative to his discovery.

In giving these it is on condition that they shall be kept on exhibition in a locked case, with the medals and decorations, and that you permit their examination on the request of any suitable person or persons.

Respectfully yours,

LIDIAN EMERSON BRIDGE.

He also reported the following accessions to the Cabinet: six photographs of portraits of Col. and Mrs. Jeremiah Lee, Capt. Patrick Tracy, and his son Hon. Nathaniel Tracy, Capt. Joseph Lemon Lee, son of Col. William Raymond Lee, of Revolutionary times, and of Gen. William Raymond Lee (1807–1891), from Mr. Thomas Amory Lee; a colored view of the old Mint in Philadelphia, from an original painting by Edwin

[1] Mr. ADAMS left before the end of the meeting, and Mr. RHODES took the chair.

Lemasure, from the Frank H. Stewart Electric Co., of Philadelphia; fifty mark pennies of the Royal Arch Chapter of Freemasons, from Mr. Charles K. Warner, of Philadelphia; a medal of the St. Mark's School Athletic Association of Southboro, Mass., from the Association; a bronze medal of the Society of Arts and Crafts of Boston, given to schools as an "award of merit," from the Society of Arts and Crafts; a medal to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the town of Athol, Mass., 1912, and a store-card of William Simes and Co. and Nathaniel Marsh, Portsmouth, N. H., 1837, from William Simes.

The Editor reported the following gifts and deposits:

From Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck bills and commercial accounts of the house of Lee and Cabot of Beverly, 1768–1827; correspondence on the census of 1790, and letters from Rufus King, William M. Gouge, C. C. Biddle, and Thomas Thornely, M. P., on finance and trade. Also memoranda by Henry Lee (1782–1867), on tariff and finance, and pamphlets on American political history. The collection is of great interest for the student of the commerce of Massachusetts and of the political and financial history of the nation. Some further records are placed with the Society on deposit.

From the granddaughter and biographer of Charles Bulfinch, the architect, Miss Ellen Susan Bulfinch, on deposit, such papers of the Bulfinch family as remain. Among them are the original letters from Moses Porter to his wife while he was on the Crown Point expedition of 1755; an autograph family record of John Colman, 1738; letters and journals of members of the Bulfinch family; a letter from George Whitefield; and letters from the Storers, Cranches, and Apthorp connections. The autobiography of Charles Bulfinch also deserves mention.

From Loring W. Puffer, some Baylies letters.

Paul Revere Frothingham, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT announced the appointment of the following committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. WILLIAM V. KELLEN, MARK A. DEWOLFE HOWE, and WALDO LINCOLN.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Messrs. ZACHARY T. HOLLINGSWORTH, CHESTER N. GREENOUGH, and SAMUEL E. MORISON.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts: Messrs. HAROLD MURDOCK and HENRY H. EDES.

In announcing the death of our late associate, John Chipman Gray, the PRESIDENT said:

Through a somewhat curious coincidence, not also without its interest otherwise, John Chipman Gray was elected a Resident Member of the Society at its March meeting, 1898, that year occurring on the 10th of the month. It now devolves on me to announce his death, at his dwelling in this city, on the 25th of February. Exactly seventeen years to a day, therefore, elapsed between his election to membership and this announcement of his death. His name stood twenty-ninth on our present Roll. To some here these facts are curiously suggestive of changed circumstances and the passage of time. The April meeting of 1898 was held in the Library room of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in the old Athenaeum building on Beacon Street. The last meeting of our Society in the original Dowse Room in the old Tremont Street building had taken place in April, 1897, eleven months before. Our associate, William R. Livermore, was then elected a Resident Member. Col. Livermore's name now stands twenty-sixth on our Resident Membership Roll. It, therefore, appears that he whose death I now announce never attended a meeting of the Society in the Tremont Street building; but also, of those whose names now figure on the Resident Roll twenty-five only could have ever attended a meeting there. Yet to some of us, conscious of rapid promotion towards the head of the list, the meetings in the Tremont Street building seem very recent, the recollection of them fresh. The death of Mr. Gray, twenty-ninth on the Roll but never present at a Tremont Street meeting, is suggestive of the fact that the time is not now remote when the Resident Roll of the Society will have been wholly renewed since the Tremont Street meetings came to an end. They will soon be traditions only.[1]

Though most properly, both from descent and professional eminence, a member of the Society, it cannot be said that Mr. Gray ever, in the course of a most industrious and fruitful life, evinced any peculiar interest in historical research as such, and

[1] The building on Tremont Street is about to be torn down, to make way for a city building.

apart from the law; and certainly, so far as our Society is concerned, his contributions, either in the way of presence or otherwise, were not considerable. In accordance with my custom in making announcements like the present, I shall confine myself strictly to the relations of the deceased to our Society, and his activities in connection therewith.

The record in the present case is brief. Though a member for a score of years, I do not remember to have seen Mr. Gray at more than an occasional meeting. His connection was with the University, and his field of research was at Cambridge. It was in his connection with the Harvard Law School he did his life-work, and with it his memory will hereafter be more especially associated. Here, he was less at home. Nevertheless, his name from time to time does appear in our records.

At the November meeting, 1899, he paid a tribute to the memory of John C. Ropes, an intimate personal friend and his associate throughout his professional life. Mr. Gray was subsequently appointed to write a *Memoir* of Mr. Ropes, which he submitted through the Recording Secretary at the June meeting in 1900. This *Memoir*, however, Mr. Gray did not himself prepare; but, with the concurrence of the Council, the work had been devolved on the Rev. Joseph May of Philadelphia, a classmate and intimate friend of Mr. Ropes. In March, 1902, Mr. Gray paid a tribute to Prof. James B. Thayer, his colleague in the Harvard Law School, whose death was then announced.

So far as this Society is concerned, these somewhat meagre details complete the record. As I have already said, Professor Gray's activities were professional, and connected with another organization in no way historical in character — the Harvard Law School. Nevertheless, it is desirable for obvious reasons that a characterization as well as *Memoir* of Mr. Gray should be matter of record in the *Proceedings* of our Society. There, and there alone, they will hereafter be matter of record and accessible to the investigator; and that they should somewhere be of record and accessible is most desirable, for Professor Gray was in his way a very noticeable man. In his case traits of character of much fineness and of a high order were fully developed. The facts of his life will be easily gathered, and undoubtedly a sufficient record will appear in a future volume of our *Proceedings*. How he appeared to his contemporaries and

the few now remaining who could be classed as his intimates, the degree and way in which he impressed himself on them, is another matter. In the way of intimate characterization, one member only of our Society is qualified to speak of him. From Harvard student days, the present Oliver Wendell Holmes knew Professor Gray intimately. Begun before the Civil War, that intimacy continued down to the time of death. Congenial spirits, they were familiar friends. Regarding Mr. Gray, as did all who were ever brought in close contact with him, as in every way interesting, a man of choice elements as well as much accumulated learning, I have tried since his death to induce Mr. Justice Holmes to attend here to-day, and pay tribute at once intelligent and appreciative to his life-long personal and professional friend. Official engagements put it out of the power of our associate to comply with the request. Nevertheless, evincing keen interest in the suggestion, Judge Holmes has, amidst his pressing judicial duties, prepared a brief paper, which I now submit. With confidence I say that could Mr. Gray have been consulted, it would have been his old associate, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who, of all men, would have been selected to say the last word of him.

The tribute by Mr. HOLMES was read by the PRESIDENT, as follows:

The affectionate intimacy of a lifetime may not be the best preparation for an attempt to characterize a friend whom one has known and loved so long. His qualities come to be felt too instinctively for articulate enumeration just as one ceases to be conscious of the judgments that govern one's walk in the streets. But with so marked a personality as that of John Gray, there were features that no one could forget.

He came of a family in which scholarship was in the blood; and I think that perhaps the first thought that would occur to me would be that he was a scholar born. He was a scholar of a type that is growing rare. For his knowledge, his immense reading, his memory were not confined to the actualities of the day. Alongside of mathematics, and the latest German works on jurisprudence, alongside of his mastery of the law, equally profound and available for teaching in the Law School and advising upon great affairs, he not only kept up the study of

Greek and Roman Classics, but he was familiar with a thousand bypaths among books. I think he could have given a clear account of the Bangorian controversy, the very name of which has been forgotten by most of us, and he could have recited upon all manner of curious memoirs or upon pretty much any theme that falls within the domain of literature, properly so called. He loved books, and his beautiful collection ranged from the Theodosian code to curious Eighteenth Century tracts.

He brought this scholarship to bear unobtrusively but powerfully when he came to write. His treatise on Perpetuities is a quiet masterpiece that stands on an equal footing with the most famous works of the great English writers upon property law. His last little book on *The Nature and Sources of the Law* is worthy of the German professors who might seem to have made that theme their private domain. But unlike much German work, instead of pedantry, it is written with the light touch and humor of a man of the world. For his knowledge not only was converted into the organic tissue of wisdom, but flowered with a quiet humor that sometimes emerged in his writing and that gave habitual delightfulness to his talk.

He was a very wise man. So wise that those who met him in affairs perhaps would say that wisdom was the first thing to be mentioned with his name. He was able as no one else has been to unite practice in Boston, in which he was consulted and relied upon in matters of the largest import, with teaching at the Law School, where his subjects required study of subjects that seemed most remote from every day; and both with equal success.

In this connection, it is worth recalling that when he was in the Army he was the first officer to meet Sherman at Savannah after the march to the sea, and that he is referred to in Sherman's report of his operations as "a very intelligent officer whose name I have forgotten," a striking tribute to one who barely had reached manhood from the great commander at the crowning moment of his success.

Such capacity as Gray's for voluminous occupation is apt to go with a loose fibre, or, one might say, a somewhat coarse grain, but Gray was delicate, accurate, and fine grained. Like all his race, he was keenly observing without showing it, seeming to see from the sides of his eyes like a woman. And none of

his remarkable qualities and capacities remained isolated or futile, but they all united to give character to the stream of his thought. It will be seen that I am trying to describe a master, one who fairly may be called a great master, who was listened to with equal respect by clients, by courts, and by all students of the law, and at the same time an extraordinary and delightful man, whose conversation gave equal pleasure to specialists and men of the world. When I add to this that he was a most faithful and affectionate friend, I have said enough perhaps to show, I will not say what a loss is his death, for he had lived as long as a man can hope to live, but what a gain, not only to us who loved him, but to the world, was his life, a life rich in fruits and ending surrounded by honor and by love.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. STOREY, who said:

I am very glad to add my tribute of high respect and warm regard for John C. Gray, though what I say at best will be only a faint echo of what has been said so well by Justice Holmes.

I have known Mr. Gray for more than forty years — at the monthly dinners of a small club formed when we were all young and where conversation was frank and intimate, in other social relations, and in the practice of the law to which we have alike been devoted during the whole period, though our associations were never very close. He was essentially a scholar, a voluminous reader, at home in his library and master of its contents, but, as it seemed to me, more interested in his books than in the active conflicts of life. The political controversies, for example, which have divided the nation since the Civil War excited in him rather the interest of a spectator than a desire to take part in the struggle, and for sports and outdoor life he had little taste. His interests were intellectual, and he was a type of the refined and educated men who seem unfortunately to be growing less common in this country.

The great interest of his life was his profession, to which he gave the best that was in him. He became instructor at the Harvard Law School in the year when I was admitted to the Bar, and until his failing health compelled his retirement continued there as lecturer and professor. As a student, as a writer and as a teacher his success was brilliant, and the high reputation which he enjoyed among lawyers everywhere was well de-

served. His position at Harvard gave him a great opportunity, for he who controls the fountain can color the stream. Many of the lawyers now eminent at the Bar of the United States owe to him their inspiration, and gratefully recognize their debt. Among the professors at the School he did his full share in moulding the opinions and fixing the standards of lawyers all over this country, and the news of his death will be received by them with profound sorrow.

In active practice he was strong in counsel and in the presentation of legal questions to the court. He was familiar with the business of life, was a wise and safe adviser on important matters, and his opinions in difficult cases were sought and followed; but the dust of the arena had no attraction for him, and he was not fitted to enjoy the struggles and squabbles of jury practice. He was a man whom an opponent could trust implicitly, absolutely certain that nothing unfair or unworthy would ever be done in a case for which he was responsible. He went through life serenely, earnestly, modestly, with scrupulous regard for the rights and feelings of others, but without seeking notoriety or apparently even caring for the recognition which was his due. He seemed in his daily labors to recognize and act upon the truth stated by Justice Holmes that "the root of joy as of duty is to put out all one's powers for some great end . . . to hammer out as compact and solid a piece of work as one can, to try to make it first rate, and to leave it unadvertised."

Such a man though taken in the fullness of time is a great loss to the community, and in his profession his death leaves a void which will not easily be filled.

Mr. BRADFORD read a paper on

FICTION AS HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

History and fiction are usually opposed to each other, perhaps more sharply than is justified by the facts. No one knows better than a company of historians that a large portion of history is fiction, more or less intentional. On the other hand, fiction is founded on the reality of human life which makes the basis of history. If it were not so, it would be impossible to hold the interest of the most trivial of novel readers.

Sober writers of history are apt to regard the historical novel with contempt. This feeling springs perhaps partly from jealousy. At any rate, it is not warranted. Readers who would never open a solidly documented and authoritative work — very likely to be misleading for all its documents — will become absorbed not only in Scott and Dumas, but in such books as Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi* or the Egyptian novels of Ebers, and will acquire a knowledge of the general current of events which fills a most important place in their intellectual make-up. Especially significant in this regard are the historical plays of Shakespeare. How many thousands of young people have gained from those plays a firm grasp upon the movement of history under the great English kings, which it would have been extremely difficult to impart to them in any other way. You may urge that the impressions are misleading and false. So, often, are those received from well-accredited historians. I do not know that Shakespeare's picture of the reign of Henry VI is any less reliable than Froude's picture of the reign of Henry VIII.

But it is especially in the line of portraiture that the importance of historical fiction can hardly be overestimated. Where does the average educated man get his conception of the Stuarts and of Cromwell? Not from Gardiner, but from Scott. James I and Charles I in *The Fortunes of Nigel*, Charles II and Cromwell in *Woodstock*, have a hold on the imagination of English-speaking peoples which no investigation can shake and no argument can alter. For myself, I confess that the Valois kings and Richelieu and Mazarin have a living, breathing individuality from the pages of Dumas which never would have existed for me from any historical reading. It is the same with American history. Such figures as Cooper touched in his better novels have a life which does not belong to others. Mr. Winston Churchill has made Lincoln a man of flesh and blood to thousands who would never have got at him in Mr. Morse's excellent biography. You may protest against these things. You may scoff at them. You cannot explain away their potent and lasting significance. And do you not believe that the men who live history would rather be remembered in the pages of a popular novelist than of any historian? "Let me make the songs of a country and I care not who makes its laws," is just

as true of the novels and plays of a country when compared to its history.

But, it is urged, these fictitious portraits are not exact, they are not reliable, they are not final. Just here comes in the interest of the whole question. If we could exhibit on one side a gallery of strictly historical portraits, as to which all were agreed, and set against them the portraits of the novelists as utterly false and misleading, the problem would be simple. But we cannot. There are no true historical portraits, none reliable, none final. What we call the characters of men are fluid as water, unsubstantial as snow images, they change their aspects and their bearing even as we depict them. Character is but the generalization of habitual words and actions. Even our recorded knowledge of such words and actions is unreliable, confusing, and perplexed. But when we come to generalize them into qualities of character, the operation is as subtle and delicate as the attempt to weave the solid tissue of a garment out of moonbeams.

This does not at all mean that the study of character is to be given up in despair. On the contrary, it is the study that is above all most real to us, the one that enters into almost every little daily action of our lives. We must figure out as closely as possible what men will do on the basis of what they have done through just these frail, intangible generalizations that I speak of, and no effort of human intelligence is more absorbingly delightful. Only the grave historian need not flatter himself that he will ever arrive at finality or that he can despise the artist who perhaps has gifts of divination worth more than any laborious faculty of dusty research.

Take two very striking instances from the endless list of historical personalities as to whom men never have agreed and never will agree. For two thousand years the character of Cæsar has been an object of discussion and controversy. Are we any nearer a final conclusion that will satisfy every one than we were two thousand years ago? And is not the very novel and subtle and human portrayal by Mr. Bernard Shaw, in his *Cæsar and Cleopatra*, quite as interesting and suggestive as the more formal studies of Froude and Mommsen?

Again, hundreds of attempts have been made to portray Napoleon, and hundreds more will be made. Do any two of

these attempts agree with each other and can any one of them even pretend to be regarded as final?

But the interest and value of fiction, in both novel and drama, for the historian, extends far beyond the mere casual introduction of a few historical personages. If history is to be human, to be alluring, to be vital, if it is to deal rather with essential truth than with superficial accuracy, the writer of it must indeed be profoundly conversant with the special minutiae of his particular subject, but he must above all be a student of the human soul which is the primary subject of all history. It is for want of knowledge on this head that very learned men write very painstaking books and then wonder why the public does not read them. Long poring over curious documents is nowadays — unfortunately — regarded as the first condition of historical writing. But it would be better for historians — and better for their publishers — if they trained themselves more fully in the most curious document of all.

Hence, I think that every historian should read the great poets and novelists, as being more competent than any one else to teach him a very important part of his business. It will be urged, indeed, that the best way to gain a knowledge of men is to live among men. This is partly true, not wholly. Else how explain the amazing ignorance of humanity often displayed by those who live in daily, hourly contact with it? The study of men's hearts from their words and actions, is, as I have suggested above, an enormously difficult one. No man approaches perfection in it and few can progress far without a teacher. Now the best teachers in this art are beyond question the great writers of drama and fiction. They not only see themselves, but they help us to see, and if I had any hand in the training of future historians, I would not neglect thorough drill in the investigation of sources, but I would insist on its being constantly supplemented by the study of writers who are not generally regarded as historians at all.

It is strange, this sharp line which is constantly drawn between fiction and history, as if one were lies, the other truth. The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that there are good and bad novels. But heaven knows there is also good and bad history. The foundation of all fiction is and must be truth. The novelist simply has the privilege of casting aside

what is inessential, of shaking off those trammels of superficial circumstance by which the formal historian is ever bound so rigidly, and dealing only with truth as it is general, essential, and permanent in its bearing on the larger elements of human life. The great truth tellers about your soul and my soul — and what else really concerns us in history? — are no doubt, in their degree, Thucydides and Tacitus, Gibbon and Macaulay, Taine and Michelet; but they are far more, Dante and Cervantes and Molière and Shakespeare; and they are also, much more than is usually realized, Fielding and Jane Austen and Thackeray and Hawthorne, George Sand and Balzac, and Zola and Flaubert.

Lastly, beside these functions of fiction in the presentation of historical character and the profound observation of the human heart, there is still another of perhaps even more direct interest to the historian, and that is the depiction of the manners and fashions of thought and life characteristic of a particular period.

There is, of course, a very great difference in the value of novels in this regard. Writers like George Sand or Dumas, chiefly occupied with the inner experiences of their characters or the movement of their story, reflect comparatively little in detail of the life that is going on about them. Miss Austen, on the other hand, though dealing with a very limited field, gives an immense amount of suggestion and information for the social historian who is working in that field. Or, as a very different instance, take Turgueniev. Do not his novels tell us more about the life, the manners, the habits of thought and action of the Russian people, than we should easily acquire from any formal history? And where is there a more magnificent and inexhaustible storehouse of historical material than the *Comédie Humaine* of Balzac? What would we not give for a work which would reveal to us so intimately the private, daily life of the Greeks and Romans?

The case of Balzac will, indeed, suggest the objection, often raised, that fiction tends to depict not the normal conditions of society and ordinary life, but the rare, the exceptional, and even the vicious. To judge by French novels, it might be supposed that adultery was the main interest and occupation of all French persons between the ages of twenty and fifty,

and this view would probably be somewhat exaggerated. It is true that literature flourishes on the exception, not on the rule. If we wished to make an epigram, we might say that virtuous people find their chief diversion in reading about vice. The explanation, however, does not lie wholly in mere vulgar curiosity, but in the fact that we read mainly, as I have said, to get at the souls of men. Now men do not show their souls so readily when they are walking the calm path of everyday convention as when they are jolted out of that path by some quick blow, or sudden shock, or violent disaster.

What is of more interest for our investigation is, that the same objection which is made to novels applies also to history. The gloomy epic of Zola does not distort ordinary life much more than do the *Annals* of Tacitus, from reading which we should get the idea that nearly all the Romans of the first and second centuries were poisoners, conspirators, adulterers, and debauchees; whereas probably the bulk of them were timid, respectable, conventional Philistines like ourselves. There are laws of perspective for the pen as well as for the brush, which the intelligent reader soon learns to appreciate.

In this matter of reflecting the tone and manners of a period, the novel is probably quite as valuable in what is unconscious, as in the deliberate and intentional effort of the novelist. For instance, there is a group of novels, written in the early centuries of the Christian era, of which the *Theagenes and Chariclea* of Heliodorus is the best known example, which is of remarkable interest from the point of view of social history. The whole treatment of those stories shows that they were written, as most novels are, to be read mainly by women, and from them we can divine the woman of that day in some respects as well as if we knew her. We learn, to be sure, that she was very much like her sisters of nineteen hundred years later, that her dreams were the same — of an ardent lover who remains true in a thousand temptations and rescues her from a thousand perils — her sacrifices the same, her virtue the same, and her refinements very nearly, if not quite the same. But even this result has surely singular historic interest.

A like value attaches to the novels of the time of Shakespeare. In themselves they are tedious enough. But when we see that they established a tone of social life, an atmosphere of chivalry

and artificial love-making, a suggestion of fine-spun delicacy, wholly opposed to the rough, coarse vigor of the contemporary plays, and when we appreciate that this is because the novels were written for women and the plays for men, we get another revelation of the importance and significance of the novel for social history.

Probably no other country produces or reads fiction so widely as the United States. Much of it is nearly worthless from every point of view. Very little of it deserves careful reading. Yet as one who attempts to keep track of this fiction in a very general way, so as to have at least some knowledge of the prominent landmarks in it, I have no hesitation in saying that its value as depicting, both consciously and unconsciously, the tastes, the habits, the interests, the pursuits, and the ideals of the American people is very great indeed. Mr. Rhodes has taught us all the importance of the newspaper, so that in future no student can neglect it. I think that the historian of a hundred years hence will find it also greatly to his profit to study our novels. Only, if things go on as they are going now, the historian of a hundred years hence will be completely smothered under the materials of history.

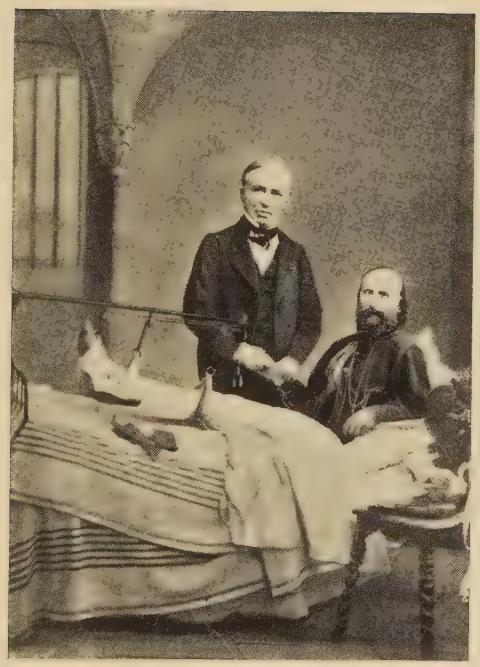
Dean HODGES read a paper on "The New England Ancestry of Henry Codman Potter," which will appear in print elsewhere.

GARIBALDI AND NÉLATON.

In calling attention to a photograph of Nélaton and Garibaldi which formed part of a collection recently presented to the Society, Dr. WARREN said:

The photograph shows Nélaton at the bedside of Garibaldi at Spezzia on October 28, 1862, and is interesting from the circumstance that the visit gave rise to the invention of what has since been known as "Nélaton's probe," an instrument devised for discovering the presence of a bullet in a wound, and well known to surgery for the last half century.

Garibaldi was wounded at Aspromonte on August 29, 1862. Beside two superficial wounds, he sustained a wound of the right ankle bone just in front of what is known as the internal malleolus. After a treatment of several weeks by the Italian surgeons, who had not been able to make up their minds as to



GARIBALDI AND NÉLATON.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

the proper course to be followed, Mr. Richard Partridge of London,[1] referred to by the Dublin press as the "champion English surgeon," at the instance of the "Garibaldi Committee" proceeded to Italy in order that the wounded man might have the judgment and skill of a British surgeon. Mr. Partridge, on making his report to the "Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee," stated that he arrived at Spezzia on the 16th of September and had since that time daily visited the general in company with Dr. Pandina and his other medical assistants. As the result of those visits he expressed the opinion that the bullet did not enter the joint nor effect a lodgment elsewhere. For this service Mr. Partridge received a fee of six hundred and eighty pounds from the Secretary of the "Garibaldi Surgical Fund."

The wound continuing, however, to remain open, Dr. Ripari and his Italian colleagues still felt that the presence of the bullet was not disproved, and as signs of inflammation gave rise to the feeling that amputation might become necessary, a further consultation was decided upon for which, apparently, not only Mr. Partridge, but also the celebrated surgeons Pirogoff of St. Petersburg and Nélaton of Paris were sent for. It appears that Nélaton examined the patient on October 28, and on introducing an ordinary probe detected a resonant sound characteristic of an instrument striking a metallic surface, and not dull as if coming in contact with spongy bone, which left no doubt in his mind of the presence of the bullet in the wound.

Messrs. Partridge and Pirogoff, according to accounts, saw the patient three days after this and Mr. Partridge gave out, as the result of their observations, that "as far as can be judged by external exploration the ball will be found toward the external part of the articulation fixed in the bone." They advised waiting for the ball to become mobile and near the surface, before attempting extraction.

This is of special interest, as Mr. Partridge has always been accused of expressing the opinion that the ball was not in Garibaldi's foot; although at his first visit, as we have seen, he felt inclined to that opinion, at his second consultation he saw fit to change his diagnosis.

Attempts had been made by Professor Zannetti to detect the ball with an electric battery without success, but Nélaton,

[1] See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIII. 432.

on his return to Paris, after consultation with a M. Emanuel Rosseau, devised a probe tipped with white porcelain which, when pressed upon a leaden substance, would receive a mark of the lead upon its surface. The probe, on its arrival being tried by Doctor Zannetti, confirmed the diagnosis of the presence of the bullet, and on the 23rd of November the following telegram was sent to Nélaton: "Ball extracted from the wound of Garibaldi as assured by your diagnosis guaranteed by the result of your probing. Honneur à vous. ZORRELLI."

"Nélaton's probe," thus made famous, was looked upon for many years afterwards as the only instrument of precision by which the presence of a bullet in the wound could be conclusively determined. Its usefulness has probably, if not entirely, been set aside by modern X-ray methods.

Nélaton's connection with this case was regarded at the time as a great triumph of French over English surgery and Mr. Partridge was by many considered as having experienced a most unfortunate episode in his career. A careful analysis of the facts seems, however, to show that Mr. Partridge, although at his first visit (which was about three weeks after the injury) expressed the opinion that there might be no foreign body in the wound, was able to come to a different conclusion a month later, and had therefore agreed with the other surgeons as to the presence of a bullet in the wound.

It may be said here that the wound healed slowly, after the removal of the ball, for we find at the time of Garibaldi's visit to England in 1864, that although his leg still continued to trouble him somewhat, his wound had been healed some four or five months.

Dr. Warren said he had had the pleasure of seeing both Mr. Partridge and Nélaton while a student abroad. They were both born early in the century, Partridge in 1805 and Nélaton in 1807, and both died within a few weeks of one another in 1873. They were men of strikingly different characteristics. Mr. Partridge was a very old-fashioned type of an eccentric Englishman, and although he occupied at the time to which we have referred the position of seniority in English surgery, he was never regarded by his colleagues as an exceptionally brilliant exponent of surgical art. Dr. Warren's personal ex-

periences left a strong impression of a quaint personality and he can subscribe heartily to a statement made in Mr. Partridge's obituary notice that "he flavored his discourse with jests which were not always quite convenient."

Nélaton, on the other hand, as Dr. Warren recalls him, was a refined, well-groomed, and courteous Parisian gentleman. He was the popular French surgical hero of his day and in later years filled the office of surgeon to Napoleon III. And he soon became in high favor at court owing to his successful treatment of the young Prince Imperial. The Prince, a child about ten years of age, had been suffering from a swelling on the hip which Nélaton had pronounced an abscess. It was commonly reported that when Nélaton took up his knife to operate Napoleon instinctively stretched out his arm. But the surgeon's gentle "Pardon, sire" restrained the anxious and doubting father with one hand while he plunged the knife in and laid the abscess open.

Dr. Warren thought the facts of this episode in the lives of these two celebrated surgeons were worth recording in connection with the accompanying photograph, and so far as he knew no such illustration as Nélaton at the bedside of Garibaldi had hitherto been published.

Mr. WENDELL presented copies of three letters from the correspondence of his great-grandfather, John Wendell, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Of the writers not much is known. Traditions about George Boyd, the writer of the first two, are pleasantly set forth in Brewster's *Rambles about Portsmouth* (I. 163, 164 *seq.*; and *cf.* 168, 173). He was probably the George Boyd baptized at Newington, New Hampshire, on April 23, 1732; son of Mr. George Boyd, of Boston, and Abigail Hoyt, of Newington, who were married there on August 21, 1730. In 1775 he became a member of His Majesty's Council in New Hampshire, the last man appointed to that office. The Lord Erroll [1] who recognized him as a kinsman was the son and heir of that Lord of Kilmarnock [2] who was beheaded in the Tower in 1745. The Scottish peerages state that the father of this nobleman was

[1] James, Lord Boyd, and thirteenth Earl of Erroll, died in 1778.

[2] William Boyd (1704–1746), fourth Earl of Kilmarnock. He married Lady Anne Livingstone, daughter of the Earl of Linlithgow.

an only son; but George Boyd, who died in 1787, lies buried at Portsmouth under the arms of Boyd of Kilmarnock.

Daniel Stevens, the writer of the third letter, is even more shadowy. He appears to have been engaged in business which concerned both South Carolina and New England. He seems to have been twice married at Charleston, S. C.[1] And his name occurs among those of American partisans imprisoned at Charleston by the British authorities in 1781.

GEORGE BOYD TO JOHN WENDELL.

LONDON June 27th 1774.

MY DEAR NOTRA, — Agreeable to your desire and my promise I now set apart a few hours tho Sunday to give you a histry of what has transpierd since I left Portsmouth. you must not expect me to be regular. I shall give it from my Journal, which is not very corect. We saild from piscatique the 25 April with wind at North, before the Boats that went down with us was out of sight, the wind took us a back, the next day it was clouday and very rainey with wind prety fresh and rite Head, and continued so for eight days, much fogg and heavey rains. I hope the rains which we had reach'd Portsmouth to make a Freshett, to bring the loggs down to make Lumber plenty. About the 5th May we had the Gloryous Sun, which was well pleasing to us, it continued fair 4 Days with the wind before the beam. the 10th May began with thick fogg and heavey rains which lasted till 20th May, heavy head beat Sea fowle winds and fowle weather, very disagreeable at Sea such bad weather. I was very sick and often wished myself upon my farm planting potatoes, but all in vain. On the Eastermost Part of the Banks of Newfoundland we was in amongst 10 large Islands of Ice, we hauld our wind and got to winder of them and by my desire the Capt. bore down on one of the largest and came within Musket shott, know altho: Aleblastor could not look finer than the Island, we judg'd it to be about two miles square and between two and three hundred feet above water, surrounded with great numbers Birds; From the 20th May nothing remarkeable happened till our arrival which was the 4th June about 4 o'clock we landed at Plymouth. I was much pleas'd to gett my foot on land, being so very sick on the passage, I could not get the Motion of the Ship out of my head for several days. on my landing I found a number of Letters lodged which introduced me to the most principle genteel People there. it being the Kings birth day it was kept with great Splendor in the Even'g

[1] *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XI. 34, 169.

there was Eluminations, Burnfires and very grand fire works at the long room where I was introduced to upwards three hundred Gentlemen and Laydis. I spent a few days very agreeable with some of the first people, and shall have orders from their to build two Ships when I return. My friends has lodg'd me letters at Plymouth to introduce me to every town of note on the Rhode to London. I left Plymouth the 8th June, one of the Gentlemen was very polite, came with me to Dartmouth which is about 40 Miles, we lodg'd at Totness the 8th which is a very pleasant village, numbers of pritty women. I forgot to tell you Plymouth is well worth seeing, there are several magnefisant castles one of which rules the town. the kings Dock is much larger than Plymouth 3 or 4 miles distant, better laid out and much better buildings. I am told their's 15 hundred houses. the Dock rope houses and stores, are very curious every thing built with stone and iron. I dined with the Master of the dock and have laid in for a little Junk he is to give me an order to build a Ship for his Son who is abroad Perhaps I shall make good Commission of that. the 9th in the morn'g we took boat and went to Dartmouth which is 10 miles up a very narrow River with great plenty Salmon, we saw them hawling there netts. this River is very pleasant and very romantick; great numbers Noblemans Seats all the way down, in short the whole 10 miles is nothing but Gardens both sides the River. we got to Dartmouth 9 o'clock morn'g after we had breakfast'd we went to see the Governor whose house stands very high from the Streat. I counted 68 steps to gett to his fore door the steps where 8 inches deep, we was soon introduc'd to the Garden which we ware oblidg'd to assend 4 pair stairs to gett in, its a very Beutifull Garden on a Mountain which commands the Sea and the whole town, the middle part of the garden was leval with the tops of the chimneys Notwithstanding the back of the House was 5 storey, the back part of the Garden over look't the chimney; Dartmouth has but very few good buildings, very high land round it and streets very bad, it's trade is large to Newfoundland, I'm told they have a hundred sail vessels out this season there is great plenty fresh fish, lobsters, crabs that will weigh 14 lb. plenty of oysters and pretty women. I had no inclineation to tast the oysters as I was told they were very dangerous, as soon as a Gentleman tastes them he'll want to tast the prity women, and as soon as you had tasted the women you must be under the nessessity of tasting a little Mercury to work off the coppery taste of the Oysters. I made some very good connections at Dartmouth, for my short tary which was only two days, and I'm to build a small ship for a Gentleman their when I return to America. I promis'd to spend a fortnight their on my return to Plymouth, which place I intend to

embark from. The Gentlemen there gave me letters to Pool, Liverpool, and several other Sea Port towns, that I shall go to. I left Dartmouth 10 June and arriv'd at the City of Exeter that day, I had Letters to the Mare and severall other Gentlemen of Destinction in the City; that evening I was introduced to the Star and Garter Club which consists of the Mare, Alderman; and a number of the principle Gentlemen of the City, we was very merry. Sunday I spent 10 miles from the City at the Mare's Country house at Exmouth. I could have spent a month there very agreeably, but you know the old saying Buissness before friends. I have promised to tarry a week or ten days with them on my return. Monday June 12th I sot out for Bristol, arriv'd there that even'g which is 84 miles. My friends and acquaintance was very glad to see me at Bristol. The second day affter my arrival I was introduc'd to the most respectible Gentlemen of the City where I din'd with the Member of Parliment, Alderman and about 20 other Gentlemen of the City at the Alderman's; the Member of Parliment was a Minasteral man, they begun to be warm about chusing there Members, I understand their General Election is next March, Mr. Crugar stands fair to be chose. I need not give you the description of Bristol, as you have had it from abler hands, but will give you there true Charectors, they are very generous, for I believe if I'd tary there three months it would not cost me any thing for Victual or Drink, if I'd pleas'd. I had a pretty good acquaintance when I was there before but now I have much inlarg'd it. Now there next Charector is, they are very keen in Buisness, a person must have his eye well open'd and look twice before he leaps once. I sold a Ship at Bristol and ordered a Brigg to be fitted out with Stores for my Ship in America. Sunday 20th June five minutes after four in the Mor'g we sott out from Bristol and att fifty-seven min't after seven the Even'g was landed at the New England Coffee House in this Metropilos, which was 125 miles we rode in less than 16 hours. As to Politekal New[s] I must refer you to the Prints. Since I've been in this kingdom I've had great Opertunitys of hearing many warm Debates about our American affairs their is maney warm friends to America heare who seem to be desireous that all the Ports in America should be shut, nether Import nor Export for one year, nothing they say but such a steddy resolution will save the Collines and this Country from ruin. I have had the honour to be introduc'd to Sir Thos. Mill who is a friend to America. he was very polite, and gave me an invitation to call on him when I pleas'd, I am to dine with him Thursday with the treasurey and a number of the Minesteral Party, where I presume I shall make such acquaintance as will be of great sirvice to me, wensday I'm to be introduc'd to Lord North. I flatter myself I shall be of

great service to Governor Wentworth. As I understand there's one Mr. White here that is lodging a Complaint against the Governor, about the out lands and that Mr. L[ivius] is his Chief advisor, you have heard Mr. L—— is apointed chief Judge, but I don't believe he will ever come to Portsmouth, he has not got any Salery fixed and tis the opinion hear he wont till after Parliment if then. I am warm and zealous for Governor Wentworth, and shall say every thing in my power to lord north, to put a stop to Mr. White's Solicitations. Governor Wentworth never asked me to say a word in his behalf, but I shall intrest myself much for his welfare, that he may remain with us, as I cant bare them woolves in Sheep's clothing that try to stab him at the same time say they have nothing against him, its Con'r Atkinson they aim at but it [is] coutch'd in such smooth terms, but they would be glad to blow Gov'r Wentworth up with the same shott they drew Con'o Atkinson but I believe they will both keep there ground, notwithstanding the maney false representations; I have spent part of several days with Mr. George Green, who appears to me a very senceable good sort of a man, he is not apointed Secretary as was reported, I believe he would like to have it with a proper Salery, but not without he and I dined togather yesterday and spent the afternoon and even'g he seems to have a great Friendship for Governor Wentworth. it is the opinion of several of the minesteral party that there will not be any places given or salarys fixed till after a new Parliment; enough Politicks, for this time, in my next I shall be particular as far as concerns our province. I have made some new conections since I'v been hear, which will be worth my tower, I believe I might do something in the Goverment way if I was dispos'd, but this I believe I shall think but little of at presant, as it is a life of more trouble hear, and them that are in Goverment would be willing to be out if they could live without it. The King going to the Parliment house to sign the Quebec Bill, was much insulted and the Cry was, no Popery he was much hissed. I shall soon set out on my tower thro the principle see Port towns and manufactors of England and Scotchland. I have letters to the Principle People in every town that I shall visit, not only from my own friends, but from many Principle People besides. I imagin I shall spend about 500 Guines the time I am absent, but I think the money will be well spent as I think I shall make such Conections as will be worth 5000. I have tended Change very close since I've been here — a deal of money to be made hear at this time with ready rino, I shall not do much till towards the Spring as I shall not be fond of sending out any Quantity Goods till I hear how affairs are like to turn with you. you'd be surprisd to see how solid I'm grown, the humours, nor Laydes does not touch my heart my whole

heart and thoughts are at Portsmouth where I hope the body will be by this time twelve months. If my young friend Sam'l Shurburn and Mesurve was with me I might be lead astray and into temptations I should be happy in seeing them hear if I thought they could keep there Resolution that I hetherto have done and resolve still to do, I find more satisfaction in some Gentlemens familes that I have spent some even'gs in than I should in a whole year of pleasure with the women of the town, this will serve to amuse you and my young friends with; a Saturday even'g, you and they promis'd to write me, But I find as I'm out of sight I'm out of mind. My best regards to Brother Joshua and all friends and acquaintance. I must stop for want of time, and begin another on my return. I hope this will find you and your good family in good health with tenders of good service this side the Water I am Dear Sir Sincerely Your Friend

GEORGE BOYD.

GEORGE BOYD TO JOHN WENDELL.

LONDON 26th August 1774.

MY DEAR NOTARY, — I arrived at this Metropolis last evening after a tour of upwards fifteen hundred miles thro' every Seaport Town, and manufactory Town in England, and Scotland that was worth my notice. I have made some of the best connections, perhaps that ever any person did that came to this Country, from America. I do assure you my interest in the mercantile way, or the ministerial way is equal to any thing I could wish, I have not time to give you a history of my whole tower at this time. My principle veiws when I left London was to find out my Family connection and see Lord Errald which I did and his Lordship received me with open arms. We soon found out the family connections. My Lords Grandfather and my Grandfather were own brothers. I tarried with him five days were I was treated with the greatest politeness and friendship, that I cou'd have expected, from a Brother or a father. He introduced me to some of the first Parliment men in Scotland, at his own table; and introduced me to Lord North, Lord Dartmouth and several other great people, by Letters as his Relation, I cant say at present, what use I shall make of those introducements; one thing I shall try to do, that is to break up the Court of appeals, the advantage of that Court has taken of me in my absence has exasperated me much.[1] I must beg youl draw a petition to his Majesty setting forth the injuries of that Court sit [its?] being

[1] The Court of Appeals consisted of the Governor and Council.

wholly of one family, and get as many People of all ranks to sign as possible and I will deliver it to his Majesty, with my own hand, if possible, if not Lord Errald will do that office. I am to spend the winter with his Lordship, who I have told the story to of the advantage and the family compact. He will do every thing in his power to serve me. I believe there will be a new Councill, if there should shall interest myself that you shall be one of that body; if you like please to let me know. Pray desire brother Joshua and George Wentworth to forward the signing of that petition and in return I shall be glad to serve them, when I left N. Hampshire I thought G. Wentworth was my friend but I find to the contrary. I had a heart to serve him, but little did I think when I left America, that my Estate was to have been robbed, thank God I have plenty of friends and money here, and if I have my natural flow of spirits continue I shall carry the point. G W I do assure you has but very little interest here, I am sure mine at this time, is more than his is now or ever was this side the water. I never should have troubled mself about these matters, had not the last advantage of my absence been taken. I am so out of temper, by having so much money taken out of my pocket, that I cant go on only to upbraid you and my young friends Daniel and Sam'l for not [writing] me agreeable to promise, but it makes good the old saying out of sight out of mind it has not been so with me. I sha'nt write you or them again till I hear from you. I propose comming out in the spring. I believe I now shall turn Mr. Levius freind, I dont think he will get out this fall. adieu God bless you all, believe me sincerely Dear Sir Your friend

GEORGE BOYD.

P. S. — Capt. Flag has seen the Letter from Lord Errald to me and can inform you the contents. I will send you a Copy if I have time before I close this.[1]

[1] A fragment of a third letter, written late in December, 1774, reads: "as the River is full of River Bult Ships for sail and are selling verey Low Every Day by candel. My Dear Frend my thinks I heare you say well Boyd itt is now time for you to be Don with out you [ ] more Regler and to the Purpose, but I cant stop till I tell you I have shon Lord Dartmouth your Letter his Lordship was well Plesed with the Contents of the Letter and much oblidged to me for Letting him have the Perusal of itt. I expect somthing will be done for you shortly more of this in my Next. I would have you wright me if you think itt will Reach heare in all April som tims I think I will tarey heare till all the Dissputs are setteld. I am much att a Loss how to act as if I com to Ameakrey there is now Busines to be Don and if I tarey heare now Bargens to be mad this is a most Extravagant Cuntrea for a man of any fashon or Spirit to Live in I thought I know the Value of money verey well but as well as I know itt I cant Live under one Pound one a Day and som Days more I hop Clap will make me som Good Bargens to fetch up the Lea way. Capt. Titus Salter of Mr. Cutts Ship Departed this Life last Evening with the Small Pox he was

DANIEL STEVENS TO JOHN WENDELL.

Gen'l Greene's Head Quarters near
CHA'STON, SO. CAROLINA, 20th Feb., 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I beg leave to enclose you a few lines, informing you of my health, and high spirits, since my arrival, the great and gallant Gen'l Greene has had a series of success against the enemy, they are now effectually drove into Cha'stown, and have not a foot of ground out of that Garrison. we now only wait the arrival of the French Army, which is near at hand, when [we] shall march down, and open the Trenches, against the lines of Cha'stown, so that I make not the least doubt that by the month of April, we shall be in full possession of that Capital. the enemy is much alarm'd at our approach, and of course keep very close. wou'd you believe it, the British tyrants lost to all sense of honour, have arm'd our Slaves, against us, that have fled to them into the Garrison. this step I trust they'll pay dear for, but Sir they are not only lost to every sense of honour, but they are likewise to that of shame, about three weeks past they had a ball in Charlestown, this they called an Ethiopian Ball, at which were present the Officers of the Army, (and our female Slaves, only) who these shameless tyrants had dress'd up in taste, with the richest silks, and false rolls on their heads, powder'd up in the most pompous manner. these chaps who call themselves Gentlemen, waited on these wretches in carriages to convey them to the Ball, which they drove through streets in pomp alongside of them, many of these wretches were taken out of houses before their mistresses faces, and escorted to the ball, by these British tyrants. enclos'd I send you a Copy of a Card wrote to one of these shameless brutes, by the Managers of this Ball, which were three Negro Wenches, this Ball was held at a very capital private House in Charlestown, and the Supper cost not less than £80 Sterling, and these tyrants danc'd with these Slaves until four o'clock in the morning. thus you see to what a state of shame and perfidy the Officers of that once great Nation (Britain) has arriv'd too. Gen'l Wayne is now within four miles of Savannah having effectu-

taken Great Ceare of. his Brother John Salter was with him in his Illness. I am sorey to be the Barey of bad News and Condole with his famaly if I had a Clark or had time I would Copey this. I hop youl Red this a Pissel with as Open a hart as itt flows from with out Critisim or Remark. My best Regards to your Darter Saley and Littel flock and Josha and G and all frind beleve me Sincerly, Dear Sir, your Frind

GEORGE BOYD.

"P. S. Mr. Green and I are on verey frindly terms. I have been of som sarvus to him heare. I feare Ships will be a bad Comodoty next Season. Dan and Sam must Pay the Postage of this Letter."

ally drove the Enemy into that Garrison they not occupying any one post out of it — thus far for news. I am now employ'd in the important business of my Country in the House of Assembly, we sett on business only 30 miles from Charlestown. please present my respects to Mrs. Wendall and the ladies your Daughters, likewise to your Son John. I am Dr. Sir your most obt. H'ble Serv't

DAN'L STEVENS.

N. B. — my compliments to Mr. Warner and Coll. Sherburne.

N. B. — These Managers in the Card are Negro Wenches assuming their Mistress's names.

[Enclosure]

My Lord,

Your'e invited to a Ball on Thursday Evening at No. 99 Meeting Street, the Ball to be opened at Eight O'Clock.

HAGAR ROUSSELL
IZABELLA PINCKNEY } Managers
MARY FRASER

Jan'y 1st, 1782, Charlestown.

To Lord Fitzgerald, Pres't.

Mr. MORISON submitted documents and a note on

THE MASSACHUSETTS EMBASSY TO WASHINGTON, 1815.

The Hartford Convention adjourned on January 5, 1815, and its report was published on the following day. On January 27, the General Court of Massachusetts authorized Governor Strong to appoint three commissioners in order to lay before the federal government certain proposals made in the Hartford Convention. He appointed Harrison Gray Otis, Thomas Handasyd Perkins and William Sullivan on January 31, and they left for Washington February 4.

Much of the discussion concerning the Hartford Convention and the whole sectional movement in New England turns on the motives and objects of that "embassy," as it was jocularly called. One theory is best presented in John Quincy Adams's "Reply to the Appeal of the Massachusetts Federalists," of 1829.[1] According to him, the Massachusetts Federalists, too cautious to let their real object of secession appear in the report of the Hartford Convention, intended, by pressing impossible demands on the federal government through this commission, to bring matters to a crisis on the popular issue of local defence.

[1] Henry Adams, *Documents Relating to New-England Federalism.*

The Hartford Convention had recommended that, if these demands were not complied with, the New England States summon another convention to meet at Boston in June, 1815. Here the design of a New England Confederacy would be carried out. John Quincy Adams believed that this plot was only frustrated by the news of the battle of New Orleans and the peace of Ghent, which arrived in Washington before the Massachusetts commissioners were able to present their demands.

In my *Life of H. G. Otis* I maintained, on the contrary, that no secession plot was behind the embassy to Washington; that the leaders responsible for it simply expected to take advantage of the momentary weakness of Madison's administration, in order to procure an assignment of federal revenues into state hands, that would enable Massachusetts not only to manage its own defensive operations, but to reimburse itself for war claims against the federal government. The documents printed herewith, discovered too late to be used in preparing my work,[1] furnish weighty evidence against the conspiracy theory of the embassy, and support my own conclusions. The most significant part is the third paragraph of Governor Strong's letter of January 31, 1815, in which he notifies the commissioners that he has delivered to the federal arsenal, at the request of General Dearborn,[2] some ordnance, stores, and ammunition then in the hands of the State. Obviously, governors who are contemplating the secession of their state do not hand over munitions of war to the federal government.

Enclosed with the Governor's personal letter, and printed herewith, are three other documents: the Commission of the "three ambassadors," their secret instructions from the Governor's Council, and the report and resolves of the General Court authorizing their mission. The first and third of these have already been printed;[3] but the one is not easily accessible, and the other is here reprinted in order to make the collection complete.

[1] They were found a few months ago in a scrap book, in which a member of the Otis family had pasted a number of documents abstracted from the Otis Mss. for their presumed autographic value.

[2] Then United States officer commanding Military District No. 1, which included Maine and Massachusetts.

[3] The Commission is in Theodore Lyman, Jr., *A Short Account of the Hartford Convention*, Boston, 1823, 14–16; the Report and Resolves in the official series, are in *Niles' Register*, VII. 372.

GOVERNOR STRONG TO THE MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSIONERS.

BOSTON, January 31st, 1815.

GENTLEMEN, — Agreably to a Resolve of the Genl. Court of the 27th. Instant you have been appointed Commissioners to proceed immediately to the seat of the national Government and endeavour to effect an arrangement whereby this State separately or in concert with neighbouring States may be enabled to assume the defence of their territories against the enemy. By the same Resolve it was decided that the application should be made in pursuance of such instructions as the Governour with the advice of Council might think proper to give.

To obtain that advice I laid before the Council the above-mentioned Resolve, and a Committee of that body reported the inclosed instructions which same have been accepted by the Council and in which you will observe a suggestion that a letter from me would be expedient.

Genl. Dearborn requested me in a letter of the 22d of December to return into the Arsenal of the United States such ordnance, ordnance stores and ammunition as we had borrowed of him the last Autumn, and they have been returned accordingly.[1] But I presume the Government of the United States will be willing, if any arrangement is made, to place in our hands at a reasonable apprizement, such of their military stores in this State as shall not be necessary for their own immediate use. It was said that Genl. Dearborn reclaimed the above articles to employ them in expelling the British troops from the District of Maine. But no part of that District is occupied by the British troops except the Towns of Castine and Eastport. In the other Towns east of the Penobscot the people are not disturbed, nor the civil processes of the State obstructed; and it is the opinion of every one with whom I have conversed on the subject that neither of the above posts can be retaken without a naval force which shall command the Bays where they are situated — an unsuccessful attempt to take them would increase the calamities of that part of the State.

[1] The following letter is recorded in the Archives of the Adjutant General's office, of Massachusetts, Letter Book B, 1813–15, p. 239:

Copy

Adjutant General's Office,
BOSTON January 2, 1815.

Major General Henry Dearborn

SIR,

The contents of your letter addressed to his Excellency Governor Strong dated the 22d of December last, having been referred to the board of War on the 30th of the same month, I have to acquaint you that orders were immediately given to Quarter Master General Davis to return to Captn Talcott, agreeably to your request, all the Ordnance, ordnance stores, and ammunition borrowed of you by the State in September and October last. I am sir, Your Obdt. Servt.

J. BROOKS.

You must have observed the extreme reluctance of the Militia to be placed under the Officers of the United States, indeed the experience we have had in this State shows the necessity of keeping the regular Troops and the Militia as distinct and separate as may be.[1] When General Dearborn requested me, in September, to call out 5000 of the Militia to defend the sea coast, it was found impossible to do it, unless they were placed under an Officer of the Militia, and we were therefore obliged either to leave the Towns on the seaboard defenceless, or to rely on the justice of Congress to reimburse the expenses. It is desirable that assurances should be obtained from the national Government that justice in this respect shall be done to us.

In executing your Commission Gentlemen, you will act in concert with the Commissioners that have been, or may be appointed for the same purpose by the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and will consult with the Members of Congress from this State on the most proper mode to be pursued. You will of course wait on the President and state to him the object of your mission and will doubtless confer with the heads of the Treasury and War departments. If the aid of Congress shall be necessary to effect the proposed arrangements you will make such representations to that Body, on behalf of this State, as you may judge expedient.

I wish you a prosperous Journey and am, Gentlemen with great Esteem and Regard your obedient Servt.

CALEB STRONG.

Hon. H. G. Otis
Thomas H. Perkins and
William Sullivan Esqrs.

LETTER OF COMMISSION.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Seal

To the Honorable Harrison G. Otis, Thomas H. Perkins, and William Sullivan, all of Boston, in the County of Suffolk, and Commonwealth aforesaid, Esqrs. Greeting:

CALEB STRONG.

WHEREAS, by a Resolve of the Legislature of this Commonwealth of the twenty seventh day of this present month, the Governor, with the advice of Council, is authorized and empowered to appoint three Commissioners to pro-

[1] The Governor refers to the friction between the Massachusetts militia and the United States officers placed over them, and to their dislike of the United States regulations. Alden Bradford, *Massachusetts*, 1835 ed., 300; W. H. Sumner, *East Boston*, 739; W. H. Kilby, *Eastport*, 161; Pickering Mss., xxx. 292. These

ceed immediately to the Seat of the National Government, and in pursuance of such Instructions as His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable Council may think proper to give them, to make earnest and respectful application, to the Government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement, whereby the State of Massachusetts, separately, or in concert with neighbouring States, may be enabled to assume the defence of their territories against the enemy; and that to this end, a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within said States may be paid into the respective Treasuries thereof and appropriated to the payment of the balance due to the said States and to the future defence of the same; the amount so paid into the Treasuries, to be credited, and the disbursements, so made as aforesaid, to be charged to the United States: And whereas by said Resolve the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress are requested to co-operate with said Commissioners in effecting this object:

Now, THEREFORE, by virtue of the Resolve aforesaid, and the power and authority thereby vested in me, I, Caleb Strong, Governor of the said Commonwealth of Massachusetts, confiding in the ability, integrity and patriotism of the Honorable Harrison G. Otis, Thomas H. Perkins and William Sullivan, Esquires, citizens of the said Commonwealth, have nominated, and with the advice and consent of the Council, do appoint you the aforenamed, the Honorable Harrison G. Otis, Thomas H. Perkins and William Sullivan, Esquires, to be Commissioners for the purposes aforesaid, and with authority to do and perform whatever is directed and required in the said Resolve, a Copy of which is hereunto annexed. And you the said Commissioners, will proceed immediately to the Seat of the National Government, and, in obedience to the Requisitions of the Resolve aforesaid, and of Instructions given you by the Supreme Executive of this State, a Copy of which also accompanies this Commission, will make respectful and earnest application to the Government of the United States, requesting them to consent to some arrangement by which this Commonwealth, separately, or, in concert with neighbouring States, may be enabled to assume the Defence of their respective territories against the enemy, and a portion of the taxes collected within said States may be paid into the respective treasuries thereof, appropriated to the payment of the balance due to said States and to the future defence of the same; the amount, so paid into the said Treasuries, to be credited, and the disbursements, so made as aforesaid, to be charged to the United States. And in

were always stated by Federalists as the reasons for refusing to place the entire militia under federal control; but the dominant motive was probably the fear that they would be marched off to Canada.

your endeavors to effect this object, you will also consult with, and solicit the assistance and co-operation of the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in the Congress of the United States.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the Seal of this Commonwealth to be hereunto affixed, at Boston, this thirty first day of January Ao. Di. one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and in the thirty ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

By His Excellency the Governor.

ALDEN BRADFORD,
Sec'y of the Commonwealth.

INSTRUCTIONS.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.
In Council, January 28th, 1815.

The Committee of Council appointed to prepare and report what instructions His Excellency the Governor and the honorable the Council shall give to the Commissioners to be appointed by virtue of a resolve of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, passed the 27th instant, respectfully report —

That in their opinion the objects of the Mission being explicitly stated in the Resolve aforesaid, it will not be necessary to give to the said Commissioners very precise or particular instructions; inasmuch as it will probably be necessary for them to consult with Delegates from other of the New England States on the same subject, and with the members of Congress, at Washington from the said States, prior to making any application to the General Government for the purposes of their mission, or of definitively deciding on the best mode of prosecuting the same.

Presuming also that the persons to be appointed, will be gentlemen of respectability and intelligence, who are conversant with the present situation of the Commonwealth, the Committee believe that their duties may be concisely, but sufficiently explained in their Commission, that this, accompanied with a letter from His Excellency the Governor, requesting them to repair to the seat of the National Government as soon as may be, and on their arrival at Washington to confer with the Commissioners which may be delegated from the other States represented in the late Convention at Hartford, and also with the Senators and Representatives from this Commonwealth in the Congress of the United States, and after such conferences to adopt those measures which may appear to them best calculated to effect the objects of their mission, will be the only instructions needful to be given to them.

At the same time the Committee think it would be adviseable, to suggest to the Commissioners, the propriety of proceeding with a due degree of caution and deliberation in their business, so that the interest and security of the Commonwealth may be promoted, and its credit and authority sustained. And as it will be undoubtedly necessary, that a memorial should be presented to Congress in conformity with the resolve of the State aforesaid, that the said Commissioners be instructed to prepare and present the same, for and in behalf of the Commonwealth. And that they be also requested, to keep a regular record of their proceedings, and in case any conferences with the President, or Heads of Departments, or other official Agents of the United States shall be necessary, that the same should be carried on, as far as may be consistent with the usual forms of transacting public business by written communications, and where this may not be customary to minute immediately after their occurrence, the substance of all such conferences held as aforesaid.[1]

And as both the Congress of the United States and the Legislature of the State, will terminate their sessions early in March, that the Commissioners be instructed to expedite a decision on the subjects committed to them, at as early a period as may be practicable; and to report to His Excellency the Governor, after they reach Washington, from time to time, the progress they may have made, in prosecuting the objects of their appointment.

D. Cobb, *per order.*

In Council, January 28th, 1815. The above Report having been read and considered, is accepted.

Alden Bradford, *Sec'y of Commonwealth.*

Sec'y's Office
January 31st 1815.
A true Copy
Attest'r Alden Bradford, *Sec'y of Commonwealth.*

Resolutions of the General Court.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The Committee of both Houses, to whom were referred the Message of His Excellency the Governor, and the documents therewith transmitted, have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to Report, in part:

That the expediency of having invited a Convention of Delegates

[1] No such minutes are to be found in the Massachusetts Archives or among the Otis Mss. Probably none were kept, as the authorized objects of the mission expired with the peace of Ghent. The commissioners transacted some informal business with the Secretary of the Treasury, reports of which are printed in Morison, *H. G. Otis*, II. 195–99.

from the New England States, is fully proved by the result of their labors communicated with his Excellency's Message. In times of unprecedented embarassment and distress, there can indeed be no better mode of discovering the means of relief, or of preparing for inevitable consequences, than to resort to the deliberate and united counsels of the wisest and most faithful men of the community; — men, who have an interest, in common with all their fellow citizens, in the subjects of their deliberation, and who will act with a firm and enlightened regard to the good of the whole, and under the highest responsibility. However sensibly such men may feel the importance of timely resisting oppression, and averting impending calamities, their counsels will be tempered by an accurate understanding of past political transactions, by a sound perception of the nature of existing sources of complaint, and by a careful enquiry as to events, which time may unfold. The Committee entertain a high sense of the wisdom and ability, with which the Convention of Delegates have discharged their arduous trust, while they maintain the principle of State Sovereignty, and of the duties which citizens owe to their respective State Governments; they give the most satisfactory proofs of attachment to the Constitution of the United States and to the national union; and while, with the undaunted freedom, which they inherit from their ancestors, they express their disapprobation of the measures which have produced our public calamities, and especially of the unnecessary and ruinous war, in which we are involved, they manifest a determination, which the people will support, that our Country must be defended at every hazard, against invasion and conquest. The people will thus find new reasons for approving the confidence reposed in their Delegates, in discerning through their Report the proper course to be pursued, in their relation to the Federal Constitution, in sustaining their allegiance to the State Governments, and in defending themselves against the public enemy; but, above all, in the recognition of duties, which they owe to their Creator, to themselves and to posterity, and which are founded in higher authority than any earthly government can claim.

As the exposition of the views and sentiments of that Convention is clear and intelligible, the Committee deem it unnecessary to enlarge upon the considerations which entitle them to the approbation and support of the Legislature; or to repeat the arguments contained in the very able Report of their proceedings, for adopting the measures by them recommended.

The Committee therefore respectfully submit the following Resolves.

D. A. WHITE, *per Order.*

Resolved, That the Legislature of Massachusetts do highly approve the proceedings of the Convention of Delegates from the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and the Counties of Cheshire and Grafton, in the State of New Hampshire, and the County of Windham, in the State of Vermont, convened at Hartford, on the fifteenth day of December, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fourteen; and that the advice and recommendation therein given, are entitled to, and shall receive, the most respectful consideration of this Legislature.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor with the advice and consent of Council be, and he hereby is authorised and empowered to appoint three Commissioners to proceed immediately to the Seat of the National Government, and in pursuance of such instructions as his Excellency and the Hon. Council may think proper to give them, to make an earnest and respectful application to the Government of the United States, requesting their consent to some arrangement, whereby the State of Massachusetts, seperately, or in concert with neighbouring States, may be enabled to assume the defence of their territories against the enemy; and that to this end a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within said States may be paid into the respective Treasuries thereof, and appropriated to the payment of the balance due to the said States, and to the future defence of the same: the amount so paid into the said Treasuries, to be credited, and the disbursements so made as aforesaid, to be charged to the United States: and the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress are hereby requested to coöperate with said Commissioners in effecting this object.

In Senate, January 26th, 1815.
Read and accepted.
Sent down for Concurrence
JOHN PHILLIPS, *President.*
House of Representatives, January 27th, 1815.
Read and Concurred
TIMOTHY BIGELOW, *Speaker.*
January 27th, 1815. Approved
CALEB STRONG.
Secretary's Office, January the 31st, 1815.
A true Copy,
Attest'r ALDEN BRADFORD, *Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

Mr. NORCROSS read from the original the following letter from Col. Charles F. Suttle, the owner of Anthony Burns, to Seth J. Thomas of Boston, his counsel, written after Burns's

rendition to Virginia, and recently found among Colonel Thomas's papers:

ALEXANDRIA, 24th July, 1854.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 22 inst is before me, do me the favor to say to Mr. Grymes[1] that Fifteen hundred dollars is the lowest sum that will purchase Anthony. I gave my reasons why I would not take less in my letter to Mr. Willis,[2] which I presume he has seen. If he wishes to make the purchase at that sum, he can do so at any time between this and 1st day of August. After that time I shall consider the matter at an end between us, and act accordingly. Yrs. truly,

C. F. SUTTLE.

ROBERT S. RANTOUL TO CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

SALEM, February 25, 1915.

DEAR SIR, — I find, on page 366 of Volume XLVII of the *Proceedings* of the Society, for April, 1914, this statement occurring in the memoir of our late associate, Gamaliel Bradford: "it is a fact contemporaries can testify to that almost singly and alone he carried to victory the campaign against dropping our annual State election."

I have no inclination to disparage Mr. Bradford nor to antagonise his biographer, but having attempted to correct this misconception when it first appeared in our debates, and having then been asked by you, in behalf of historic accuracy, to note the facts stated at that time, I desire to call your attention to what follows. The issue is not wholly unimportant, because it relates to a matter which is likely to keep cropping up so long as we have two classes of reasoners amongst us — one thinking, with Hamilton, that all political and social ills will disappear whenever we have a stronger Government, reposing its powers in fewer hands and choosing its agents for longer terms; the other class, with Jefferson, looking for the stability of popular government and of social order in a broader and more emphatic consent of the governed, drawn from a wider expansion of the suffrage and a more frequent exercise of it.

I was a member of the House of Representatives in the Legislature of 1884 and of the Joint Standing Committee on Election Laws. A proposed constitutional amendment providing for biennial elections and sessions had passed the preceding Legislature, and came up in 1884 for its final passage, before being submitted to the vote of the people. The measure was referred, in its natural course, to the

[1] Rev. Leonard A. Grimes of Boston, who in February, 1856, succeeded in purchasing and freeing Burns.

[2] Hamilton Willis of Boston.

Joint Standing Committee on Election Laws, which consisted of three Senators and eight Members of the House. The amendment required, for its passage, the vote of a majority of the Senate and of two-thirds of the House, present and voting thereon, at two successive annual sessions, before it could be submitted, in 1885, for ratification by a majority of the people, in accordance with the provisions of Article IX, of the Amendments to the State Constitution, adopted in 1820–22.

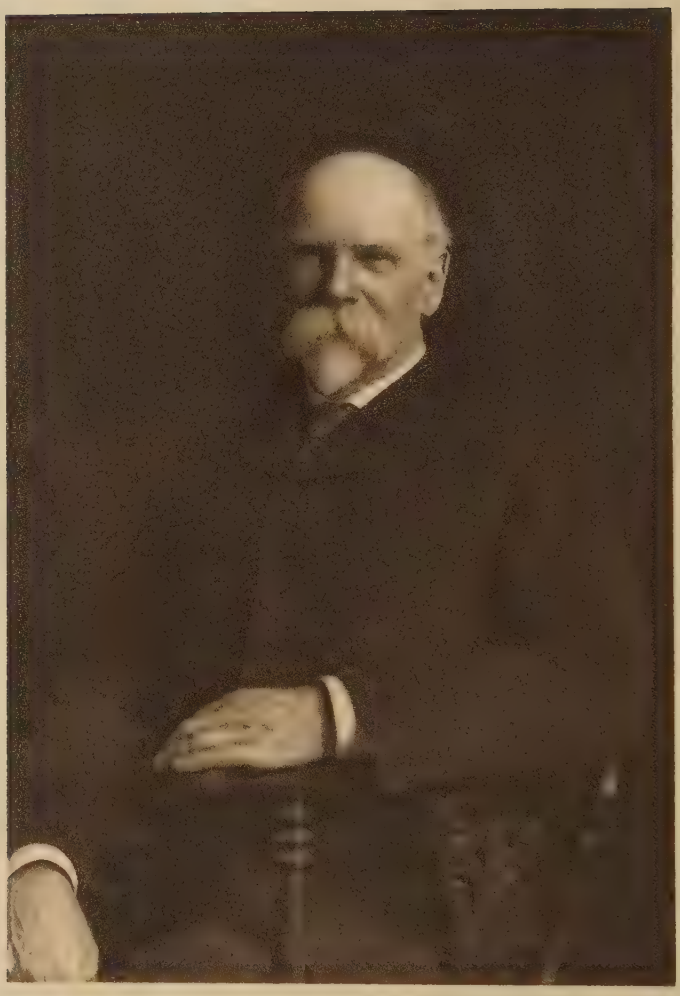
The Committee on Election Laws divided on the measure seven to four, the minority including a Senator and three Representatives, of whom I was one, and I was asked to submit a minority report, and did so. The amendment, which had passed the Senate, failed of a two-thirds vote in the House, being lost by a vote of 139 yeas and 87 nays. The measure had been agitated since 1870. Besides the large number of active Republicans who seemed to favor it, there was a considerable group of Republican leaders, of whom Henry Cabot Lodge and Roger Wolcott were two, who seemed to favor making a party issue of it. If this could be done its passage through the Legislature was assured, because the Republicans were largely in the ascendant. But this was impossible. Alanson W. Beard was the recognized Republican leader in the House, and he opposed it. Outside of the State House it was publicly opposed by such Republicans as George Sewall Boutwell, George Frisbie Hoar, John Davis Long, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Darwin Erastus Ware. Another amendment of narrower scope providing for biennial elections, but not for biennial sessions, passed the Legislature of 1885 but failed in that of 1886. Two several amendments, one providing for the biennial election of State officers and the other of members of the General Court, having duly passed the Legislature, came before the people for final action in 1896, and were rejected by a vote of yeas 115,505 to nays 161,263, on the question of the election of State officials, and on the election of members of the General Court, yeas, 105,589 to nays 156,211. During this campaign of 1896 vigorous expressions, pro and contra, were brought out in the press. Reference to the journals of the day shows the statement quoted at the head of this communication to be totally misconceived. A casual examination of the files of the *Evening Transcript*, for instance, discloses the following facts: Ex-Senator Darwin E. Ware published a letter of protest, October 23rd, and this was followed, on the 29th, by a protest signed by twenty-five very prominent clergymen from different sections of the State. On the 30th, Mr. Bradford, as Treasurer of the Anti-Biennial League, issued a statement made up of views quoted from Speakers Blaine and Reed, United States Senators Edmunds, Hawley, Dawes, and Hoar, Ex-

Governor Long and Collector Beard. On October 31st, Moorfield Storey, Henry W. Lamb, Charles S. Rackemann, Henry M. Williams, and others including the present writer, made known their opposition to the measure, and, on November 2nd, letters from Senator Hoar and from Albert S. Parsons of Lexington followed, and the labor organizations made themselves heard in a plea for annual elections. On November 4th, an editorial review of the situation appeared, which stated that "The idea was not a popular one from the beginning of the campaign."

Just what part Mr. Bradford may have taken in this controversy, beyond giving to the public the extracts above cited, I do not know. Doubtless he did his best to defeat the measure. I do not wish to belittle his efforts in any way. The idea is a very modern one, that Massachusetts had better do as newer States do, and not affect a singularity. Our grandfathers never heard of that. Mr. Bradford, if living, would not have permitted the statement to be made in his hearing, without a protest, that he "almost singly and alone" saved the old system of annual elections and sessions to the State of Massachusetts. Clearly it is not sound history to imply that any one man, in 1896, or in the years preceding, accomplished the defeat of the biennial amendment. I am, Very respectfully yours,

ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. SANBORN, STOREY, STORER, and BOLTON.



With great respect
Chas. G. Loring

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES GREELY LORING.

By EDWARD STANWOOD.

Charles Greely Loring was born in Boston, July 22, 1828, of the sixth generation in descent from Thomas Loring, who came to Massachusetts in 1634. His father, whose name he bore, the son of Caleb and Ann (Greely) Loring, born May 2, 1794, was one of the foremost lawyers of Massachusetts, a Fellow of Harvard College for twenty-two years, and one who enjoyed the distinction of having been twice offered, by governors of the Commonwealth, and of having twice declined, an appointment as United States senator, in succession to Webster and Everett. His mother, whose maiden name was Anna Pierce Brace, was a native of Litchfield, Connecticut.

Charles G. Loring, junior, was fitted for college at the Boston Latin School, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1848. In college his roommate was Mr. J. C. D. Parker, the pianist. They were doubtless drawn together by their artistic tastes, which ultimately developed in widely different fields. Three years after graduation Loring received, automatically, as was the custom at the time, the "second" degree, of A.M.

During the summer of 1848 he was one of a party of young men who made a scientific exploring expedition to the shores of Lake Superior under the leadership of Louis Agassiz, who had lately been appointed professor of zoölogy and geology at Harvard. The next year he was a student at the Lawrence

Scientific School, and took part in the survey of the line for the then projected Erie Railway, in central New York. From that work he was recalled by his father for a tour in Europe.

While in Scotland, after his father's return to the United States, he became seriously ill from an affection of the lungs, and being ordered south spent the winter of 1853–54 at Malaga, Spain. Having recovered completely, he passed the following summer travelling on the Continent, and in the winter and spring of 1854–55 journeyed up the Nile, visited the Sinaitic peninsula and the "Arabia Petraea" of Ptolemy, and Palestine, and returned by way of Constantinople and Greece. That journey, particularly in Egypt, may be said to have been the turning point in his life, for the deep impression made upon him by his observations and study of Egyptian art so developed his natural artistic tendencies that art became the absorbing interest. Upon his return to America he delighted his friends with his descriptions of Egypt, about which little was known at the time in this country, which he illustrated with stereoscopic photographs. Moreover he devoted himself with characteristic thoroughness and enthusiasm to acquiring all the information that was obtainable on the subject.

During this period of his life he ministered to another form of his love for the beautiful and artistic by undertaking the laying out of his father's extensive farm lands at Beverly, which he carried on for some years after his father's death. The love of beautiful flowers and shrubs was a passion with him. He was accustomed to say, later in life, that if he had been born a quarter of a century later he should have chosen the career of a landscape gardener. It is related of him that he spent several years in perfecting a single clump of trees and shrubs. In laying out grounds at Beverly and Chocorua he displayed exquisite taste in devising schemes which by their very simplicity removed all suggestion that art had been employed.

The civil war interrupted his activities in landscape gardening and development. Late in 1861 he was disposed to enlist as a private in the Union army, but through the influence of Governor Andrew he was appointed a First Lieu-

tenant on the Staff of General Burnside; and on February 3, 1862, was commissioned Assistant Quartermaster, with the rank of Captain. When the Ninth Corps was organized he was appointed Assistant-Inspector-General with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and held that position until the end of the war. Although his position did not require him to be on the fighting line, he did actually participate in all the campaigns in which the Ninth Corps was engaged — in Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, and from April, 1864, until the surrender of Lee with the army of the Potomac, in Virginia. Mr. Benjamin Ives Gilman, in his memoir of General Loring, for the Art Museum, from which many of the facts in this sketch are taken, says:

> The accounts of the desperate assault on Cemetery Hill [in the Petersburg campaign] made by the Ninth Corps at great loss on July 30, 1864, show that Lieutenant-Colonel Loring was at the scene of the explosion of the mine which preceded the attack, and with the attacking division in the bloody "battle of the crater," which followed. An officer in the Confederate service after related that before the explosion of the mine a Federal leader, found to be Lieutenant-Colonel Loring, was seen from their position exploring the ground upon which the troops were to enter, and walking about in the rain of bullets as if totally unconscious of them, until the commander of the Confederates, saying it was a shame to kill so brave a man, gave the order to cease firing.

Colonel Loring received three brevets, the first two, both dated August 1, 1864, one to the rank of Colonel "for gallant and meritorious services during the campaign in East Tennessee and at the siege of Knoxville," the second to the grade of Brigadier-General for "gallant and meritorious services at the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania and Bethesda Church, and during the operations before Petersburg, Virginia." His third brevet raised him to the rank of Major-General. It was granted ten days before the great parade of the victorious troops in Washington, in May, 1865, in which General Loring took part, and was for "gallant and meritorious services during the war." Only one other of the many staff officers who served with the Ninth Corps received so high an honor. On August 10, 1865, General Loring was mustered out of the service.

For a time, after his army service, General Loring was engaged in business. He became Treasurer of the Hampden Cotton Mills; but was not happy in the occupation and soon retired. In 1867 his father, to whom, in his declining years, he had greatly devoted himself, died, at the age of seventy-three years. In 1868 and the following year General Loring made another tour in Egypt, and continued his studies in the archæology of that country. It was the knowledge he thus acquired that brought about his connection with the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which covered a period of almost exactly thirty years. In 1872 the Museum, which then occupied no more spacious quarters than two rooms in the Athenæum building, received the gift of the Way collection of Egyptian antiquities. General Loring, the best equipped if not the only expert in such matters in this community, was asked to undertake the installation of that collection, for purposes of exhibition, and began the work in October, 1872. The next year he was elected a trustee of the Museum; in 1876, when the first wing of the building in Copley Square was occupied, he was made Curator, and from that time, until within a few months of his death, he was the executive head of the Museum. In 1887 his title was changed to that of Director. Of his eminent services to the cause of art in Boston there is no need to speak. His duties were multifarious, covering all the details of administration, the finances, the *personnel* of the staff, the oversight of the enlargements of the building, and every other matter that required his attention, and above all the important duty of acquiring, selecting and arranging the art treasures that grew so greatly during his administration. If the Museum has grown still greater since his connection with it ceased, it still remains true that its broad foundations were laid by him, and that without his tireless activity and intelligent foresight the institution could never have become what it is. The extent of his service in procuring additions to the funds of the Museum, and in obtaining gifts and loans of works of art, will never be known, since no one, not even he himself, preserved a record of it.

Failing health caused General Loring to resign the directorship in February, 1902. He was made Director Emeritus, and died at Beverly, on August 18 of that year. The

funeral services were held in King's Chapel, Boston, Dr. Edward Everett Hale officiating. The Museum was closed all the day of the funeral, and the Loyal Legion, which took part in the obsequies, caused taps to be sounded at the close.

In 1875 General Loring married Miss Mary Hopkins of Catskill, New York. Mrs. Loring died in India in 1914, but their two children still survive.

He was elected a member of this Society at the January meeting in 1887, as a representative of a sister organization. It was probably not expected that he would take a prominent part in the proceedings of the Society, and in fact he is not recorded as having been other than a listener at its meetings save on one occasion. At the February meeting in 1887 he spoke on the subject of the so-called Sharpless portraits of Washington, and gave his opinion that they are untrustworthy. His attendance at the meetings was more frequent in the later years of his life, for he was present at ten meetings during the three years preceding his death. It is not generally known that he contemplated the preparation of a historical study of the civil war, and accumulated material therefor; but his absorption in the duties of the Museum left him no time for carrying his project into execution.

His was a remarkable personality. To his friends two traits stand out as his leading characteristics, which might at first sight appear to be contradictory — extreme reticence even among those most closely associated with him, and a gentleness and courtesy that were extended to all whom he met. He was a silent man, but those who knew him soon discovered that his reserve was but a veneer that covered a warm heart. His protective bearing toward all things weaker than himself made children and animals love him, in spite of his reserve, which harmonized well with his commanding figure, and the military bearing, slightly accentuated by his dress, which suggested the army officer.

But that which it is well chiefly to remember regarding one who may be truly characterized as a great citizen is the devotion and loyalty with which he gave himself to the service of the Museum. In the minute adopted by the Board of Trus-

tees of that institution, called to consider General Loring's resignation, in March, 1902, it is said that "he was always ready to fill any gap, and never in any way spared himself." He always did fill the gap, and the Museum of today is a true monument to his life and labors.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1915.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the Senior VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. RHODES, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the past month.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift of a medal described in the following letter:

BOSTON, April 10, 1915.

DEAR SIR, — In transmitting to you as a gift to the Massachusetts Historical Society a specimen of the bronze medal struck by the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston in celebration of the completion of the first century of its existence, I am impelled to convey at the same time a bit of information that is possessed by scarcely anybody now living besides myself.

This information relates to the oval figure on the reverse of the medal, flanked by laurel and scrolls. The laurel and scrolls are additions for the purposes of this medal. It is only of the oval figure that I am to speak.

This oval figure is not the corporate seal of the Society, which is of wholly different design, but it is simply an ornamental device, with appropriate symbolism, suitable to adorn any publication of the Society. It has been chiefly used to adorn the front outside cover of the concert programs. It was so used as far back as 1874; how much farther back than that date, I have no material at hand to determine.

The origin of this device is of interest.

A great many years ago, Charlotte Cushman presented to the old Music Hall on Winter Street five or six plaster casts. One of them, a relief, used to be on the wall in the Hamilton Place corridor, on the ground floor. Several of them were large busts of eminent composers. On the end wall of the Music Hall opposite the stage, high up above the second balcony, on each side of the Apollo Belvidere which was in the centre of that wall, one or two of these busts

were placed upon ornamental brackets. One of these busts was of Cherubini. Projecting from the wall, and under the shelf of the bracket supporting this bust, was a flight of angels. And this was the origin of the flight of angels that constitutes the principal feature of the oval device upon the medal. Yours very truly,

EUGENE B. HAGAR.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Paul Revere Frothingham accepting his election as a Resident Member.

The Editor read the following statement:

In recent years the Society has received two gifts of historical material, the value of which cannot be measured in ordinary language — the Winthrop collection of original manuscripts, and the Parkman collection of original manuscripts and transcripts of records in foreign archives. Both relate to the colonial and provincial history of New England. I now announce a third large gift of like material, which renders much more complete what is in the Society, and makes its colonial collection the first in the land in number and in importance. Our associate, Mr. KELLEN, has presented to the Society 4600 photographs of historical documents in the Massachusetts State Archives, covering some six thousand pieces, and including nearly all the matter of consequence from the earliest records to the end of the seventeenth century. This is the nearest equivalent to an actual transfer of the originals to the Society, and opens unusual opportunities for the study and historical use of this important material.

The Editor also reported gifts: from Mrs. Charles H. Joy, of a number of manuscripts on the voyage and loss of two vessels, the ship *Eliza*, and the brig, *Rising Sun;* from Mr. William K. Bixby, of letters to and from Thomas Jefferson, bearing upon Massachusetts history or persons; from Mr. Francis V. Greene, of New York, an exchange of letters between Senator Edmunds and himself on the attitude of Empress Catherine of Russia toward the United States in the War of Independence.

Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, of Worcester, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The death of Ex-Governor Curtis Guild, a Resident Member, was announced. Tributes will be given at the May meeting.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then entered upon. Mr. KELLEN, senior Member-at-Large of the Council, read the following:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council intends upon a suitable occasion to call a special meeting of the Society to commemorate its late President.

Of the eight Presidents of the Society since its foundation, three have died in office — Thomas Lindall Winthrop, George E. Ellis and Charles Francis Adams. The combined term of presidencies of these three cover a period of a little over one-fourth the existence of the Society, and more than one-half of this period was occupied by Mr. Adams. It is curious to note that Mr. Adams when elected into the Society was the 293d resident member to be admitted; the last act in which he participated was the choice of the 486th member. He had seen enter during his membership 193 members, and it is safe to say a majority owed their election to his interest. The quality of membership was ever in his thoughts.

The publications of the Society in the year have been: 1, the usual volume of *Proceedings*, containing a goodly number of historical essays and documents; 2, a volume of *Collections*, the *Commerce of Rhode Island*, Vol. I, contributed and printed through the generosity of our Corresponding Member, George Peabody Wetmore; and 3, another volume of *Collections*, being the *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham*, 1739–1776. The opportunity offered for changing the general style of the *Collections* resulted in the adoption of a quarto form, giving a wider scope for illustration and for modifying the page according to subject matter. The issues for the coming year contemplate a volume of *Proceedings*, and the second volume of the *Commerce of Rhode Island*, also the gift of Senator Wetmore. That the reputation of the Society largely rests upon its publications has long been recognized; and it is the wish of the Council to maintain and extend this reputation by issuing each year material valuable for history, and in a form more attractive than in the past, yet in keeping with the subject. The war in Europe put an end to the search in England for Winthrop material, although

the agent of the Society reported promising leads. The question of resuming the search on the return of normal conditions in Great Britain will be decided in the future.

The report of the Librarian gives the figures of the growth of the various collections. What it does not convey is the gradual strengthening of certain divisions of historical material in which the Society is and properly should be stronger. Files, almost complete from 1806 to 1860, of the London *Courier* and the London *Chronicle*, the one a ministerial and the other an opposition newspaper, have been purchased — in all 204 volumes. Not only do they give the Society a treasury of historical reference, but they are files not to be found in any other library in this vicinity. Thirty-six volumes of the earlier London *Chronicle*, 1757–1781, were also secured, interesting as covering the period of the Revolution, and interesting also as including volumes once the property of Lord Orrery, the friend and biographer of Swift (with his MS. notes) and of the Duke of Hamilton (with his book-plate). In original issues purchases have been made of Massachusetts colonial newspapers. Nearly three hundred such issues have been added to the already large collection of colonial newspapers, and many of these additions are, so far as is known, unique copies. The monthly reports of the Cabinet-Keeper and the Editor have noticed the quite steady flow of gifts to the Cabinet and to the coin and manuscripts collection.

More than ever the Society has become a great depository of manuscripts, personal and public. The accessions in the last year have not only been large and important, but they have belonged to a great extent to the nineteenth century, thus marking the advance of the historical period. Heretofore the collections have been almost wholly colonial or revolutionary, and such as reached beyond 1800 have been few and unimportant. The period after 1800 was neglected, as of too recent a time to permit public use of private papers. As each generation comes forward, its predecessors pass into the realm of history, and it cannot be too strongly urged that every effort be made to induce holders of historical material to place it here, where it may be preserved, cared for and the use controlled by proper regulation. There exists a remarkable dearth of available manuscript material for the political

history of Massachusetts in the nineteenth century. Some collections are known to have been destroyed in the Boston fire of 1872 — in itself a warning against exposing historical records to such risks. There is a wealth of like material now lying idle in private keeping, of high value, yet unavailable to the student, and often a burden upon the owner. It cannot be too generally known that the Society is the natural custodian of such material, and has the force needed for the proper arrangement and care of manuscript records — facilities greater than can be found in its sister institutions.

Accumulation is not the only function of the Society to be emphasized, although of importance in viewing its past and future activities. Its own stores are open to all investigators, and in welcoming and aiding the inquirer it performs its public duty as trustee of what is entrusted to it. In printing, it gives the widest circulation to its material, and the constant use of both its *Collections* and *Proceedings* affords ample testimony to the utility of its publications. The individual student has been at some disadvantage, for his occasional document may not be in print, and a copy has been liable to error, unless done by photography, a costly and troublesome process. It was to meet this need that the Society purchased, nearly a year ago, a photostat, and the instrument has justified the expense. In the ten months during which it has been in operation more than eight thousand prints have been made, and of widely different subjects. Volumes or parts of volumes, pages to supply such as are missing, maps, portraits, broadsides and manuscripts — the requests have been numerous, and have come from as great a distance as California. The instrument has thus proved its worth for meeting a demand for such reproductions. Nor have the needs of the Society been overlooked. Several years of the Journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives have been photographed. A plan of completing by this process its files of the earliest issues of Massachusetts newspapers was not to be neglected. Through the courtesy of the New York Historical Society, the Boston Athenæum and the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, the unique early files of the *Boston News-Letter* were lent, and the entire series from 1704 to 1716 has been reproduced. This has also been done for the Georgia *Gazette*,

the unique file of a southern newspaper, 1763–1766. The advantage is shared by other libraries, no less than eight sets of the reproductions being placed where they were wanted. The exhibit of manuscript historical documents in the State building at San Francisco was wholly made in the Society. Several hundred reproductions of manuscript or rare printed material have been made to increase the collections of the Society. These are some of the uses to which this instrument can be applied. This diffusion of historical material, which can never be acquired in the original, is the highest commendation of this new facility. It is our intention to hold it for the use and encouragement of original research, and to perpetuate manuscript or printed matter relating to New England history, which is either unique or is held inaccessible to the general student. Some expense is involved in this undertaking; but the Society by this means is enabled to round out its own as well as other collections, and the wish may be expressed that a fund may be created competent to carry into effect the intention of the Society without its being obliged to consider the cost. Arrangements have been made by which the photostat will be managed by a photographer of long and wide experience, thus ensuring the best product.

One result has followed upon this new activity — the Society has been brought into closer and more friendly relations with its sister institutions. The feeling of rivalry in a contest for originals has been modified, and a spirit of comity, of cooperation, prevails. This has led to a greater discrimination in purchases, a specialization of collections, and saner ideas on the nature and limitations of special collections. It is desirable to meet this better state of feeling cordially, and in a generous spirit.

The repair and binding of manuscripts have continued and with good results. Such treatment, by giving the document a final form, brings us nearer to the time when a general catalogue of the manuscripts may be prepared. The desirability of such a catalogue is not to be questioned; but the present form of catalogue, both of printed and manuscript material, is not one which should be continued. It is hoped that some progress towards this much-desired end may be made in the coming year.

While recording what has been or is being accomplished in maintaining the repute and general worth of the Society, it will be well to bear in mind the many directions in which its influence and utility may be extended. That its collections are valuable and peculiar, the growing use proves; they contain what is to be found nowhere else, and this applies with particular force to its manuscript, printed issues and early newspapers of Massachusetts. Material of this nature appeals to the antiquary, or the local rather than to the general historian. In such libraries as the Boston Public, Boston Athenæum and Harvard University, the general student will always be better supplied, and according to his wants, than in a specialized collection, like that of this Society. Such a consideration is conclusive against entering into the field of general history, except so far as may be necessary for works of reference. The Waterston and Ellis gifts, however, brought many English biographies and histories, and to such a foundation additions may judiciously be made as occasion offers.

Then there is the ever-present question of communications made in the stated meetings of the Society. The membership is sufficiently varied in interests to assure a wide selection of subject, and nearly a majority of our members are actively engaged in historical writing. If the annual volume of 1914 be taken as a measure, barely one-eighth of the members are actual contributors to the *Proceedings*. It cannot too strongly be urged that members engaged in historical investigation contribute their quota; not necessarily for publication, but to place before the Society the results of their studies, for suggestion and comment. Even if the essay is to be printed elsewhere, it may be read at our meetings, and thus keep our members in touch with what is being done in history and awaken an interest which may prove useful to the Society as well as to the contributing member. The publication of documents and papers will continue — the raw material of history, and of which both *Collections* and *Proceedings* are a treasury for reference.

The suggestion has frequently been made that the greater comfort and convenience of those who use the library should be considered; that tables and chairs, in good light and in situations where the ordinary interruptions of executive

business may not be so noticeably felt, would be an improvement; and finally that a more free access to the shelves would be an advantage. The force of the suggestion may be admitted, but the suitable remedy is a more difficult matter. The building was never intended to serve as a public library, and the general use of the collections has been imposed upon, rather than invited by, the Society. Due provision was not made for readers, such as exists, for example, in our neighbor, the Boston Medical Library. Ellis Hall is ill adapted for such a use, and no other space, offering the necessary supervision, seems available. The Waterston room offers a quiet retreat for members; but apart from that, the circular corner room adjoining the Librarian's room can alone be set apart for the visitor. Even there he will be subject to interruption. Under the circumstances the Council, fully recognizing the existence of the problem, asks further patience from those who complain of present conditions, in the hope that at no far distant time the necessity of an extension of the building may be met. Then adequate provision for readers may be provided.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In presenting his annual report on the finances of the Society Mr. LORD said:

I desire to make a brief statement of the financial condition of the Society, supplementing what is set forth in detail in the Treasurer's report submitted in print to-day.

The property of the Society may be divided conveniently as follows:

1. The Land and Buildings, which stand on the books at $97,990.32 and are valued by the City Assessors at $196,000.

2. The Library and Collections, have never been appraised or assessed, but which have an estimated value not less than $1,000,000.

3. The Investments of the Society, are carried on the books, as appears in the Investment Account, Exhibit I of the Treasurer's Report, at $480,817.22. Of this sum the two centenary funds amount to $66,019.22, of which amount $60,762.84 is the principal of the Sibley Centenary Fund and $5,256.38 of the Anonymous Fund. Under the terms of the bequests the

income of these funds must be added to the principal until the expiration of one hundred years from their receipt, or, in the case of the Sibley Centenary Fund, the year 2002, and in the case of the Anonymous Fund the year 1991.

The gross income of the Society from all sources the past year was $27,483.24, of which $24,295.46 was the income of the invested funds. From this gross income must be deducted the income of the two centenary funds, which under the terms of the gifts are to be added annually to the principal, amounting to $3,143.76, and leaving a balance of income available for all purposes of $24,339.48.

The Treasurer received the past year the sum of $111.75, being the balance of the legacy from Mrs. Mehitable Calef Coppenhagen Wilson and the sum of $1,000 from Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis as a gift without restrictions.

During the year the Society received from the sale of a large collection of duplicate early newspapers, $10,750. A part of this amount was used to secure a number of rare, and some unique, early Boston newspapers, needed to complete our files. By the expenditure of $2,969.80 for these and files of English papers about 220 volumes of newspapers were acquired. The balance, $7,780.20, was added to the principal of the General Fund. This purchase left the amount to be charged against ordinary income $26,300.55.

The amount expended for the purchase, equipment, and supplies of the new Photostat was $2,082.68. The sale of photostat copies of manuscripts and newspapers has already reached the sum of $963.78, while giving the Society for its own collections copies of the subjects taken.

The balance of income over expenditures for the year ending March 31, 1914, was $3,030.03. The balance of expenditures over income for the year ending March 31, 1915, was $1,961.07, which balance has been charged against accumulated income.

The increase in invested funds the past year is $12,035.71 as shown in detail in Exhibit III.

REPORT.

IN compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1915.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty in number. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each fund the past year, appears in Exhibit V in this report. An account of twenty-nine of these funds, giving a brief history of each fund, will be found in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1910 (*Proceedings*, XLIII. 529); the thirtieth is described in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1911 (*Proceedings*, XLIV. 568). The securities held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above-mentioned funds are as follows:

INVESTMENTS.

SCHEDULE OF BONDS.

Chicago & West Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1921		$14,000.00
Chicago & North Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1931		1,000.00
Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.	4%	1939		5,000.00
Cincinnati, Dayton & Ironton R. R.	5%	1941		5,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995		14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	"adjustment"	9,000.00
Chicago Jct. & Union Stock Yards	5%	1915		13,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	5%	1946		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Co.	4½%	1944		6,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Northern Pacific & Gt. Northern R. R.	4%	1921	"joint"	50,000.00
Long Island R. R. Co.	4%	1949		6,000.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4%	1934		15,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4%	1951		10,000.00
Detroit, Grand Rapids & Western R. R.	4%	1946		2,000.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co.	4%	1927		9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5%	1925		3,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5%	1923		2,000.00
West End Street Railway Co.	4%	1915		6,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
United Electric Securities	5%			25,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
Carry forward				$245,500.00

SCHEDULE OF BONDS — *Continued.*

Brought forward			$245,500.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932	5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5%	1929	5,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5%	1933	5,000.00
U. S. Steel Corporation	5%	1963	5,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway	5%	1942	8,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932	10,000.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5%	1963	10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	5%	1938	10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line R. R.	4½%	1961	10,000.00
Arlington Gas Light Co.	5%	1927	10,000.00
United Elec. Lt. & Power Co.	4½%	1929	10,000.00
Wilmington City Electric Co.	5%	1951	5,000.00
City of New York	6%	1916–17	5,000.00
City of Cleveland	5%	1917	8,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5%	1931	5,000.00
United Zinc & Chemical Co. (with 60 shares pfd., and 60 common)	5%	1928	30,000.00
		Par value	$386,500.00

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS.

50	Merchants National Bank, Boston		$5,000.00
50	National Union Bank, Boston		5,000.00
50	Second National Bank, Boston		5,000.00
50	National Shawmut Bank, Boston		5,000.00
35	Boston & Albany R. R. Co.		3,500.00
25	Old Colony R. R. Co.		2,500.00
25	Fitchburg R. R. Co.	Pfd.	2,500.00
150	Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co.	Pfd.	15,000.00
75	American Smelting & Refining Co.	Pfd.	7,500.00
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.	Pfd.	15,800.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	Pfd.	30,200.00
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.		1,000.00
6	Boston Real Estate Trust		6,000.00
5	State Street Exchange		500.00
120	Pacific Mills		12,000.00
52	Puget Sound Traction Light and Power Co.	Pfd.	5,200.00
5	" " " " " " "	Common	500.00
1168	Shares	Par value	$122,200.00

50 Shares National Bank of Commerce in Liquidation ($12,750 already paid)

SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS BANK BOOKS.

M. A. Parker Fund	$1,167.59
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	203.15
	$1,370.74

RECAPITULATION.

Bonds, par value	$386,500.00
Stocks, par value	122,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,370.74
	$510,070.74

Represented by Balance, Investment account $480,817.22

The balance sheet follows and shows the present condition of the several accounts:

BALANCE SHEET, March 31, 1915.

Investment Account, Exhibit I	$480,817.22	Funds, Exhibit III	$439,889.87
Real Estate	97,990.32	Accumulated Income of Funds, Exhibit IV	47,428.73
Cash on hand, Exhibit II	6,501.38	Building Fund	72,990.32
		Ellis House	25,000.00
	$585,308.92		$585,308.92

EXHIBIT I.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Balance April 1, 1914		$466,378.02
Bought during year:		
$2,000 Arlington Gas Co., 5%	$2,000.00	
10,000 United Elec. Lt. & Power Co., 4½%, 1929	9,400.00	
5,000 Wilmington City Electric Co., 5%, 1951	4,900.00	
5,000 City of New York, 6%, 1916–17	5,000.00	
8,000 City of Cleveland, 5%, 1917	8,000.00	
5,000 Old Colony Gas Co., 5%, 1931	4,900.00	
Accrued Interest M. A. Parker Savings Bank Book	45.32	
" " Brattle St. Church Model Bank Book	7.88	
Total Additions, Exhibit II		34,253.20
		$500,631.22
Securities matured, etc.:		
Liquidation Lewiston-Concord Bridge bonds	$5,064.00	
" National Bank of Commerce	12,750.00	
Balance G. St. L. Abbott, Trustee note, paid	2,000.00	
Total Deduction, Exhibit II		19,814.00
Balance, March 31, 1915		$480,817.22
Increase during year	$14,439.20	

EXHIBIT II.

Cash Account.

Balance on hand, April 1, 1914			$10,793.86
Accrued Interest on Arlington Gas Co. Bonds			72.08
			$10.865.94
Receipts during year to March 31, 1915:			
Sale of Publications		$1,945.20	
Rebate, Telephone		2.10	
Royalties, Little, Brown & Co.		10.18	
Income from Investments, net		24,242.26	
Interest on Savings Bank Books		53.20	
" on Bank Balances		266.52	
Received from Photostat sales		963.78	
Total credited to Income of Funds, Exhibit V.			27,483.24
Balance Legacy of M. C. C. Wilson			111.75
Gift of Andrew McFarland Davis			1,000.00
Securities liquidated or paid, Exhibit I			19,814.00
Received from sales of duplicate Newspapers			10,750.00
			$70,024.93
Charges during year to March 31, 1915:			
Investment Account, Securities bought		$34,200.00	
Savings Bank Interest, not drawn		53.20	
Total additions, Exhibit I		$34,253.20	
Income Account:			
Bindery, Wages	$1,100.00		
Supplies	29.28	$1,129.28	
Binding, outside		371.45	
Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, and Mss.		5,082.35	
Building:			
Cleaning	$285.60		
Engineer	1,036.05		
Fuel	574.30		
Furniture	30.85		
Light	140.24		
Repairs	1,486.79		
Telephone	115.82		
Water	73.00	3,742.65	
Photostat:[1]			
Installation	$1,274.88		
Supplies	807.80	2,082.68	
Portraits and Medals		110.10	
Postage		195.52	
Carry forward		$12,714.03	$34,253.20 $70,024.93

[1] For receipts, see above.

CASH ACCOUNT — *Continued.*

Brought forward			$34,253.20	$70,024.93
Printing:				
Proceedings, vol. 47	$1,397.66			
" " 48	390.38			
Illustrations and Reprints	461.95			
Collections:				
Copley-Pelham papers	1,781.68			
Winthrop's History	313.12			
Rhode Island Commerce	134.61	4,479.40		
Miscellaneous		87.81		
Salaries:				
Librarian's Assistants	$4,565.00			
Editor and Assistant	6,080.00	10,645.00		
Stationery		204.47		
Treasurer's office:				
Bond	$25.00			
Bookkeeper	600.00			
Safety Vault	50.00			
Certified Public Accountant	25.00			
Books	1.75	701.75		
Miscellaneous,				
Insurance, Employers Liability	$56.82			
Other Expenses	381.07	437.89		
		$29,270.35		
Charged Income of Funds, Exhibit V		26,300.55		
Charged Principal of Funds[1]		2,969.80		
			$29,270.35	
Total Payments				63,523.55
Balance on hand, March 31, 1915				$6,501.38

[1] See Treasurer's remarks, *supra*, p. 369.

EXHIBIT III.

Increase of Funds in Year 1914–1915.

Amount of Funds, April 1, 1914		$427,854.16
Added during year:		
Additions to Centenary Funds:		
Anonymous Fund	$250.30	
J. L. Sibley Fund	2,893.46	3,143.76
Additions to General Funds:		
Gift of Andrew McFarland Davis	$1,000.00	
Legacy of M. C. C. Wilson	111.75	
Sale of duplicate Newspapers, less purchase of newspapers	7,780.20	8,891.95
Total of Funds, March 31, 1915		$439,889.87

EXHIBIT IV.

Accumulated Income of Funds.

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1914	$49,389.80
Income during year, Exhibit II	27,483.24
	$76,873.04
Expenditures, Exhibit II	26,300.55
	$50,572.49
Less additions to Centenary Funds	3,143.76
Balance, March 31, 1915	$47,428.73

EXHIBIT V.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FUNDS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1915.

	Balance Mar.31,'14	Income	Expenditures	Balance Mar.31,'15	Principal of Funds
Amory	$1,884.29	$175.61	$145.00	$1,914.90	$3,000.00
Appleton	6,429.40	714.31	720.00	6,423.71	12,203.00
Bigelow	595.43	117.07	120.69	591.81	2,000.00
Billings	3,004.51	585.36	461.95	3,127.92	10,000.00
Brattle St.	95.27	7.88		103.15	100.00
Chamberlain	92.07	72.12	73.00	91.19	1,232.33
Dowse	17.34	585.36	598.00	4.70	10,000.00
Ellis	19.88	1,853.66	1,809.42	64.12	31,666.66
Frothingham	2,707.26	175.61	175.00	2,707.87	3,000.00
General	602.36	4,647.78	5,236.49	13.65	54,719.38
Hunnewell	1,084.79	292.68		1,377.47	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,643.26	175.61	1,716.43	102.44	3,000.00
Lowell	396.93	175.61	175.00	397.54	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	5,799.14	585.36	140.95	6,243.55	10,000.00
Parker	30.28	45.32	53.91	21.69	1,000.00
Peabody	1,361.64	1,294.99	390.38	2,266.25	22,123.00
Salisbury	196.74	292.68	284.10	205.32	5,000.00
Savage	695.15	351.22	303.01	743.36	6,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley	52.03	1,317.59	1,333.37	36.25	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	6,381.29	8,051.14	8,772.56	5,659.87	121,077.00
Slafter	166.08	58.54	60.00	164.62	1,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,732.33	292.68	510.01	1,515.00	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,340.71	585.36	948.64	3,977.43	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	3,065.12	585.36	449.02	3,201.46	10,000.00
Waterston Library	143.85	284.15	428.00		3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	5,196.81	585.36	937.24	4,844.93	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	320.73	138.39	142.66	316.46	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,335.11	292.68	315.72	1,312.07	5,000.00
Balance, Mar. 31, 1914	$49,389.80				
General Income	24,339.48	$24,339.48			
	$73,729.28				
Sibley Centenary		2,893.46			60,762.84
Anonymous Centenary		250.30			5,256.38
Total Income		$27,483.24			
Expenditures	26,300.55		$26,300.55		
Balance, Income	$47,428.73			$47,428.73	
Total Funds, March 31, 1915					$439,889.87

The income for the year derived from the investments and credited to the several funds in proportion to the amount in which they stand on the Treasurer's books was nearly six per cent on the funds.

The real estate, which is entirely unencumbered, stands on the books at $97,990.32. The aggregate amount of the permanent funds including unexpended balances represented by securities at par and deposits is $510,070.74, as per schedules of investments given above.

ARTHUR LORD,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, April 1, 1915.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society as made up to April 1, 1915, have attended to that duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Gideon M. Mansfield, a Certified Public Accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the ledger.

HAROLD MURDOCK,
HENRY H. EDES,
Committee.

BOSTON, April 5, 1915.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The LIBRARIAN reported that during the year there have been added to the Library:

Books	1,502
Pamphlets	1,056
Manuscripts, bound	43
Broadsides	178
Maps	35
	2,814

In the collection of Manuscripts there are now 1,402 volumes, and more than 20,000 single pieces.

In the Rebellion Collection there are now 3,537 volumes, 6,614 pamphlets, 510 broadsides, and 111 maps.

The Library is estimated to contain 57,592 volumes, 118,005 pamphlets, and 5,386 broadsides.

SAMUEL A. GREEN,
Librarian.

The CABINET-KEEPER presented as his report a detailed list of accessions to the Cabinet as given in the printed records of the stated meetings.

Mr. C. N. GREENOUGH, for the Committee, read the following:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET

In making our visit to the library and the cabinet, we were shown the usual courtesies by the Cabinet-Keeper, the Curator of Coins and the Assistant Librarian. We agree with last year's Committee that the danger from fire is now less than ever before; but we call attention to the slight menace which still remains from certain wooden furniture near the books. We would name the window casings, especially those near the manuscripts; the shelves in the basement room which contains the public documents; the catalogue case in the office; and the map case in the Map Room. These, in our opinion, might well be replaced by metal.

We further suggest that attention be given to the room in the basement which contains public documents. These are at present in wooden cases which extend nearly to the ceiling and which are separated by aisles barely wide enough for the passage of one person. We suggest that all documents in this room be removed except the Massachusetts series and other documents bearing directly upon Massachusetts history; that these be placed in metal cases; and that the cases be separated by much wider aisles than at present.

The Committee believes there should be some arrangement to enable members of the Society to make suggestions on ordering current books. This might be managed either by opening a request book, in which any member might ask for the purchase of a given volume; or, if it were practicable, a more convenient arrangement might be to have prepared a list of

current books, and to permit members to mark such volumes as they might personally wish to use in case they were added to the library.

The Committee feels that, crowded though the office is, the case for the card catalogue of the library ought to be more adequate. It is at present a wooden case reaching to the floor, containing hand-written cards of an unusual size, which are not fastened into the trays by rods. The Committee recommends new metal cases, trays, and cards of standard size, with rods running through the cards. The Committee feels that the present arrangement of that portion of the card catalogue which refers to manuscripts is extremely inconvenient, and urges that, in the new catalogue cases, no trays be lower than the height of an ordinary table. The Committee questions the advantage of having manuscripts and books separately catalogued, and suggests that, whenever the catalogue is rearranged, cards for manuscripts and for books be combined in a single alphabet. It might, however, be well to have titles of manuscripts upon cards of a distinctive color.

The Committee wishes to recommend that better facilities be created for students who wish to consult rare books and manuscripts. At present, the only place for such students is the large table in the Librarian's office. Here the student is disturbed by the ordinary work of the office and is obliged to face the light. Privileged students are permitted to study in the main stack room. This room, moreover, can be used only in warm weather, as it is not heated. The Committee suggests that students be allowed to use the Waterston Room, where they would have better light than at the desk in the Librarian's office, and be less subject to disturbance. Any such arrangements would of course be conditioned by the provisions of the By-Laws.

The Committee commends the present policy of the Society in opening its resources as freely as possible to all responsible persons who wish to use them, and it hopes that this policy will become even more liberal; for example, it would suggest that the number of institutions with which the Society exchanges publications be considerably increased, even though the publications received by the Society in return may be relatively unimportant. At present, the Society is exchanging with uni-

versities and societies as follows: in New England, 59; in the Atlantic states, from New York to Georgia, 34; in other states of the Union, 40; in Canada, 5; in England, 3. The Committee suggests that it would be advantageous to increase these exchanges. It thinks that there must be libraries on the Continent, in Great Britain, and in South America, with which it would be to our advantage to exchange; and it is certain that it would be to our advantage to have at least one library in each state of the Union where our publications could be found.

The Society's Cabinet contains one of the best collections in the state of historical relics of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. The Committee admires the skill with which those in charge of the Cabinet have utilized the present room, but feels that no possible arrangement in that small space can be satisfactory. It therefore recommends that the congested condition of the Museum be remedied by removing part of its contents to Ellis Hall. That spacious room is now used only two or three times a year. Some of the paintings, engravings and other exhibits now in the Museum could be removed to Ellis Hall, and glass cases or frames placed near the windows for the display, permanent or temporary, of prints, coins, or relics, without interfering with the infrequent use of the hall for meetings. We would also suggest that a permanent display be made in Ellis Hall of some of the rarer manuscripts, books, and tracts belonging to the Society. It seems a pity that the public should not have the opportunity of seeing some of these treasures — which, after all, are the main part of our collection — as well as the relics and portraits which are now shown.

For some years the Museum has been open to the public every Wednesday afternoon from two until four. Although this fact is mentioned in the Strangers' Directory in the Boston *Transcript*, it seems not to be generally known, for Mr. Tuttle informs the Committee that the average weekly attendance is about six. Not more than 350 persons, then, outside the membership of the Society, visit the Museum in a year. The Committee believes that the educational value of our collection is such that additional steps ought to be taken to call it to the attention of the public. It begs to make three specific

recommendations: first, that the Museum be opened Saturday mornings from nine to twelve, and that the hour of closing on Wednesday afternoons be extended to five o'clock, except in midwinter; second, that teachers of history in greater Boston and members of the New England Association of Teachers of History be invited to bring their pupils to visit the Museum by special appointment at their convenience; third, that a sign, such as shall not injure the dignity of our portals, be used to announce when the Museum is open.

The Committee congratulates the Society upon the improvement which has been made in the matter of our collection of coins. The curator of coins, Dr. Storer, has been assiduous and successful in purchase, exchange, and arrangement. The thanks of the Society are due him for his attention to this department of its work. Facilities for the display of coins are, of course, wholly unsatisfactory; but, so far as the Committee can see, they must remain so until additional space can be secured. It might, however, be possible to place some of the less valuable coins in racks in Ellis Hall, in case the Society should accept the suggestion of the Committee that this room be used in order to relieve the congestion in the Museum.

In conclusion, the Committee calls the attention of the Society to the very important work which the purchase of the photostat has made possible, and to the vigor with which the work of photostatic reproductions of newspapers and other documents is being carried on.

Z. T. Hollingsworth,
C. N. Greenough,
S. E. Morison.

Mr. Kellen, chairman of the Nominating Committee, reported a list of officers for the ensuing year. In presenting the name of the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge as a nominee for President of the Society, he explained the circumstances in which the Committee was placed by the unexpected death of Mr. Adams and the coöperation of the Council with the Committee in making the selection of Mr. Lodge. He also read a letter from Mr. Lodge to Mr. Rhodes, expressing his sense of the high honor proposed for him, and his willingness to accept the office. The ballot being taken, fifty-two votes were cast. The officers are as follows:

President.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Vice-Presidents.

JAMES FORD RHODES.
JOHN DAVIS LONG.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Treasurer.

ARTHUR LORD.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members at Large of the Council.

GAMALIEL BRADFORD.
CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH.
JOHN COLLINS WARREN.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN.
SAMUEL WALKER McCALL.

Charles Francis Adams.

The Senior Vice-President, Mr. Rhodes, then read a statement of Mr. Adams' connection with the Society, prepared by Mr. Tuttle, as follows:

Mr. Adams was born in Quincy on May 27, 1835, graduated at Harvard College in 1856, and was elected a Resident Member of the Society, April 15, 1875. He died in Washington, March 20, 1915.

His first communication to the Society was on the settlement of the old planters about Boston Harbor and at Weymouth, and was made at the June meeting, 1878. During his membership he was present at most of the meetings of the Society, and the *Proceedings* contain many tributes and memoirs by him and a large number of papers covering a wide range of subjects.

He served as a member of the executive committee of the Council from 1882 to 1885, as a Vice-President from 1890 to 1895, and as President from April, 1895, to the date of his death, completing nearly twenty years, the second longest term in the history of the Society. He entered the Presidency only a few months after the death of the former Presidents, Robert C. Winthrop and George E. Ellis, which occurred in the closing months of 1894, and he felt that he had entered this position at an important period of the Society's life.

Through his active interest, the purchase of a site for a new building, selected by him, was reported at the October meeting, 1895; and steps were soon taken, at his timely suggestion, to sell the old building and site to the city of Boston. As a member of the Building Committee he closely followed the erection of the new building, which was completed in 1899; and at the first annual meeting, in April of that year, held in the new structure, he read a paper on "Historians and Historical Societies." The Society recorded its appreciation of his gift in the purchase of a part of the land needed for the building.

He was urgent in his views as to the policy of the Society, especially as to its membership. He took a leading part in 1907 in the abolition of the admission and annual fees of members, and in 1908 was chairman of the committee to revise the by-laws.

In April, 1898, he suggested the publication by the Society of new and definitive editions of the Bradford and Winthrop Histories, projects which he had long had in mind. Bradford's *History* was issued in 1912. At the June meeting, 1913, he expressed his strong desire that Winthrop's *History* should be published without

any unnecessary delay while he was still connected with the Society.

As a member of the Finance Committee and of the various committees of which he was an ex-officio member, the Society greatly benefited by his active interest, and the library was the recipient of many gifts from him.

Mr. RHODES then called in turn upon certain members of the Society for tributes to Mr. Adams, beginning with the "Nestor of the Society," Dr. GREEN.

TRIBUTE OF GOVERNOR LONG.[1]

What always struck me first in Mr. Adams was his exigent forthputting personality. Wherever he was, he was in evidence. In the meetings of this Society — and I regard him as by all means the most inspiring and contributory man that ever sat in its presidential chair — he was its dominant expression. At his funeral you could not think of him as lifeless in his coffin. He was a man of such emphatic mental activities that it would have seemed unfitting — I am sure that he would not have liked it — to say of him *requiescat in pace.* And it takes a wrench of the imagination here and now to think of him as separated from his wonted seat at our head. He was the embodiment of mental and physical vigor.

It is guesswork to draw comparisons, but as I think of his splendid lineage he seems to me a more level-headed man than his great-grandfather John Adams; not so wise as his grandfather John Quincy Adams; not so well-poised and cool as his father Charles Francis Adams: but he ranks with them all and keeps the family standard full up in high character and intellectual strength and absolute honesty of purpose and conviction. Nobody could doubt that in his generation he was preëminently of that ilk.

His characteristics stood out on him as emphatic and distinct as bosses on a shield. He was dogmatic and masterful — a fighter, for any position he took, who asked no odds and gave no quarter. He was so strong in his conclusions, he pressed them so confidently, that, paradoxical as it may seem, the very intensity of his convictions often sooner or later led

[1] Governor Long was, through a conflict of engagements, unable to attend and his tribute was presented by Mr. Rhodes.

him, as an overloaded gun kicks backward, to question them and to go to the other extreme with equal earnestness. And how charming were his frankness and heartiness in all this!

It is because of this mixed quality of positiveness of being right and at the same time of open-mindedness that I used sometimes to question the soundness of his judgment. Some men, arguing a theme, take you unresistingly along with them. When he developed an argument I found myself often questioning his postulates, or feeling that he was putting them too strongly, or inclining to think of something to be said on the other side. But all this made him all the more — the best word I can think of is — interesting. He gave you a feeling of electricity in the air. You recognized his fertility and his sweep.

Mr. Adams — perhaps another paradox — was at once a born aristocrat and a born democrat. He never forgot what was due to his illustrious ancestral and personal rank. He never concealed his lofty contempt for whatever derogated from the high standard of the gentleman. And yet, in his intercourse with our common citizenry, however humble, laborer, mechanic or what not, he was in sympathy with their best qualities and traditions and yearnings, and they knew it. Ask the people of Quincy with whom he grew up, or of Lincoln where he lived in later years, and they will tell you how frankly and unaffectedly he congregated with them. You remember Henry Faxon. You can hardly think of two men more unlike. But they had been townsmen in Quincy and had taken part in many a rough town meeting. I was at Faxon's funeral some years ago in Quincy, and when I saw there Charles Francis Adams, having come from his Lincoln home to pay the tribute of his presence to Henry Faxon — and saw no other blue blood there — it was evidence to me that he loved his fellow-men and that the democratic pulse was beating under that aristocratic exterior.

Indeed, any estimate of the man would be lacking that did not include his genuine inner tenderness. Brusque and abrupt and outspoken, often not sparing a pungent word, yet of him may be said what the poet Bryant, in his oration on Fenimore Cooper, said of the latter, "His character was like the bark of the cinnamon, an astringent rind without and an intense sweetness within."

A year ago in his eightieth year Mr. Adams seemed to be still in robust physical trim, almost every day at home on horseback and, while in London, rising early each morning to take, in the Royal Automobile Club there, a dive from a high platform into the swimming pool below. And his mind was even more vigorous than his body. It is not too much to say that he was a great man, especially when we think how mighty small some great men have been. Of unlimited industry, with a wide range of practical talent that was equal to the problems of transportation, currency, diplomacy and material business affairs, a scholarly author of many books and articles, a master of a good enough literary style, a searching historian of international reputation, a fearless expresser of opinion on all public questions, a patriot who in his youth risked his life in battle for his country's flag — and how his honest pride in his soldier's career used to crop out now and then in his talks to us — a knight without fear and without reproach, he was, not a genius, but a mighty force.

More copious than concise, not without a certain grim humor, how cordially we now recall him and his contributions to our meetings here, his fulness of detail, his evident relish of his work, his abundance of material, his exhaustive research and analysis. *Nihil tetigit quod non exhausit.* What a void without him!

In his death Massachusetts loses one of her most illustrious sons, and this Society its leading member and a President who gave it his whole heart.

Tribute of Dr. Green.

My acquaintance with Mr. Adams began in his college days more than half a century ago. Since the beginning of his membership here in 1875 my relations with him have been fairly close and intimate, and I wish to bear witness to the deep interest he has always shown in the welfare of the Society. I wish to record, too, my deep appreciation of his kindly and considerate attention to me personally at all times.

It was due to his foresight and wisdom that we have the present convenient and eligible site, selected by him at a time when there were only a few buildings in this neighborhood.

His long-cherished purpose to secure a suitable home for the Society did not have at first unanimous support, but his ability and leadership won the day. His dominating influence in the life of the Society has been recognized and felt by all; and through him it has held a distinguished position not only in this country but abroad.

Tribute of President Eliot.

Charles Francis Adams was not naturally inclined to respect precedents, or to imitate in his own mental processes the methods of other men. He was always independent, and sometimes recalcitrant. No wisdom of the ages, or of the multitude, necessarily commanded his respect. He was by nature inclined to believe that long-established practices of governments, institutions of education, and financial or industrial organizations were likely to be wrong, or at least capable of great improvement. Thus, he testified in his Phi Beta Kappa address of 1883, twenty-seven years after his graduation at Harvard College, that he should never be able to overcome, no matter how long he might live, some serious disadvantages which the superstitions, wrong theories, and worse practices of his alma mater inflicted upon him. The educational wisdom of five hundred years went for nothing with him. In the same famous address, entitled "A College Fetich" — the fetich was the prescribed study of dead languages and particularly of Greek — he described the world for which the College ought to have fitted its graduates of 1856, but had not, as an "active, bustling, hard-hitting, many-tongued world, caring nothing for authority and little for the past, but full of its living thought and living issues." It was that kind of a world in which Adams rejoiced to live, and did live, intellectually and morally.

He studied law in an imperfect way after taking his bachelor's degree in arts, and was admitted to the bar in 1858, but never practiced law, and could never have had a real liking for a profession which makes much account of precedent and public usage.

With the exception of one brief interval, he served as a commissioned officer in the Union army for three years and a

half. He had plenty of physical courage, and in age as well as in youth he possessed in large measure the moral courage which is a much rarer quality than physical, though usually based on the natural man's liking for running bodily risks. Adams exhibited pleasure in overcoming, or getting round, obstacles in his sports, as well as in his serious occupations. When riding a bicycle was a popular sport, Adams took peculiar pleasure in riding a bicycle on the Paris boulevards; although he knew that he was not an expert rider, and could not become one, since his time-reaction was too long. He once told me with glee that he took his life in his hands every time he rode in those thronged thoroughfares, but found it great fun. In many an adventure as railroad man, historical and biographical writer, and publicist, he doubtless experienced the same sensation. He enjoyed risking his literary or business reputation, being always convinced that the work he was trying to accomplish was worth the risks he ran, and that the risks helped to make the hard work interesting.

Before 1868, at which date he was only thirty-three years old, Adams had become deeply interested in railroad management and the condition of the American railways. Between 1868 and 1871 he published a series of remarkable papers on that highly controversial business subject. His *Chapters on Erie* revealed to the whole business world Adams' remarkable mental and moral qualities. He got at the facts of railroad management in those days, and stated them with absolute clearness and unrelenting severity. Some of his basic propositions are extraordinarily applicable to the present condition of things in Europe. Thus, he maintains in his first paper on Erie that civilized humanity has assumed that something of man's animal part had been eliminated from him during the progress of civilization, but that, if things are called by their right names, it would be easy to make the civilization of the nineteenth century appear "but as a hypocritical mask spread over the brutality of the twelfth." Freebooters are not extinct, he said; they have only transferred their operations to the land, and now conduct them more or less in accordance with legal conventions. Gambling and cheating at cards were always disreputable, or even disgraceful; but "operating, cornering and the like are not so regarded." In 1869 it re-

quired courage and confidence in one's own judgment to say of Cornelius Vanderbilt that he was unscrupulous and very illiterate — a strange combination of superstition and faithlessness, of daring and timidity — and that "he often regarded his fiduciary position of director in a railroad as means of manipulating its stock for his own advantage." Treating of stock-watering, Adams said, "The great masterpieces of Cornelius Vanderbilt have, however, so eclipsed all other performances in this line that they may be said to constitute a chapter in the history of paper inflation — it might also be said of bubble-blowing."

In all his writings on the mismanagement of American railroads, Adams kept clearly in view the broad political principles which were really the main subject of discussion. He saw that, when directors in great corporations came to regard their position as one in which to make a fortune, the possession of which would not be considered dishonorable, they were striking at the very foundation of democratic society; for that society rests on the sanctity of the fiduciary relations, and on the faithful representation of the interests of many by a few, in both politics and business. The corporation with limited liability enables combinations of small shareholders to carry out extensive enterprises, but individual capitalists seek to control those combinations. One of his striking sentences was: "Vanderbilt introduced Cæsarism into corporate life." He pointed out that public corruption is the foundation on which corporations depend for their political power. There is a natural tendency to coalition between the lower grades of politicians and the corporations which need legislative favors. As Adams said: "The existing coalition between the Erie Railroad and the Tammany ring is a natural one; for the former needs votes, the latter money." In the following sentence Adams predicted the creation of the railroad commissions and many other government commissions now in existence: "Finally, a responsible department of the Executive should have charge of the subject, and should be empowered to decide as to the amounts of private capital directly and indirectly paid into construction, and authorize the issue of securities accordingly." This sentence occurs in his Erie chapter on "Stock-Watering."

Out of Adams' *Chapters on Erie* came the establishment of the first railroad commission in the United States, namely, that of Massachusetts, on which Mr. Adams served from 1869 to 1879, and was its chairman for seven years. The success of that commission was so striking that it led to the appointment of other commissions in Massachusetts and elsewhere, whereby government exercised a valuable control over the conduct of public-utility corporations. That control has become, in forty-six years, an indispensable part of public administration under free governments.

Adams enjoyed pioneering in promising fields, but was not patient of even a good routine once established. His excursion into actual railroad management did not give him the most favorable field for his real powers; and he did not long remain in it. He was the chairman of the preliminary and the first executive commission on metropolitan parks for Boston and the vicinity, and was very influential in advocating and securing the adoption of a wise plan for metropolitan parks; but, when the principal takings recommended by the commission had been made, and the work of the commission threatened to become a work of gradual construction and patient management, Adams retired from the commission, being of opinion that it was enough for the generation in activity at the end of the last century to do, to acquire seven or eight thousand acres of wild land, and that the next generation might fairly do the developing and bringing into use. Nevertheless, he rendered a great public service as chairman of that commission, and illustrated the breadth of his views about public welfare and the means of promoting it. His probity and disinterestedness were a great support for the commission in their delicate work of taking many areas of land from large and small owners by right of eminent domain.

During his long service in the Board of Overseers of Harvard College — 1882 to 1894 and 1895 to 1907 — twenty-four years in all, he was always advocating the preparation of every youth for some specific work, the mastering of some one subject, the concentration on some one thing, in the preparation for an intellectual life. In trying to spread these convictions, he adopted the most aggressive methods, because he believed them most likely to succeed. This was well illustrated in his

College Fetich address, and in his two reports to the Board of Overseers as chairman of their Committee on Composition and Rhetoric. In both these cases Adams finally saw accomplished a large part of the reforms he advocated; but the partial accomplishment took many years, and the method of teaching English in school and college is not yet fully satisfactory. Both these efforts, however, gave Adams much content. He experienced in high degree the joy of combat, and the joy was not dependent on immediate or even ultimate victory.

Adams desired to employ as his subordinates or assistants only men who possessed unusual efficiency and self-reliance. He applied to me in the early eighties for competent and trustworthy assistants, whom he thought I could pick out from among recent graduates of Harvard College; and, to aid me in deciding what sort of young men to recommend, he described his own state of mind as follows: "I find there are two kinds of men in the business world. If I commit a certain piece of work to one of the first kind, he goes off to do it, but keeps writing for more instructions, and after a time comes back and gives me excellent excuses for not having done it. A man of the second kind goes off on the job I have given him, and I hear nothing from him; but after a time he returns with the statement, 'That job you gave me is done, although there were many unexpected obstacles, and it has taken more time than I expected. It is finished, however, and I am ready for another.' Now," said Adams, "I have no use at all for the first kind of man." When Adams found assistants in whom, with good reason, he had confidence, he adhered to them with a perfect loyalty, supported them in every possible way, and took a persistent interest in their advancement and success.

Of the services which Adams rendered to this Society as President others will speak; but I desire to testify that they were intelligent, unselfish, and unwearying, and that through these services he has contributed largely to the sound upbuilding of American biography and history.

Adams' characteristic mental activities lasted to the end of his life. About a year ago I received from him a three-page letter chiefly devoted to a vigorous argument to the effect that the whole influence of the labor union is sordid, selfish,

and narrow, subversive of individuality, and incompatible with the continuance of republican institutions. At the end of the letter, after thanking me for some efforts I had made "in this most unpopular and ungrateful branch of public education," Adams wrote, "I confess when, close upon four-score, I look at the problems of the present, and recall those through which our generation passed, a feeling of weariness predominates. . . . 'What pleasure can we have to war with evil?'" That was but a momentary lapse from joy in conflict and from hope. On the 23d of November last, Adams urged me to join a few American publicists in protesting against "mining" the ocean and dropping unaimed bombs into unfortified places. His language had all its wonted vigor. He said of these practices that they are "exactly akin to piracy and plank-walking, and should be classified and stigmatized as such." On December 1, he wrote again to the same effect, but added: "I am wholly dissatisfied with the attitude, or absence of attitude, of this government toward what I consider two of the most glaring violations of neutral rights of which record exists." There spoke the young Adams at thirty and three successive generations of his ancestors.

TRIBUTE OF MR. STOREY.

It is not easy in the few minutes at my command to say what I would of Mr. Adams, who has been my friend for a generation, who has filled a large place in my life, and with whom I have been in peculiar sympathy. I shall not try to speak of what he did, but only of what he was. At some other time and in some other place I hope to pay a more adequate tribute to his memory.

He was a man of exceptional ability and of very rare quality. His physical vigor enabled him to take his daily ride on horseback in winter and summer alike until his fatal illness, to dive into the icy waters of a Norwegian fiord at the age of seventy and the scarcely warmer waves of Massachusetts Bay till the last summer of his life, and to travel and work with untiring energy to the end.

His mental vigor was equally remarkable, and his mind was incessantly active. He was a great reader and his memory

was richly stored with the results, but his taste was exacting and he read only what was worth reading, always keeping himself in touch with the best thought of the day and wasting no time on trash, though he did not neglect light literature. He had unusual literary power and was the master of an excellent style. Had he followed his natural bent and not been diverted by the demands of more active life, he might well have devoted himself to historical work, but as it was his writings were the diversions of a very busy man. He wrote because he enjoyed it, but always with a serious purpose, and whether it was a "Chapter on Erie," a biographical sketch, an essay on some historical topic, or a discussion of taxation, or our Philippine policy, nothing that he wrote was ever dull. He always commanded public attention and set men thinking, thus exercising an influence which was far-reaching and which no one can measure.

Inheriting a great tradition of public service, he felt the obligations which it imposed, and to that patriotism which was born in the descendant of men who had done so much to found and preserve this nation was added the consciousness of what was due from the members of his family. "Noblesse oblige" was to him an article of faith, and he held his time and his powers in trust for the work which his hand found to do. He was always ready to answer any call of public duty, and whatever he did was done thoroughly and well. With his great abilities, his deep interest in public affairs, his marked qualifications for leadership, he would naturally have been called to high office, but the conditions which confronted him made this impossible. He was incapable of serving a party, or of conforming his opinions and actions to the demands of a political committee and the assumed exigencies of a campaign. He was as nearly independent in thought and act as the lot of humanity permits, prompt to say what he thought the situation demanded — to lead in forming public opinion, but never fearing or even considering the consequences to himself. He was content to use the best that was in him for the common good, but his ambition was to serve, not to win reward. He was not indifferent to public opinion. Every man who aims at a mark cares whether his arrow pierces the bull's eye, but when he spoke it was to secure some public end and not ap-

plause for himself. I cannot recall in thirty years of friendship a single word to indicate that the thought of office or of popular recognition was in his mind. Certainly never by act or hint did he take any step toward securing either. The honors which he received came to him unsought.

His moral standards were the highest, and he was true to them in practice, for he could not be otherwise. He was by nature absolutely frank, brave and sincere. Indirection and evasion were to him as impossible as it would be for one to speak a language which he had never learned. With high courage, with earnest purpose and with the conscience of New England he worked throughout his life, and there are few men of such varied activities of whom it can be said, as it must be said of him, that even an enemy can find no stain upon his record.

He was fond of society and had a very wide acquaintance. His conversation was stimulating, and an evening with him sent one home with food for better thought. His opinions were positive and often expressed positively, but no one had less pride of opinion. His mind was open, and when the truth was made manifest, he was always willing to admit that he was wrong, not reluctantly but cheerfully, and often of his own motion without his opponent's challenge.

His nature was affectionate and warm-hearted. He was most considerate of others, and his manner, which is sometimes mentioned, was not a weapon of offence, but, as is often the case, was defensive armor. He was essentially modest and somewhat shy, which he lamented and resented. What seemed like brusqueness was in fact the result of an effort to overcome what he felt to be a weakness and to assert his control of himself. I knew him well enough to say that he was never intentionally rude or disagreeable to anyone save in those cases, common to the experience of us all when indignation, just or unjust, overcomes our self-restraint. Nothing could be further from his purpose than to wound or slight anyone unjustly.

He was not only a generous and loyal friend but a very tolerant opponent. Sharply as he might condemn the acts of a public man, perhaps even where he could not but distrust his motives, he cherished no rancor, and never allowed a dif-

ference of opinion to affect his personal relations. His judgments of others were singularly charitable.

Fortunate in his birth and in all the circumstances and relations of his life, he was fortunate also in his death, for it found him with his natural force still unabated, and he never knew long suffering or slow decay. While he lived he was true to the high ideals which he inherited, and he leaves behind him a name and a record of achievement which must be an inspiration to his descendants and to all who like him would uphold the best traditions of New England.

Tribute of Major Higginson.

Dear old Charles Adams — how we miss him, for he gave us interest, amusement, knowledge and affection, and was one of the chief blessings of life — a true, warm friend whom we loved for his faults and for his virtues.

I cannot tell when we first knew each other, but it was fully seventy years ago, and we have gone on happily from that day to this. In college we met familiarly but not very much, as my term there was short. Charles was earnest and, at the same time, running over with fun, searching then as afterwards for what he could do, what life meant, what he could get out of it. I fancy he was a fair scholar, and know that he learned much from books and from his clever companions. Presently he studied law at the law school, and passed some time in the office of Mr. Rufus Choate. While there, young Rufus Choate, a schoolmate of ours, asked Charles one day about another classmate of ours in the same office: "What sort of a chap is so and so?" "Well," said Charles, "I'll bet you a dollar that he has a key to your father's safe."

When the Civil War came in 1861 some of us marched in the Second Massachusetts Infantry, and in the fall of that year Charles was commissioned first lieutenant of the First Massachusetts Cavalry. I had been commissioned captain (as a six months' veteran) in that regiment, so we saw much of each other. We old companions were under severe West Pointers and were learning from them our army manners, so we observed with care the lines between one rank and another, and no longer used our first names in intercourse. Charles

was a good officer, and presently was promoted to a captaincy. A little incident in our army life is worth telling.

Late one Sunday our brigade was coming in from a reconnoissance, and had almost reached camp. Nearby was a stream where we often watered our horses. Just before reaching this stream we passed through the encampment of the United States Regulars, a division of troops under Colonel Buchanan. Charles's company was in my battalion, and we were riding together side by side, when he said to me: "I should much like to see Colonel Buchanan for a moment, as he is a relative of mine. May I go?" "Yes," said I, "but be sure to reach the river before your company, as you should see your men watering their horses." He went. The companies moved on in turn, and his company was watering as he rode down the hill. Colonel Sargent saw him and said to me: "Where has Captain Adams been?" I told him, and added that he had gone with my leave. Colonel Sargent said: "Put him under arrest. He should have been here." I replied: "Colonel, I gave him leave and am the one to blame if anybody," to which Colonel Sargent answered: "Never mind, put him under arrest. It will do him good," and he was put under arrest for a week — the limited time, unless an officer is to be court-martialed. Charles was very angry, but had to submit. He never forgot it.

He did his duty well, took excellent care of his men, as an officer is bound to do, and had the bad luck to see them badly used up on several occasions. When the campaign of 1864 began, Charles, by good luck, was ordered with his squadron to the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac as escort to General Meade, and thenceforth had pleasant service almost to the end of the war. In the last months of the war he was transferred to the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry (colored regiment) and rode into Richmond as colonel at the head of his regiment.

Many men enjoyed regimental service and were especially fitted for it. I doubt if Captain Adams did enjoy it, although he would have enjoyed staff duty. Just at the close of the war he was offered by General Humphreys an excellent position, but, for good reasons, declined it; so Colonel Thomas Livermore took it and served admirably.

By the way, here is a little yarn: In the last days of the war a deserter from a Confederate regiment came in and was questioned by Colonel Adams: "Why did you come in?" "Well, me and the lieutenant was all there was left of the regiment, and yesterday he was killed, so I thought I might as well come in."

Later Colonel Adams was brevetted Brigadier-General, as many officers were at the end of the war. Then he came home looking for an occupation, took up the study of railroads, and was at the head of the first railroad commission of our state, which was, I believe, the first railroad commission in the United States. This led him into various investments in real estate in the West, and presently he, with Colonel Morse and others, established the Kansas City stockyards. It was an excellent scheme, well carried out by these men. At about this time he wrote the *Chapters on Erie*, and interested himself much in the astonishing tricks of Gould and Jim Fiske. As you remember, Charles's pen was pretty sharp.

Later he was chosen president of the Union Pacific Railroad, worked hard over the task, and after a few years left it to more experienced men. He was not fitted by training or temperament for a railroad operator, and no doubt he was glad to be free again and to choose his own method of life.

As you know, Charles had always been greatly interested in New England history, and, having a very vigorous, excellent pen, he took up the study more carefully, and has written many excellent papers about it. He never minced matters, said what he thought at the time, reconsidered it and changed his words; reconsidered it again, and changed his words again. He was an Adams all through, but never hesitated about saying anything, and often was rough and at times emphatic in his expressions; but they were always strong and hearty and at the time meant what he said. But he was always open to conviction and ready to change his mind, and would freely say: "I was wrong. I mean something else."

Charles was a member of an army club of men, many of whom were brilliant and all of whom had been good soldiers, and he was "hale fellow well met" with them all and with many other men. As a friend, nobody could be more staunch, true, warm-hearted. It was rarely that he said anything warm,

but when he did speak to friends, they felt it all through. We were aware that he would do anything he could to help us, and we were very glad to do anything we could to help him. He was possessed of rare mental courage, keenness, power of expression, faithfulness to the truth, rare industry, restless energy. He was always searching for the meaning of things and the real nature of men. Last summer, meeting him just after the war broke out, I said: "Charles, what do you think of it?" Said he: "I always thought the German Emperor was a humbug, and now we are going to see whether it is true." He was always a hard hitter and hated "do-nothings" and "shirks." One of our men, who was a miserable soldier, had always taken care of his hide and stolen oats for his horse while in the service, and then lived in a soldiers' home, went to see Charles some ten years ago. He had been in to see me a few months before and asked for some money. I said to him: "Meyer, where did you come from?" He said: "Oh, I came up on the boat from the Soldiers' Home." "Did you get drunk last night?" "No, sir; no, sir, but we was convivial." On a very cold day he went to see Charles and asked him for money. Charles refused him, whereupon the man folded his arms and said: "Captain Adams, some cold morning I shall be found frozen stiff in the street." "Well," said Charles, with an oath, "I hope you will. That is all you are good for."

Charles Adams was very good-tempered and very kindly, and often as rough as the bark of a tree, but sterling — sterling in life, in friendship, in his expressions and in his work. His earnestness, his indefatigable power of work, his devotion, his truth, his racy language by voice and pen have left us valuable fruits and showed him to be a true descendant of a very strong, honest family, to which our country owes very much. He always felt the impulse of blood, and he thought of large things. To his last days he was fully himself — and I may end by saying: "Dear old Charles — how we loved him for his faults and his virtues, and how we shall miss him!"

TRIBUTE OF MR. CHARLES C. SMITH.

As he reviewed the course of his life, Francis Bacon wrote, "For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable

speeches, to foreign nations, and to the next ages." This detachment from time and place is not less necessary in looking at a complex and many-sided personality like that of our late President. We are much too near to see it in the white light in which alone it should be viewed. Our associates who have spoken so well and so truly this afternoon have, each and all of them, given expression to the picture as it impressed itself on their minds. What they have said or written needs to be correlated before we can see Mr. Adams just as he was. That must come later, even if the traits which seem so clear and sharply drawn now are a little blurred by the lapse of time.

I shall make no attempt to combine them, but shall only try to give my personal recollection of some incidents in his connection with this Society which may add a little to what others have recalled. Mr. Adams was elected a member at the annual meeting in 1875, and at his death his name was the fifth on the list of Resident Members. At first he did not take an active part in the work of the Society, and his first communication was not made until June, 1878. Early in the following year he prepared for the printed *Proceedings* a very just and appreciative tribute to the Hon. Richard Frothingham. From that time forward, for more than a generation he was identified with this Society. Though his name does not appear in the Index to the printed *Proceedings* of 1877, he was present and took part in the discussions at the special meeting in January of that year, on the question of enlarging the membership. There was a sharp difference of opinion among the members, and at the end it was agreed that only a slight reference to the meeting should be printed, and that the carefully prepared arguments which had been read should not be preserved. Almost twenty years afterward Mr. Adams gave here some reminiscences of the meeting; but he omitted to recall an amusing remark which he made in the course of his extemporaneous speech — that when he was elected he was a wholly unsuitable person for membership, and that he wished to keep out of the Society just such persons as he was. And he did not refer to the most dramatic incident of the occasion. The meeting was held in the Dowse Library in the old Tremont Street building, and the elder Charles Francis Adams sat behind the table quite near to the President. His

son sat near the door and directly opposite to him. When the vote was called for, the father rose and voted in favor of an enlarged membership. When the nays were asked to rise and be counted, the son rose, and, facing his father, voted against it. The nays had an overwhelming majority, and the question has never been raised since that time.

Mr. Adams was a member of the executive committee of the Council from 1882 to 1885. In the first year of his service he was appointed with Mr. Deane, then, and down to his deeply lamented death in 1889, our most prominent and devoted member, to publish an Index to the first series of the *Proceedings*. He took a strong personal interest in the matter, made important suggestions, and the work was a thoroughly satisfactory performance, on which the Society may well congratulate itself.

When Mr. Winthrop announced his purpose to decline a reelection to the Presidency after thirty years of brilliant and fruitful service, all the members recognized the fact that, whoever might be selected as his successor, the Society must suffer a loss of prestige by the retirement of so dignified and graceful a presiding officer. In this embarrassing situation Mr. Adams invited eight or ten of the active working members to dine with him at the house in which he was then living at the corner of Fairfield Street and Commonwealth Avenue, to consider what it was on the whole best to do. Of that company, I am the sole survivor. All the others — Mr. Deane, Mr. Winsor, Judge Chamberlain, the younger Abbott Lawrence, Samuel C. Cobb, William W. Greenough, Clement Hugh Hill, and the rest — have passed away. After Mrs. Adams had left the table there was a very full and frank discussion, in which every one present took part, and which lasted until nearly midnight. The result of it all was a unanimous agreement to recommend the nomination of Dr. Ellis to fill the vacancy. The subsequent history of the Society amply vindicated the wisdom of this decision.

In 1889 the Society adopted the policy of employing a salaried editor, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Winsor, Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., supported by his father, and Mr. Deane, then in failing health, as the outcome of a report made by Mr. William Everett to the Council some years before. As I was

in Europe all that summer I do not know whether Mr. Adams was consulted in the matter, but subsequently he expressed his hearty approval of the policy, and firmly upheld the hands of the editor. And when a vacancy occurred in the office he gave much time and thought to filling it.

On the death of Mr. Deane, Mr. Adams was elected his successor as a Vice-President. "You will be surprised," said Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., to one of the active members, "to hear who is the person I have recommended as Mr. Deane's successor, to become our future President — Mr. Adams." It was a wise recommendation, and was promptly ratified by the nominating committee at the next annual meeting. Five years later he was elected President. More than a third of the members on our resident list have been elected since that time, but all have had opportunity to witness his devotion to the interests of the Society and his eminent fitness for the office to which he had been elected.

Almost immediately after his election to the Presidency it became evident that the Society would have to face a financial crisis as the result of the completion of the new courthouse in Pemberton Square and the consequent loss of income from the part of the Tremont Street building used by the Probate Court and the Registry of Deeds. It was not less evident that the Society must sell that building and seek a new home in some other locality where land was not of so great value. The protracted negotiations for a sale to the city of Boston were conducted from the first by Mr. Adams alone, and of a characteristic interview with one of the mayors of that time, he once gave a very humorous account. The interview was creditable to both the mayor and Mr. Adams, but cannot be described here. In the search for a new site he at first carried on the inquiry alone, and afterward called in the assistance of a committee to give a final judgment on the fitness of the location. They first visited with him the corner of Beacon Street and Massachusetts Avenue, where the Hotel Cambridge now stands, and then went to the lot at the corner of Commonwealth and Massachusetts Avenues, which is still vacant. Neither lot commended itself to the committee, who then went with him to the corner where this building stands. "Here, gentlemen," he said, "is what I think we want." In this opinion the com-

mittee at once fully and readily concurred. The purchase was accordingly made, and after some unexpected and annoying difficulties had been adjusted in Mr. Adams' absence, the various transactions were brought to a satisfactory close. In the Treasurer's report, dated March 31, 1907, is a brief account of what was a substantial money contribution on the part of Mr. Adams toward the completion of the new building.

Only one other incident need be mentioned here. Mr. Adams had had much at heart the preparation of memorial editions of Bradford's *History* and Winthrop's *Journal*, based on the editions edited by Mr. Deane and Mr. Savage respectively. There was a wide difference in opinion among the members of the Society as to the expediency of undertaking the proposed publication, and the matter was rather warmly discussed in private and at meetings held in 1898 in the room of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Boston Athenæum. Mr. Adams and Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., took the leading part on opposite sides. Finally in November of that year the Council, in a report prepared by Mr. Adams himself, recommended that "the scheme so proposed be allowed to remain in abeyance until some future day when there is reason to believe it may be taken up on a basis which shall command practically unanimous assent and general coöperation." The report was accepted by a unanimous vote, and there the matter rested. It was not until November, 1912, that Mr. Adams saw the first part of his plan carried out by the publication of Mr. Ford's edition of Bradford's *History*, and he looked forward to the publication of Winthrop's *Journal* before his term of office as President should expire.

Mr. Adams' other and perhaps more conspicuous services to this Society are known to nearly all here, and it would be superfluous to enumerate them in these recollections. It is enough to say that down to his last appearance in this room, a month ago, he carried on the golden era of Mr. Winthrop's administration with no diminution of its brilliancy and its fruitfulness. To those of us officially connected with him here he has left only appreciative and gracious memories.

Tribute of Mr. Lord.

It is a significant and striking fact that in the twenty years which have passed since the election of Mr. Adams to the presidency of this Society in 1895, more than three-fourths of the members of that day have died, and of those members who took part in the April meeting of that year, or as candidates for office received the ballots of their associates, three alone survive. His election marked a new era in the progress and development of this Society.

He found the Society in its somewhat narrow and contracted quarters in the old building on Tremont Street. Its collections, as the council of that day reported, were kept "where they are not available for public exhibition and not even conveniently accessible to members of the Society." It was Mr. Adams who carried through, to the great advantage of the Society, the difficult and protracted negotiations with the city of Boston which resulted in the sale of the Tremont Street building and made possible the purchase of another lot. The selection of the present site is mainly due to his foresight and determination. When this lot was purchased and it became evident that adjacent land upon the Fenway was necessary for the additional security and convenience of the building, Mr. Adams, unaided, acquired the title to the property, conveyed it to the Society, sold the parcel on the Boylston Street extension, and as a free gift to the Society assumed the difference between the purchase price of the one lot and the selling price of the other, and the interest on the original purchase for the term of six years. I refer to this gift because it meant something more than merely its money value.

In the number, extent and variety of his communications I believe he has been surpassed by no other member since the first meeting of the Society in 1791. During his term of service the investments of the Society have increased in value from $103,000 to $510,000 and the increase in the number and value of its collections and in the number of the volumes in its library has not been equalled in any twenty years of its history.

Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.

Deeply interested in the financial affairs of the Society, he did not content himself with merely giving advice as to investments, but whenever he advised an investment he did what no other president in my experience in other societies has ever done — he gave with his advice a full and complete guarantee in writing of the security of the investment, to the end that in no event the Society should suffer any loss through him. It is worthy of notice that no investment which he recommended has defaulted, either in interest or principal.

His views of the obligations and duties of the Society, which he so often expressed with vigor and originality, were broad and comprehensive. Familiar with its history and traditions, not content only to go forward along the well-defined paths of the past, he early began to impress upon the Society the importance of entering upon new fields of activity, and through his efforts primarily the Society assumed the responsibility of the publication of the final and definitive editions of Bradford and Winthrop, and to him, more than to any other, is due the fact that we see upon our shelves to-day that edition of Bradford whose publication he so strongly urged, and will see in the near future that edition of Winthrop which he would have so deeply rejoiced to see completed. To the work of the Society he brought the influence of an historic name, a ripe scholarship, a keen and enduring interest, an extraordinary virility and generous and ever increasing contributions of time and thought and effort. His life and labors here are a happy illustration of the motto on our seal — *Sic vos non vobis*. It was for the Society he ever labored and not for himself.

Familiar then with its traditions and history, proud of its past, confident of its present, hopeful of its future, the name of this Society he so dearly loved was written in his heart. And to-day, looking back over the twenty years of his presidency, it may as truly be said of him as he said of his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Winthrop, that "He has ever carried the Society with him, at home and abroad, and it is needless to add that nowhere has it failed to be adequately represented."

To enjoy his friendship was a high privilege; to cherish his memory is a grateful duty.

Tribute of Mr. Thayer.

I should like to speak of my personal relations with Mr. Adams, to recall how, through his unfailing interest in Harvard, and his readiness to serve any cause which appealed to him, he came to give his powerful support to the project for founding the Harvard Union and to the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine;* and then I should like to record my gratitude for the unaltering kindness, and, if I may say so, friendship, which he showed me during many years.

But in this Society, where he was just completing the fortieth year of his membership, and in this building which we owe to his energy and foresight, and in this room where he has so long presided over our meetings, it seems more fitting to speak of his work in behalf of historical studies.

A good while ago I ventured to call him our Charles Martel — Charles the Hammer — and he did not object. And in truth it was with a hammer that he performed his most characteristic service to history and politics not less than to social problems. He broke up the thick, hard crust of tradition and the petrifying shell of convention, not because he delighted in wanton destruction, but because he wished to see whether what was inside was really alive or not, whether it was still or had ever been true; and being well read in the Bible, he remembered that, if the rock be smitten aright, living water will gush from it.

How many crusts his hammer smote! Not to mention the blows he gave in political campaigns, there were his assault on Greek, the College Fetich; his contention that it would have been better if the discovery of America had been postponed till 1630, when the Spaniards could have had no hand in it; his plea for erecting a statue to Lee in the National Capital; his justification of States' Rights; his criticism of Washington's generalship; his trenchant argument against the account of the battles by Herodotus of Marathon and Salamis.

Whether you agreed with his opinions or not mattered as little as whether dispassionate historians would eventually ratify his verdicts on facts; but what did matter, what was of paramount importance, was the fact that he broke the accepted

traditions and caused us all to think, thereby retarding that fossilizing process which threatens us all. Erudition is opinionated, but it is also timid: for Mr. Adams even the smiles of doubting pedantry had no terrors.

Others will praise Mr. Adams' positive contributions to history. I speak rather of his attitude. He used his hammer to let in light and air and truth — to break up the quartz and reveal the precious ore — a most necessary work and a noble one!

TRIBUTE OF MR. STANWOOD.

My acquaintance with Mr. Adams dates back beyond the time when he became a member of this Society. During the long and fierce struggle between the advocates of "hard" money and "soft" money, which began in 1867, with the declaration of General Butler in favor of paying the 5–20s with greenbacks, and which ended as to one branch of the controversy in 1879, with the resumption of specie payments, I was an associate editor of the Boston *Daily Advertiser* under Charles F. Dunbar and Delano A. Goddard, both former members of this Society. Mr. Goddard entrusted to me the entire conduct of the paper on the currency question. After the veto of the inflation bill by General Grant, in 1874, the hard money men took heart and began to agitate actively for a resumption of specie payments — the redemption of the greenbacks in coin. Many men of great prominence took part in the discussion on one side or the other. Plans in astonishing variety were proposed, ranging from Greeley's simple — simple in more than one sense — "the way to resume is to resume," to elaborate preparations and ingenious devices to avert possible failure. At that time Mr. Adams was asked by some institution — perhaps the Young Men's Christian Association — to present his views; and having prepared a paper he did me the honor to invite me to call upon him at his office in Pemberton Square to hear it and give him my opinion. I did so. It is not necessary to describe the plan for resumption which he proposed, even if I could remember what it was, nor the criticism, if any, which I made. But I tell the story because in the introduction of his paper he spoke slightingly, even contemptuously, of the plans that had been brought

forward by other hard money men — men who had been in the thick of the fight long before he entered it. I did criticise that, and suggested that it was not good policy to attack generally those who were on the same side with himself and as earnest as he. He replied that he had done so deliberately, on the principle that if one wishes people to listen to him the surest way is to pitch into them.

It has seemed to me that he has steadily acted on that principle, which involved absolutely independent judgment on every question to which he addressed himself, blunt frankness in expressing his opinion and indifference to adverse judgments. We all remember — to cite but one example — the almost irreverent way in which he treated Longfellow, and his "Ride of Paul Revere." He always did desire to be listened to, and if his method of securing attention differed from the ordinary mode, it was assuredly successful. Moreover, although it required him at times to pitch into friends, and to blaspheme great reputations, it probably did not earn for him a single enemy.

During the last few years I have necessarily been closely associated with him in matters connected with the Society and have been impressed profoundly by his earnest and unceasing watchfulness over everything concerning it — whatever would maintain its standing or contribute to its efficiency. In several cases where I have addressed him on subjects relating to the general policy or the administration of the Society, his reception of my suggestions has been uniformly courteous and sympathetic; and his death leaves in my memory none but the sweetest associations.

Tribute of Mr. Sanborn.

The career of our late President was long and varied, and extended over a field both intellectual and practical, with alternating succession of serious affairs and laborious researches. But to-day I confine myself to the aspect in which we, his brother members of this ancient Society, viewed Mr. Adams as our President. On another occasion I have estimated him in his ancestral relations — a connection unavoidable in the Adams family. For each generation had there to be

considered in regard to its ancestors, who had not only transmitted inherited tendencies, but a kind of family policy, in a manner obligatory on each descendant. Leaving that aside for this occasion, I wish to speak of the great effect wrought by this Mr. Adams on coming to this presidency, after a long succession of gentlemen very differently related to the noble art of history. Mr. Savage, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Ellis were variously endowed and trained in that art; but in one point they were wonderfully alike: they looked on historical studies as a fortress, to be held with the strong hand against thinkers and writers whom they regarded as the children of Israel viewed the stiff-necked and uncircumcised Gentiles they had expelled from the goodly land of Canaan. Such thinkers were outside, and were to be kept there. Few or none of the comparatively impartial historians, rising up in Massachusetts or New England, were members of this Society when I first heard of its existence and activity. Its members had taken their ply and understood their cue; a certain turn of thought or habit of judging, and a peculiar tone of expression, marked them as within the allowable degrees of affinity. To admit heretics must have appeared to them as heinous as to marry your grandmother, which used to be forbidden in the last page of every school Testament. Occasionally one slipped in as being, like Rev. James Freeman Clarke, the grandson of a Revolutionary officer. But when that calamity happened, and was discovered, the offender, if he had the feelings of a gentleman, did his best to conform to the prevailing fashion, and began to do penance for his former sin — the lack of partiality. At the election of Mr. Adams to our presidency all this gradually changed. Wrath and partiality had not quite ceased to be virtues in his eyes, but he admitted there might be different forms of partiality, even in the same family; as the French say, *il l'avait constaté*. Consequently, the long-barred doors were thrown open, and the access denied to Emerson for years — to Dr. Howe forever, to Theodore Parker, Elizur Wright, Wendell Phillips, and for almost as long as to Emerson, to Edmund Quincy — was freely granted to Colonel Higginson, to Monroe and Clement, radical journalists, to Mead, Rantoul, Sanborn and to others who by the old rule would have been excluded. This was the general result

of the presidency of Mr. Adams; not that these new persons agreed with him in opinion at all points, but because he understood how to get history written. Clio, the Muse of History, is by definition a listener; that is her function, and she must not have one ear stopped up by any whim of personal dislike or personal favor. She must hear what all have to say; but she seems to have herself a preference for historians who find fault with their age and country. The best ones have usually done so, and the conspicuous single instance, up to the present world war, is Tacitus, as a writer in the London *Nation* has lately pointed out. At any rate, it is by the statement and comparison of alleged facts and motives that all good history is finally produced. What fear would hide, wrath cover up with invective, partiality screen from inquiry and superficial rhetoric would ignore, must all be taken into account by the historian. For opening this one limited arena to all persons, as occasion serves, we are indebted to the second Charles Francis Adams. And he showed us by his persistent example how the grain of history is threshed out by the flail of conflicting opinion.

Tribute of Mr. Rhodes.[1]

No one but a many-sided man like Mr. Adams himself could do justice to his many and various activities. A true appreciation of him must come from a consolidation of a number of papers, each written by a man who knew him in a particular phase. So it falls to me to say something of his work in history and literature; and I may further specialize by confining myself pretty closely to his labor on the Civil War period.

No one need hesitate to pronounce Charles Francis Adams a great historical writer. He had the power of investigation. He knew the materials of his subject and that the truth could not be arrived at without dry-as-dust plodding, and this he was willing to undergo. As he advanced in years and felt his rare power of generalization and presentation, he appreciated that he must have help in compassing the drudgery, and he had at hand efficient aid. Mr. Worthington C. Ford, coming to Boston to take the position of editor of the Massachusetts

[1] The tributes of Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Seaver and Mr. Ford were, on account of the lateness of the hour, not read.

Historical Society, proved a worthy assistant, helping Adams personally when leisure served and developing a system of search and aid of great value. This systematic work may be perceived in Adams' later printed articles, and, had not he come to an untimely end, would have shown itself in the thorough biography of his father, on which he was engaged. American history has suffered a great loss in that he did not live to complete his father's life, in which the story of our diplomacy in connection with Great Britain during the Civil War would have been exhaustively related. No one could do it so well as he could have done it, and no one after him can live in the atmosphere of the Civil War as he did when he immersed himself in the subject.

It is the essence of the profession that most writers die leaving unfinished important tasks. Nevertheless, Mr. Adams has left enough for his enduring reputation. The biography of his father in the American Statesmen Series, a volume of 402 pages, is a literary and historical jewel. From May 1, 1861 (on page 147), when Charles Francis Adams started for England, the book may be read at one long sitting, and I know no novel that is more interesting. But it is a history dealing with facts and a history the proportions of which are perfect. I do not envy the American who can read the chapter "A Bout with the Premier" without a feeling of satisfaction that our Yankee diplomat got the better of the trained and experienced Palmerston, and that our Yankee preserved his dignity and felt all through the troubled episode that he was guarding his country's honor as well as his own. Adams exhibits true historical eloquence in telling the story how more than once Great Britain was on the eve of acknowledging the Southern Confederacy and how strongly Southern was the sentiment of the English higher and governing classes. One can never weary of reading his chapter on the Emancipation Proclamation, "one of the great events of the century," he terms it; and he presents the unsympathetic comments of the leading London journals in a forcible manner.

Mr. Adams possessed in an eminent degree the quality of historic divination. When time failed him to go through much of the vast material that confronts every student of modern American history, he had often the faculty of arriving at cor-

rect conclusions. This was partly due to his clear appreciation, his brushing away extraneous considerations and with Greek precision going straight at his mark. Joined to these necessary qualities of a historian, he possessed a pungent, attractive style. He was, in short, a literary artist. This is shown in the biography of his father, and also in the life of Richard H. Dana. Dana, a master of the art of narration, left a diary and many private letters, and, whenever possible, Mr. Adams let him tell his own story, joining the parts together by necessary comment: the result is a fascinating book.

Mr. Adams' scientific handling of materials is signally shown in an essay, "The Treaty of Washington," published in the volume entitled *Lee at Appomattox*. Having the manuscript papers of Hamilton Fish at hand (though under restrictions as to their complete use), and studying well the accessible material, he gave as an introduction a brief account of Great Britain's breaches of neutrality during the Civil War. This he followed with a full story of the negotiation of the treaty of Washington. It is a masterly paper, that could not have been written without a thorough acquaintance with the subject and a basic knowledge of international law. Showing sympathetically Hamilton Fish's great service, the conclusion may be easily drawn that Fish was one of our great Secretaries of State.

The Saturday *Evening Transcript* gave a list of eleven publications of Mr. Adams, some of which were in two volumes. This is prodigious work by a busy man of multifarious activities. It was a remark of Bagehot that the men who know the most do not have time to write books. Mr. Adams was an exception. On his writing he brought to bear the effect of his wide intercourse with men of the world and his knowledge of society at home and in England. It is worth noting that the author who seems to have influenced him most is Shakespeare.

Few writers have criticised England's attitude to the North during the Civil War more sharply than he; but Adams liked Englishmen and Englishmen liked him. It was a graceful invitation that Oxford University sent to him to deliver a course of lectures on American History. He responded to this with four lectures given during the Easter and Trinity terms of 1913. These were published by the Clarendon Press under

the title of *Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity*, his last published book. The University of Oxford honored itself and him by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Letters.

Twenty years president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, his devotion to that Society was sublime. He was a wonderful presiding officer, at times effacing self, witty as the occasion served, positive in urging forward the proceedings, and always courteous. "We shall not look upon his like again." His own papers that he read to the Society from time to time were entertaining and valuable; he was an excellent reader in the way of making telling points and in the indulgence of his native power of criticism. Perhaps we of the Society may be pardoned for recalling that his great predecessors, Herodotus and Tacitus, read orally their historical disquisitions. So far as I know, Mr. Adams' greatest achievement in this line was during the meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston in 1912, when he read a paper on the fight between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*. Even the dry record of the proceedings has it, "a stirring paper." It took the audience off its feet and I feel sure that if a cheer had been called for, the "peace men" would have joined in a hurrah for the American Navy.[1]

Mr. Adams honored me with his friendship. From his devotion to this Society and my interest in it, from sympathetic aims and tastes, we became as intimate as is possible for acquaintances made after middle age. Naturally I got more from him than he did from me. His companionship was educational and inspiring. He had a restless mind, vast intelligence and an eager mental curiosity. There were doubtless subjects on which he could not talk, but I never found them. As I think of our railway rides, of our many dinners, of hours spent together in the country, I feel that I have lost a worthy schoolmaster, a man who was willing to impart to me his deep knowledge of the world. What made his conversation and small offhand speeches fascinating was the manner in which he turned matters over in his mind so that these were really the result of profound thinking. He loved to dine out, and was ever a welcome guest, for he had the idea that he

[1] To this point Mr. Rhodes' tribute appeared in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, March 23, 1915.

must play his part to make the dinner thoughtful, pleasant or merry. As host without apparent effort he made you feel at ease by some timely jest or by touching upon something that was uppermost in your mind. He was not a cosmopolitan in the sense of knowing all Europe; but he knew this country, the West as well as the East, and also England. Fully American in sentiment and English in manner, he disliked the *tête à tête* conversation into which most of our dinners drift. Let the talk be general, he said, talk to the centre of the table as do the French, "fire and fall back." His manner was brusque, but to those who knew him well, in no way repellent. His intimate friends all agree that he had a kind heart; those less intimate could not mistake his many considerate acts.

It so chanced that during the past five months I saw much of him, and though very sad on account of the European war he seemed especially kind. Meeting twice in New York we went on one occasion to a dinner of the American Academy of Arts and Letters at President Butler's house, and after dinner during the brilliant reception that followed I could not help thinking that Mr. Adams was fully as much the lion as Monsieur Brieux who had brought the greeting of the French Academy. Everyone wanted to see Mr. Adams, and I, so to speak his keeper, had difficulty in persuading him to return to our club at the proper hour for a man of seventy-nine. Twice we breakfasted together, and when two men take the morning meal in common their minds seem to expand. At all events Mr. Adams talked eloquently and his subject was the European war. Ascertaining that I was going to look at the Altman paintings, he stopped over a train and went with me to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The visit showed me a phase of his culture I had not before seen. Familiar with the collection, he was an admirable cicerone and gave me an enjoyable hour. But he wanted to linger, the color fascinated him. I had wondered at his excellent remarks at different times in this Society on sculpture and painting, but I wondered no longer, as I was that morning impressed with another trait which made for his refinement of soul.

Mr. RHODES read a letter from Viscount Bryce:

HINDLEAP, FOREST ROW, SUSSEX, March 26, 1915.

MY DEAR RHODES, — We are deeply grieved to hear of the departure of our friend, Charles Francis Adams, and wish to tell you and through you any of our common friends of the Massachusetts Historical Society, how sincerely we join in their sorrow for the common loss we have sustained in the death of the President of the Society, who was also an ornament of American letters. I had seen much of him in Washington, and have been corresponding with him since; and had become very much attached to him, admiring his unquenched interest in historical study, his love of truth, and the width of his intellectual range of vision. At the age I have reached, and which you will after a time approach, one feels a sensible void when an old friend and ardent fellow student is taken away. Always sincerely yours,

BRYCE.

FROM VISCOUNT BRYCE TO THE SOCIETY.

HINDLEAP, FOREST ROW, SUSSEX, April 16th, 1915.

MY DEAR SIR, — May I be permitted to express to you the deep sorrow which I feel, as doubtless do all the members of the Historical Society who were privileged to enjoy his friendship, at the death of our late President? Mr. Charles Francis Adams was an admirable representative of the characteristic qualities of the men of Massachusetts in his independence and uprightness, in the vigour of his thought and his power of forcibly expressing it. It was my good fortune to see a good deal of him in Washington in the years from 1909 to 1913 and since then to receive him as my guest here, and the better I knew him the more was I impressed by his sterling intellectual honesty and by the largeness of his views on historical questions. He was engaged while in England in collecting materials for a complete life of his distinguished father, which would have become in substance a history of the relations between the United States and Great Britain during the Civil War, and would have thrown some fresh light on the Civil War itself. I greatly fear he may not have been able to complete it. If this be so, the loss will be a grievous one, for the thoroughness of his knowledge was equalled only by his penetration and his judgment. We may all be proud to have had such a President, whose memory we can cherish with affection and respect. Believe me, Faithfully yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

From Sir Sidney Lee.

108A, Lexham Gardens, Kensington, W.
London, England, 26 March, 1915.

Dear Mr. Ford, — I have read with very deep regret the announcement of the death of Mr. Charles Francis Adams. As a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society — a distinction of which I am proud — I involuntarily turn my thoughts to the Society, and desire to express to you and to the other members of the Society my sense of the loss which the death of the President entails. In the two recent years, 1913 and 1914, it was my good fortune to see Mr. Adams pretty frequently in London, where you were his companion. I was deeply impressed and charmed by his social vivacity, and by the energetic zeal with which he was pursuing historical research. He bore his years so lightly that I never regarded him as an old man, and his literary work, which I studied closely as it was published in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Society and elsewhere, bore marks of freshness which one does not associate with age.

I trust that the researches on which he was lately engaged had advanced sufficiently to make their publication possible.

The latest letter which I received from him reached me at the beginning of this year, and I was much cheered by the heartiness of his sympathy with us all in England in the struggle in which we are engaged. I shall always cherish his memory with affectionate respect.

I shall be glad if you would communicate my sincere regret to members of Mr. Adams's family, as well as to the officers and members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

I am, with kind regards, Yours very truly,

Sidney Lee.

From Sir George Otto Trevelyan.

Welcombe, Stratford on Avon, March 29, 1915.

Dear Sir, — I have learned, with deep feeling, of the death of Mr. Charles Francis Adams. It has been my singular fortune — at a time of life when a man's intimate circle, generally speaking, begins to narrow — to have come into close relations with Americans whose friendship was a source to me of rare pride and pleasure. My intimacy, indeed, with Mr. Henry Adams goes back to the days of our early youth, when he was the secretary to his father in London during the famous years from 1861 onward; but my intimacy with your lamented President was an acquisition of much later date.

I need not dwell upon the privilege of being on familiar terms with the representatives of such a family, and such a name; but I cannot forbear referring to the special attraction exercised over me by Mr. Charles Adams's living and ever-present interest in history, and (above all,) in military history. A brave and able soldier in critical times and scenes, he had the passionate love for whatever was bright and striking in the history of the past. Those feelings gave zest and purpose to all his movements. The first time that he visited us at our Northumberland home his central object was to inspect the field of Otterburn — a very different battle, (it may be said in passing,) in its issue and circumstances from that which is idealized in the later ballad of Chevy Chase. On his next visit he devoted a long day to Flodden; and two years ago, when he stayed with us here in Warwickshire, I think he was more struck by the beautiful distant view of the point of the ridge, over which the Royal army on the 23d of October, 1642, descended to the battle of Edgehill, even than by the sight of Stratford spire, or the Charlecote deer-park.

Of the extraordinary variety, acuteness of observation, and play of strong human feeling, that pervade his detached writings of late years, it is unnecessary to speak. I owe them much, and their appearance was an unfailing cause of constant pleasure. But I cannot forbear to pay a humble tribute to the peculiar excellence of the short biography of his father, published in 1900. The charm of proportion — in all forms of art perhaps the most vital element — is there exemplified in a remarkable manner. The rapid, lucid, and vivid account of the first fifty years, which covers the first hundred pages; the more full and detailed narrative of the busy and eventful period when the great American envoy did so much to preserve our two nations from a desolating and dividing war; and the few solemn, quiet pages in which the evening of a long life is sketched — are what biography ought to be, and what biography in most cases is not. That book seems to me the product of a true historical faculty, enlivened and inspired by a filial and family consciousness which had nothing about it except what was noble, and thrice, and four times, justified.

Renewing once more my expression of heartfelt sorrow over our common loss, I remain, Yours very sincerely,

George Otto Trevelyan.

Tribute of Mr. Seaver.

Mr. Adams was for many years actively interested in education, and his services in that field merit due recognition.

His treatment of educational questions was always vigorous,

often drastic. He met with dissent and opposition, which he seemed to relish; but he compelled attention and set people a-thinking. His unsparing arraignment of schools or college for wrong aims or poor results betokened no hostility, but rather the sincere desire of a public-spirited citizen to help make things better — and that speedily.

He began with the public schools of Quincy. Having been elected a member of the school committee of that town, he subjected the schools to a searching investigation and set forth their defects with unsparing frankness. The public schools of Quincy at that time were much like those of other towns — inferior to some, perhaps, and superior to some, but on the whole fairly typical of all. Mr. Adams' drastic criticisms, therefore, were felt to be no less applicable throughout the Commonwealth than they were in his own town. Public discussion soon became lively and earnest. There was an educational revival in Massachusetts.

Mr. Adams had a remedy to propose. He would reform the schools as he would a factory or a railroad by placing them under the superintendence of an expert — clothed with power and held responsible for results. Members of a school committee, though having power, were not experts. A well-qualified superintendent of schools was the prime necessity.

In Quincy such a superintendent was appointed, given a secure tenure of office for five years, freely entrusted with the whole administration of the schools and held responsible in a general way for results. This was a very radical proceeding for that time.

When this reform had been in operation for awhile, Mr. Adams made a report on the results. This report was read from one end of the country to the other. The Quincy System, so called, at once acquired a national renown. Hundreds, nay even thousands of visitors came from all over the country to see the wonderful things that were done in the reformed Quincy schools.

As to the new methods of teaching that had been introduced, estimates varied from enthusiastic admiration to doubtful approval; still, great improvement in results had to be recognized, particularly in the primary grades.

But the most important public benefit resulting from this

Quincy experiment was a widespread conviction that the best way to redeem the deteriorated schools of a town is to put them under the management of a professional expert, give him ample power, protect him from undue interference and hold him responsible for results.

Laws proposed for enabling towns and groups of the smaller towns to do this were strongly advocated by Mr. Adams, who meanwhile had become a member of the State Board of Education. Most of the existing legislation on this subject originated at that time.

The famous Phi Beta Kappa oration, delivered in 1883, and entitled "A College Fetich," was a forcible assault on the position held by Greek at that time in the curricula of school and college. There is good reason for believing that Mr. Adams' motive in delivering this attack was strategic rather than judicial. He held a brief. There were at that time persons who advocated the application of the elective principle to the requirements for admission to college. Beside the one old gate admitting candidates qualified in Greek, Latin and mathematics, other new gates were desired admitting students qualified in other subjects. The great objection was that then it would be possible to obtain the bachelor of arts degree without studying Greek, and so the study of that language would fall into neglect. Mr. Adams was one of those who advocated elective requirements for admission to college. Another, who had been asked to read the oration before its delivery, remarked that it seemed unnecessary to depreciate the study of Greek; the object was not to turn anyone away from that study, but only to open the way into college for youth well trained in other studies; and there was moreover a risk that our desire for a change might be regarded as growing out of hostility to Greek in itself.

"But you see," replied Mr. Adams, "Greek is the rallying point, the chief fortress, of our opponents. If that can be carried by assault and destroyed, the ground will then be clear for any desirable arrangements." The forcible attack was made, a profound sensation was created, the Greek question was debated everywhere as if it were a matter of life and death; but in due time the elective requirements for admission to college were adopted, and Greek appears to have suffered no

damage from the change, but rather to have gathered considerable benefit.

At a later time in his life Mr. Adams appears to have revised his opinions as to the educational value of Greek. He went further and took a leading part in the reaction that has been running against the elective system during recent years. Once a desirable reform, the elective system has been so overextended and ill managed that now it greatly needs itself to be reformed.

That preparatory schools were deficient in the attention given to the use of good English was set before the public in a startling manner by Mr. Adams in his celebrated reports on the Department of English in Harvard College. The headmasters generally sympathized with Mr. Adams in his purpose and deplored as much as he the wretched results he had exposed; but they felt that he had not fully appreciated the difficulties with which they had to contend, and that his standards of attainment in English were too high to be reached with the existing allotment of time and distribution of emphasis among the subjects embraced in the preparatory curriculum. In this case, as in others, Mr. Adams' vigorous attack on the existing state of things aroused a wholesome discussion, which in due time was followed by important improvements.

Other instances of Mr. Adams' beneficial activity in educational affairs might be cited, but perhaps enough has been said to indicate that his services to education are not the least among the public services which entitle him to grateful remembrance.

Tribute of Mr. Ford.

Mr. Adams had known Robert C. Winthrop as President of the Society for ten years; he had sat under George E. Ellis in the same office for nearly the same period. He thus had almost twenty years of example, of experience extremely valuable for his own guidance when he himself became President. The qualities of his predecessors were quite distinct. Winthrop, courtly, formal and polished, was a Mandarin-like personage before whom the Society burned incense, and in another age would have canonized. Mr. Ellis, a sidetracked clergyman, represented a genial, unforceful side unknown to Winthrop,

and this probably led to his somewhat grotesque idea of a social clubhouse (his own), where members could meet of evenings. Admirable presiding officers, neither took rank as an historian. Mr. Adams brought an historical instinct, but what was more necessary to the Society, an intellectual energy, united with a prescient sense of what problems the Society must face. In 1895 the hour had struck for making radical changes in the circumstances of the club; the conditions forced the changes, and the proper man was there to control the situation. He rejected entirely the idea of a social club; he insisted upon the serious purpose of the Society; he took the office of President seriously, as affected by responsibilities of leadership. In his presidential address of April, 1896, one year after his first election, he called attention to the fact that the Society was starting upon the second century, and with the deaths of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis chancing so close upon each other, its development had passed into the hands of another generation: it was "the difference, historically speaking, between a generation which drew its cast of thought and modes of treatment from the teachings inspired by the Mosaic dispensation, and a generation which draws them from the methods and science of Darwin."

The note struck in his address on taking possession of the new building also sounded novel. He could never be charged with underrating New England, and it was in that particular direction his best work had been performed. In the gradual development of the principle of the equality of man before the law, the passage of the Red Sea was in his eyes not a more momentous event than the voyage of the *Mayflower*. To the last the history of Massachusetts Bay possessed a strong fascination for him, as his comments on the notes to Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* proved. But Massachusetts and New England were after all only a small part of the world; and the reading by Mr. Rhodes, in January, 1896, of a paper on "McClellan's Peninsular Campaign" indicated the broadening field of the Society's labors. They were to be no longer limited to colony and War of Independence. Mr. Adams encouraged this broadening tendency and he was himself its efficient leader. A memoir for its *Proceedings* of Richard Henry Dana led to the two volumes of biography, the short *Life* of

his father and the studies in the diplomacy of the Civil War, on which he was engaged when the end came. His military experiences produced criticisms of the strategy of the Revolution and Civil War; his inheritance colored his views on Washington and on the British. With the accumulated papers of three generations of public men to draw upon, he made occasional excursions into that middle and not unfruitful period of American history after the treaty of Ghent. Travel suggested a description of the battles of Marathon and Salamis, of the condition of the negro in Africa; reading gave the annual summary of the leading historical events, with its attempt to weigh their future importance. His taste was catholic, his treatment broadly questioning and his conclusions by no means unchangeable. As Editor I came into intimacy with him six years ago, when he was seventy-three; the output of matter in that six years would have been impressive in a much younger man. Bringing the weight of a name and family tradition, he refused to remain idle, and in him the name suffered no diminution of lustre.

While widening the activities of the Society he never lowered its standing or quality of membership. The process of democratizing learned societies usually results in levelling down; something of fineness is lost in a gain of members. In 1857 the limit of membership was raised from sixty to one hundred members, to make the Society "stronger and more popular." Since that time no proposition to enlarge the membership has been accepted, and Mr. Adams opposed such a step. He wished membership to be an honor, a distinction, a decoration, something to be desired and valued as a recognition of historical studies, or in any literary or associated field. "In my judgment," he said, "the only thing we should distinctly avoid is degenerating into a mutual admiration society, or a mere coterie of antiquarians." By abolishing fees of every description, he made it a more democratic body in the best sense. The measure added one more unique feature to the Society and gave it additional strength in working members.

In this Society his activities centred for forty years, and to its interests he gave constant thought. For the past he had no vain regrets: much more might have been done, and errors of policy had been committed for which he took his full share of

responsibility. It was something to have lifted the Society above a conservative routine on to a higher plane of historical productiveness. For the present he saw much to change, yet traditions bound him, consideration for persons prevented change, the funds were not large enough and the time was admittedly not ripe. He wished to do what in him lay to hand on its best traditions unimpaired, but brightened and vivified by actual accomplishment upon broad lines of interest and sympathy. For the future he pictured a Society dignified by age, wise by experience, rich in membership, keeping closely in touch with modern conditions and rendering true service to the public, an accumulator of historical material, a recognized factor in historical research and adding steadily to its publications.

This required planning and patient waiting. The proposition for definitive editions of Bradford and Winthrop was made in April, 1898; the Bradford was issued from the press in 1912, and only those associated with Mr. Adams on the editorial board appreciate how much of its expression is due to his suggestion.

Suggestion conveys only a part of the idea to be given. Always questioning himself with conscientious thoroughness, he questioned others, while giving an opinion which was intended tentatively for acceptance. The expressed doubt clothed a certainty; yet he took suggestion and correction with good temper, never forgetting the amenities of difference, and inclining to treat the situation with a sense of humor. A positive manner and a speech vigorous and direct left no sting, even when giving correction. Impulsive and at times impatient, the resulting mood reverted to a questioning and calm discussion of conditions. He was thus ever a severe but reasonable and kindly critic, and when severe most helpful. As a source of information he was as unrivalled as generous in giving it. He sacrificed his own interests by liberal help to others, and doubtless he wasted strength in the occasional address or essay, while crying out against the exhausting labor. Fifteen years he counted thus filtered away; but fifteen years ago he would have treated the Civil War period in a far different manner. The mellowing influence of time gave opportunities to speak with greater insight, with wider

vision and with weightier authority. His independence saved him from partisanship and became his chief claim for recognition in his civic relations. Here he gave his best; and great as were his services to the Society, he recognized and appreciated to the full the loyalty of the Society to him. This is the inseparable feature of a truly great character.

MAY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, HENRY CABOT LODGE, in the chair.

Prior to the usual proceedings of the Society the President spoke briefly, expressing his sense of the honor conferred upon him in his election as the successor of Mr. Adams.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting; and called attention to a gift from Dr. Henry Kemble Oliver of the letter of appointment and instructions to Rev. Daniel Oliver, his grandfather, as missionary in the western parts of the State of New York, October 24, 1810.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported that Mrs. James Baker Brown, of Boston, gives to the Society a portrait of George Thompson (1804–1878), anti-slavery advocate, who visited the United States in 1834, in 1851, and during the War of Secession, arousing no little attention and antagonism by his outspoken attacks upon slavery in the South. This portrait, exhibited in the second anti-slavery bazaar in Boston (1835), was painted by Samuel Stillman Osgood by order of Mary Weston Chapman. It was sold to John Stacy Kimball, who had it lithographed, and then passed into the possession of the Garrison family. In this connection Mrs. Brown writes:

> About 1836 or 1837 my father, John Stacy Kimball, begged Mrs. Chapman to order for him a painting of Mr. Thompson by the hand of Mr. Osgood. On its completion my father purchased the portrait and hung it in his home. Not long after my father learned that an anti-abolition mob intended to take the portrait to destroy it. A trail of paper was to show the way to the house. One of those engaged, knowing my father's courage, told him of the plan; and he and a cousin started out after midnight, picked up the paper strewn as a trail, and, it is said, the mob thus missed its road. He gave the portrait to the Anti-Slavery Society, and when that

was dissolved, it naturally passed to William Lloyd Garrison, and from him to his son and grandson, and now very fittingly to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

ANNIE K[IMBALL] BROWN.

MAY 13, 1915.

The Corresponding Secretary reported a letter from Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

Announcement was made of the appointment of the following Committees:

House Committee: GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, J. COLLINS WARREN, and WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Finance Committee: HENRY CABOT LODGE, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and CHARLES P. GREENOUGH.

Committee to publish the Proceedings: HENRY CABOT LODGE, JAMES FORD RHODES, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The PRESIDENT, announcing the death of Curtis Guild, called upon Governor LONG who spoke as follows:

Curtis Guild was elected a Resident Member of this Society October 13, 1910. Owing probably to his activities elsewhere he never attended any of its meetings, and his only participation in its proceedings was a series of letters of the Presidents forwarded by him for publication (Volume XLVII. 463) and a gift of bound volumes of the *Commercial Bulletin* from 1859 to 1901.

He was born in Boston, February 2, 1860, and died in Boston, April 6, 1915, a typical Boston boy and a Boston man. Dying at fifty-five years of age, in the very prime of life, with a brilliant career behind him and the promise of continued usefulness before him, his death seems to us premature and is a deplorable loss to his city, commonwealth and country, all which he loyally and efficiently served and to all which he had become a familiar and an honored name.

He was a conspicuous figure all his life. He was a leader in his boyhood, in college, in manhood, in private and public life. He had a dominant physique, a fine open face, a gallant

bearing, and with these were a knightly and generous spirit and comradeship which won him liking and good will, alike from those of his own and those of opposite views in politics or what not.

A man of unusual versatility, he tended naturally to three avenues of public occupation — literary, military, political. At school and in college, and, indeed, always later, the trappings and the banner of the soldier attracted him. The flag waved no less in his heart than over his head. He commanded the Chauncey Hall school battalion. At Harvard he was a lieutenant in the Rifle Corps; and in the Massachusetts Militia he was a commissioned officer in the well-known National Lancers. He was the first volunteer from Massachusetts in the Spanish-American War and served as Lieutenant Colonel in the Seventh U. S. Army Corps, that of General Fitzhugh Lee. He was not merely a soldier of parade, but a genuine patriot, to whom the honor of his country was dear, and to be defended, if need be, at the cannon's mouth.

At once after graduation he connected himself with his father's excellent newspaper, the well-known *Commercial Bulletin*, a connection which lasted all his life, so that he may be said to have died at the editorial desk. He was a ready writer, very independent and outspoken in his views and influence in financial matters, conspicuously so in those relating to the recent developments and problems affecting our New England railroads.

In politics he found his largest scope and reputation. From the beginning he was an earnest and inspiring Republican. He had been distinguished in college for his readiness and ability in public and dramatic speaking. I remember delightfully witnessing his prominent part in those years in a Greek play at Harvard. With this gift he quickly began to gain reputation as an orator and participated in public political meetings, speaking effectively on the stump in the recurring campaigns. He became very effective and was always in demand in this line. He addressed our Italian voters in their own tongue. With his scholarly attainments he was also in request on occasions of a more literary quality, and he frequently graced the platform in memorial and eulogistic and educational addresses. He presided at state and other conventions, and was

a delegate to the presidential convention in St. Louis in 1896. He addressed large audiences in the following campaign in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, and in 1900 spoke with Roosevelt in the mining camps of Colorado and throughout the extreme West.

With this rapidly increasing political prominence it easily followed that he was elected Lieutenant Governor of our Commonwealth and served as such in 1903, 1904 and 1905, and was Governor in 1906, 1907 and 1908. This great office he filled with marked dignity and ability. Retiring from it to his editorial occupation, he was in 1910 appointed special ambassador to Mexico, and in 1911 ambassador to Russia, at which post he remained till June, 1913, when he returned home and resumed his newspaper labors.

He was a remarkable linguist, acquiring foreign languages with great facility, as indeed he was always very quick in scholarly acquirements. This experience of his in Russia made him, during the recent months of intense interest in the war now waging in Europe, a most interesting and informing commentator and spokesman on the relation of Russia to the conflict and on the conditions of the Russian people, their sufferings and their deserving qualities.

His death seems an untimely sudden extinction of a brightly shining light. So full of life, so overflowing with enthusiastic and helpful interest in all that concerned the public welfare, so ready for any duty, so inspiring to all his fellow-citizens! No wonder that, at his funeral, and during the day he lay in state in the State House Hall of Flags, unusual feeling was publicly exhibited and crowds thronged to pay him the tribute of their respect! He was at once high-minded and genuinely democratic. He was a people's man. He was of such a buoyant spirit that wherever adrift on the popular current he always floated high aboveboard. The touch of gallantry which marked him gave him distinction and attracted attention. And there was no stain on his shield.

Mr. DANA then said:

The late Governor Guild was a warm supporter of civil service reform, understood its needs in detail, and was able to accomplish no little for the cause in Massachusetts. In two of

his inaugural addresses he drew special attention to the needs of the reform, advocating the most up-to-date and approved methods, and was able, through his influence, to secure an increased appropriation for the Civil Service Commission and also legislation for thorough inspection of pay rolls of state and municipal service. In addition to that he vetoed two bills which were intended to provide backdoor entrances for parts of the classified civil service, and with great success he carried through the delicate task of instilling more tact and courtesy into the office of the Civil Service Commission. For, as Governor Guild said, it created enemies every time they accused an official of malice prepense who, through inadvertence, had broken some civil service regulation; and it did no particular good, above what could be gained by mere enforcement of the law, to make open accusations against those who had doubtless been guilty of intentional evasions. He drafted forms of letters to be used on such occasions, and thus did much to allay the unpopularity of the Civil Service Commission among officials. At the same time he did this without injuring the feelings of the Civil Service Commission and those responsible for its work — a task which would have been impossible for one of less friendly, frank and cordial sympathies than Governor Guild.

The other matter which I would like to call to the attention of the Society is the stand that he took in opposition to the efforts of the veterans of the Spanish War to obtain special exemptions and privileges in appointments to the civil service, such as had been granted to the veterans of the Civil War and which had done so much harm both to efficiency in the service and to the cause of the reform itself. He not only used all his influence against these special preferences, but vetoed a bill for partial preferences in June, 1908, accompanying the veto with a strong and able message.

The last time I saw Governor Guild was when he arranged a conference between civil service reformers and the leading officials of the Massachusetts branch of the Spanish War veterans. He had refused to compromise in any way and signified his intention of opposing the preference bill then before the legislature. By means of this conference we were able to remove some misunderstandings and show the bene-

ficent purposes of the reform. This, combined with his opposition, defeated the bill, which was not pushed by its friends with their usual vigor.

The opposition to these plausible measures not only took political courage in the face of open threats,[1] but required also what seems to me must have been hard for a person with the amiable disposition of Mr. Guild — firmness to oppose the wishes of so many of his old comrades in arms.

Mr. MACDONALD, a Corresponding Member, read "Some Observations on Religious Liberty in Rhode Island," which will appear in print elsewhere.

Dr. STORER called attention to two medals — fragments of history in the making — as contemporary documents illustrating the German hatred of all things British. The first is a medal of Von Tirpitz, grossadmiral, on the reverse of which Neptune, seated between the periscopes of a submarine, directs the blowing up of English sailing vessels, with the terse legend: "GOTT STRAFE ENGLAND," which I understand now disputes the place of honor in the German landscape with signs of "VERBOTEN." This, by the way, is, as far as I know, the first representation of submarines in the medallic art. The other medal represents a boat the mast of which is upheld by Sir Edward Grey, and in it an English admiral, with death's head, extending the flags of the United States and Holland. The reverse, with the motto "HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE," has the sentiment, roughly translated, "With the neutral flag the noble Briton, the all-powerful ruler of the sea, protects himself, after the customary fashion of pirates."

Mr. NORCROSS read the following letter of

GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT TO NATHAN DANE.

BOSTON, 3d March, 1787.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 18th ulto. I received some days since, but the constant attention of the House to business has prevented my answering it till now.

The opposition to our government is certainly much broken, though it is thought necessary to keep a standing force four months

[1] Notwithstanding these threats Mr. Guild received each succeeding year a larger proportion of the total vote cast for governor than the year before.

longer in the western Counties. The Court have been remarkably united though the disqualifying act called up old parties, and some opposition began to appear. In fact, this was almost too decicive a victory for the friends to government to gain, as it was likely to shut the door against opposition in future, a circumstance which I believe many specious patriots wish not to take place untill their favourite plans are properly in train. The dry tax is now so out of repute, and perhaps deservedly so, that gentlemen do not hesitate to say openly that they never expect to see it operate again except for very trifling sums. There has also been much talk about lessening or annihilating the poll tax, and some attempts have been made to execute this scheme, but they have as yet produced nothing.

As to the Continental Convention government have been very decicive about it. They at once agreed to the proposal and the following gentlemen were this day chosen Delegates: Mr. Dana, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Gorham, Mr. King, and Mr. C. Strong. I am sensible that much might be urged against this mode of revising the Confederation, but any thing that looks like bracing the foederal government, is immediately closed with here, so mistaken are the Southern States in their opinion of us in this respect. The House this day passed a Bill without hesitation, for laying a duty of 50 per cent upon all goods imported from any State that would not comply with the Con[tinenta]l Impost system within a limited time. How this will be received at the Senate I am uncertain.

As to the Insurgents, the Sup[erior] Jud[icia]l Court are ordered to Berkshire on the third Tuesday of this month, and will continue their trials as they come onwards through the *hither* Counties. Examples will undoubtedly be made, and in some instances they will be capital, though I wish some more flagrant characters had been secured.

We begin now to be amused with conjectures upon the elections. The votes I suppose will be much divided, and no probable opinion can be formed of the result. But I should suppose that the present Governour is too intimately connected with the governmental cause to be deserted, if this is generally approved of by the people.

Accept the best compliments of Mrs. Minot and our Family and believe me to be, Dear Sir, Your affectionate h'ble Servt.,

GEO. R'DS MINOT.

Mr. FORD read

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF BENJAMIN MORAN, 1860–1868.

Benjamin Moran was born at West Marlborough, Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1820. Nothing is known of his earlier years, and he made his first appearance in a public capacity in 1853, when he became private secretary to James Buchanan, then United States Minister to the Court of St. James. In 1855 Buchanan wrote urging his employment as a clerk, and with high commendation:

> Benjamin Moran, the present Clerk, is all that can be desired. He is one of the most industrious men I have ever known and seems to take delight in labor. Besides, his politics are firmly Democratic. I shall retain him in his place at his present salary until the end of my time ($800 = £165.5.9.) After this, he has an offer of £200 per annum from General Campbell [U. S. Consul]; but he would prefer to remain in the Legation at his present lower salary; and I think, *here* he ought to remain. By the time this can reach you, you will doubtless know who is to be my successor; and I would request that you should inform me, as soon as you may be able, whether he would agree to retain Mr. Moran at his present salary. I repeat, that in all respects Mr. Moran is an agreeable and useful clerk.[1]

In 1856 Moran acted as Secretary of Legation during the absence of John Appleton and until the appointment of Philip N. Dallas, son of Buchanan's successor in London, George M. Dallas. In January, 1857, he became Second Secretary, and in 1864, under Mr. Adams, First Secretary of Legation. In this position he remained until 1874, when he was sent as United States Minister to Portugal, a method of promoting him out of the service. For creeping paralysis had attacked him, and after a short period in Portugal he resigned, returned to England, and died there. He never visited the United States after leaving it in April, 1853.

On reaching London he began to keep a diary, making a promise of a daily entry, no matter what had passed before him. Such a record must naturally be unequal in value and strongly reflecting the personality of the writer. Occupying

[1] *Buchanan to Marcy*, June 8, 1855. *Works*, IX. 356.

for the most part a subordinate position, he did not enjoy first sources of information, and the light responsibility resting upon him gives little weight to his opinions on public men and measures. The value of his testimony is further lessened by a trait of character unfortunate in its effects upon his superiors and associates. He demanded full recognition as a member of the official family of the minister, and as full social recognition as was accorded to the minister himself. Sensitive to slight, whether intentional or not, he resented apparent neglect and gave vent to his resentment in the pages of his diary. The Dallas family are abused because he had not been included in the social activities of the legation;[1] and he criticises Mr. Adams because he was not invited to the dinners given by the minister, or included in the invitations to all court functions. That attitude colored his opinions of his superiors and kept him at the point of quarrelling with his fellow secretaries. He was second Secretary, and he felt the position, not recognizing the political exigencies which had placed others, and perhaps less worthy men over him, or the social etiquette, which laid restrictions on an assistant secretary not applicable to the Secretary of Legation. Visitors to the Legation, who did not show a deference to him or to his position, fell under his displeasure, and the bitterly personal quality of most of the entries in the Diary stamps the judgment as unjust and spiteful. That the quality of secretaries and consuls sent abroad at this time was not what it should be,[2] and that the American citizen in foreign parts demanded to see the Minister rather than a Secretary, offered conditions for cultivating an intercourse be-

[1] "This day four years ago I was commissioned as Assistant Secretary of the United States Legation, London, and in all that period my *chef*, Mr. Dallas, has deprived me of my social rights. Such a thing was never before known, as a Secretary of Legation being excluded from English society by his minister, and the act is dishonest. I am quite convinced that it is a deliberate act, and by the advice and consent of his family." (January 1, 1861.)

[2] "With every new administration we get a cargo of muddy fish in the shape of hangers on to our foreign ministers which makes me ashamed of my country. We had a visit this morning from one of this class, a certain Mr. Bliss, who claimed to be private secretary to Genl. Watson Webb, and who amused himself all the time he was here by eating a piece of bread. . . He has been an editor, of course." (27 July, 1861.) "I am of the deliberate opinion that there is not a single American consular officer, high or low, in the British realms fit for his place." (13 January, 1860.) "They are one and all a set of pompous ignoramuses, unworthy of public respect." (30 January, 1860.)

tween the two far from cordial. The haughtiness of the one, and the official character of the other, give free play to acts which on Moran's mind produced the idea of being slighted, insulted and neglected. His Diary must be read with this in mind, and his characterizations used with proper caution. He is most unjust on least provocation, and under the habit of thus criticising he shows an incapacity to admit worth and intended kindness, much less generosity.

One fact demands the fullest recognition: he was staunchly loyal to the Union. He could not follow Buchanan, his benefactor, in his weakness toward the rebellious South; he could not swerve from his loyalty when the Legation swarmed with visitors of Southern sympathy and rebel agents; he suspected Dallas of favoring the slaveholders; he went to extremes in judging the acts of the Palmerston government; he did not hesitate to speak his mind to those whom he suspected of disloyalty. He had, as the letter of Buchanan shows, almost become associated with Robert B. Campbell, United States Consul at London, a thoroughgoing sympathizer with the South; but he remained in the Legation, with fortunate results.

"The news from home is that the Republicans at Chicago have nominated Mr. Abraham Lincoln for President. This person is only a village great man, and is but little known.[1] The cry of his party is 'Honest Old Abe,' and something about the bare-footed boy. His nomination is a great insult to Mr. Seward, and he seems to feel it as such, if report be true" (3 June, 1860). The only later comment on the election was that there would be a "clean sweep" in the Legation. The more serious aspect presented itself when, November 23, he learned "the crazy tyrants of South Carolina are at their treasonable work of disunion." He thought them a "set of heartless, shallow-pated brawlers, and as great cowards as boasters." The "South is mad, but not so wild as at last advices. People here really deplore Disunion and a hearty hope is entertained by the English nation that such a madness will not be perpetrated." (3 December, 1860.) Nine days later Dallas and

[1] Lucas, editor of the *Star*, whom Moran described as a "sensible man, extremely well disposed to us," in September, 1862, expressed a very decided opinion against Lincoln, thinking "we select our Presidents as Catholics do their Popes — for their imbecility." (25 September, 1862.)

Moran stood before a map of the United States, and Dallas speculated on disunion, lamenting such a possibility. Buchanan's message was "strong against the North, rather encourages Secessionists and will doubtless do harm" (17 December, 1860); and early in January, 1861, Dallas took an exceedingly gloomy view of the situation, "expressing a firm conviction that the Confederacy was destroyed and declared he had lost all hope of the Government." (January 3.)

January 7, 1861, he learned of the secession of South Carolina and gave vent to his sorrow and prejudice:

> So, at last, by internal treason and cold, heartless selfishness, the great American Union has been destroyed. The work has been done by a few men whose lives had better been cast in state prisons than in decent society, and whose conduct is that of reckless villains. They are devoid of patriotism, honor, honesty and morality; are not republicans, and have crushed the nation on the question of slavery, a base system they wish to sustain. As is usual in the case of human misfortune we have no visitors coming to console us, and we suffer our sorrows alone. I am at times disposed to look upon this great evil as the work to a large extent of Mr. Buchanan, altho' I may in ignorance of his policy be doing him a great injustice. Time may prove him right. Still prompt action would have been a check to treason.

From this time he fails to discriminate in his suspicions of Southerners coming to the Legation. Daniel, of Virginia, a "lathy, tall, sallow, ill-looking Virginian, who has deception in every line of his face," suffered in description because he defended secession. (14 January, 1861.) Mitchell, a South Carolinian and Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, roused his anger by talking of the "social hostility of the North towards the South" and of the "rabble," meaning the free laborers at the North.

He is able to obtain no news from home save from the newspapers, but he was a highly prejudiced Northern man. Toward the end of April [26] the fall of Sumter gave him the idea that Anderson had "played the traitor" and surrendered by collusion:

> Now that the South have thrown off all disguise and have come out in their true colors, I am for war to the knife. The North for thirty years has stultified itself to keep them in the Union; they

have behaved like beasts in return, have outraged all decency, and should suffer. They have not a grievance, and never had, but have been treated like spoilt children. The present movement is to make slavery a Divine Institution, to establish a military despotism, and an oligarchy, and emanates from people who, while they have for fifty years been preaching Democracy, are the vilest Aristocrats on earth. The contest I have long expected and hope we shall fight it out. It really will be a war of freedom against slavery, of honesty against perfidy, repudiation and piracy.

The Legation offered excellent opportunities for studying human nature, and Moran encountered many interesting, and more trying characters.

"I often think the American Legation in London is like unto the Cave of Adullam; for surely every one in distress, every one in debt, and every one that is discontented, comes here." (11 May, 1860.) Foreigners as well as Americans stranded in London came for aid; the applications for passports were made by all descriptions of persons, whether entitled to the protection of the United States Government or not; artists, reciters, actors, sailors, seekers of English unclaimed estates, courtesans, ex-officers and would-be citizens, military adventurers, inventors — they formed a procession, numerous according to season, and interesting according to occasion.[1]

Judge Haliburton, "Sam Slick," showed a lamentable absence of humor in being "terribly afraid lest Louis Napoleon would invade England. (9 May, 1860.) Nast, a young artist, took out a passport (17 May, 1860), his citizenship being vouched for by Rawlings. Howell Cobb, a planter from Georgia, was "one of nature's gentlemen, both in figure and manners. His prototype in many respects was Prof. Peirce of Harvard University." (26 June, 1860.) A "curious looking roughly and deeply marked faced old man by the name of Longstreet," who "bored Mr. Dallas a while and left none too soon," proved to be the author of *Georgia Scenes*. (13 July, 1860.) George Augustus Sala he met (7 January, 1861) at George Francis Train's, a very French-looking man, with black hair, dark and fiery eyes, in a bullet-shaped head. "There is much nonchalance

[1] This shows that the character of the visitors flocking to the Legation had not changed in forty years. See *John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams*, March 25, 1816. *Writings of John Quincy Adams* (Ford), v. 544.

about him, and any one would like him for his manliness, although I suspect him to be ready for a quarrel at sight." John C. Frémont came March 31, 1861, to London and made a good impression: "is slight made, has a less prominent forehead than the pictures of him express; has quick, pleasant, grey eyes, a pleasing mouth, and generally good features. He looks more a man of action than of words, and is rather diffident in his manner."

George P. Marsh he saw for the first time, September 15, 1862:

He is a rather robust and stout man, and stands about five feet nine inches high. Judging from his appearance one would say he was not more than forty-two years of age, his hair being a glossy brown, his complexion natural, and his movements easy; but he is in fact above fifty. His sight is weak, and he uses glasses. As a conversationist, as well as a scholar, I found him entertaining. We talked for more than an hour, mainly upon affairs at home, and I soon found that he had no faith in McClellan, and very little in any of those at the head of affairs at Washington. He agreed with me that it would be a far greater proof of statesmanship on the part of Seward to do some useful thing at home than to be writing long high sounding despatches abroad explaining our defeats to be victories.

Charles James Faulkner, United States Minister at Paris, "about 50 years of age, 5 feet 7 inches high, has thick brown hair, a brown complexion, good features, a full forehead, and is a man of decided talent." (9 November, 1860.)

Of Carl Schurz, then on his way to Spain as minister:

He is a tall, slender, rather thin man, with weak blue eyes, blond hair, a prominent nose, firm expressive mouth, and a highly intellectual face. His manners are courtly, and altho' he has the bended shoulders of the student, he is a man one would notice instinctively in a crowd. He is quite 6 feet high. Mr. S. is clearly a man of mark, and will represent us both to his own and our credit. (24 June, 1861.)

June 24, 1861. The first [visitor] was a tall well-formed gentleman by the name of Thomas H. Dudley, a lawyer from Camden, N. J. He has a fine head and remarkably intellectual countenance. His hair is dark brown and wavy, and sets off his high and broad forehead with great effect, altho' at the same time concealing much

of it. He is as intelligent as he looks, and talks with great force. I remembered having seen him here in 1854, and had some talk with him about home. I was much gratified to find him a strenuous patriot. He is modest, refined and able: and would make a splendid European representative.

On April 19, 1862, a sensible young New Yorker, Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, now here on government business concerning the manufacture of iron plates for ships came and talked awhile with us. I liked him much, and his visit was a relief after the tediousness of a lot of dull bores.

George Francis Train, about to open his street railway "on Bayswater Road in London, meant to have a celebration and had his speech printed in advance, fully interlarded with 'cheers' and 'loud applause.'" (23 March, 1861.) Train had lived for some years off McHenry, but quarrelled with his benefactor. Moran saw that he was a charlatan and that all his English schemes were supported on brag and deception. (29 March, 1861.)

April 3, 1861, he learned of the appointment as successor to Dallas of Charles Francis Adams, a "son and grandson of Presidents, and both his grandfather and father were ministers at London." On the next day came a despatch from Seward instructing Dallas "in a very flattering manner to prevent as far as possible the recognition by this Government of the Southern Confederacy. It states that the new nation must be ephemeral and that no good can come of its independence. The way in which this has been received illustrates the effect politics has on certain weak minds. Philosopher Papa [Dallas] regards it as a trick to commit Mr. D. against the South, and seems to think it intended to kill him politically." April 5 the mail brought to Moran notice that he would be retained in office, and Charles L. Wilson [1] had been appointed Secretary of Legation. He at first attributed his retention to the influence of his friends; but later found that Mr. Adams had specially requested it, as a recognition for a service of eight years.

Wilson reached Southampton May 10, 1861, and Moran found him a "pleasant, gentlemanlike person, rather short, stout and good looking, with a fine dark beard and moustache."

[1] Wilson is said to have applied for the postmastership of Chicago, and received the appointment to London.

Wilson sounded Moran on Dallas's attitude, and was told that the minister was "at least a secessionist, but being a northern politician, he had n't the courage to take a decided stand any way." Wilson then stated that the United States Government wanted arms from the British Government, and Mr. Dayton had requested him to ask Mr. Dallas to make an application for them. Moran thought the request would be refused, and mentioning the matter to Dallas, found him disinclined to act. He then turned to the son, Philip, and told him Pennsylvania was all for the Union, and success would be a great *coup* for his father. The son convinced the father, and application being made, Lord John said he would consider it. (12 May.) Twenty-four hours later he informed Dallas that the British Government would not supply arms to the United States.

Temperamentally the two men could not agree. Wilson ate peas with his knife (8 July, 1861) and did not appreciate the beauties of English country, seeing a great waste of land in parks, and the possible use as building lots: "He is full of that crude republicanism that would destroy a village green and reduce everything to bricks and mortar." (12 August, 1861.) Just two months after Wilson's arrival his position with Moran was fixed.

> My fellow-secretary is displaying a temper by no means creditable to him. He is altogether out of place and seems a very quarrelsome man. His manners are coarse, and he has a way of speaking by no means respectful. His dress is slovenly, his gait awkward, and he lacks the necessary polish for his post. The appointment was unfortunate. He has been a western editor, a calling that has created in him habits far from refined, and he sits all day either reading newspapers or writing for his journal, and his desk and the floor are littered up with the fragments of paper. (9 September, 1861.)

I now give in chronological sequence the more interesting notes in this Diary:

1860

Saturday, March 10, 1860. I dined with McHenry [1] at Edwards' Hotel last evening, . . .

After the adjournment [of the House of Lords] we went back to the Commons and got seats in virtue of Mr. Dallas's tickets. A

[1] James McHenry. See Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IV. 122.

Mr. Vivian[1] was speaking when we entered: and altho' he hesitated in his speech the substance of his remarks was most practical and useful. They were discussing the French Treaty and he was replying to Mr. Horsman[2] on the Coal question. Being a heavy coal miner, he brought a tremendous force to bear for the Govt. which told effectually; and his speech was to me a great feature in the English system of selection of members of Parliament. These gentlemen represent all the industrial interests of the nation; and as a rule only speak when occasion demands, and then with force. One of them may keep quiet for years; but his time is not wasted. He at last strikes, and his word[s] fall like fire. I wish our Congressmen could be selected on the same principle.

Mr. Vivian is a man about forty-one years of age, dark of complexion, robust and good looking. He was followed by a Mr. Bentinck[3] on the Tory side who made the most personally abusive speech I ever heard. His remarks were directed against Mr. Gladstone, and had they been delivered in the U. S. House of Rept., a dozen duels would have followed next morning. People laughed and jeered, however, and things passed off in that way. Young Sir Robt. Peel succeeded, and made a semi-comic, semi-serious speech.[4] A reference to his father was cheered loudly. Mr. D'Israeli next spoke: but his remarks were labored and evidently not his convictions. Mr. Gladstone replied for the Ministry and made the best speech I ever heard from an Englishman. He is about five feet ten, dark complexioned, has full perceptive faculties, a good address, and, more than all, a musical and powerful voice. His head lacks firmness, and that is doubtless his great fault. In speaking he almost entrances you; and last night he lashed his opponents like school-boys. In fact, he played with them, and came off triumphantly victor. When he arose, he did so with the consciousness of success, and the opposition saw they were gone. Horsman asked to withdraw his motion; but the House refused and the vote was taken about two o'clock, leaving Palmerston over two hundred of a majority.

Monday, April 16. Yesterday morning I took a walk over to Campden Hill, Kensington, and after some little trouble found Holly Lodge, for many years the home of Lord Macaulay, and the place where he died. It stands right on the brow of the hill in a

[1] Henry Hussey Vivian, of Glamorgan County.

[2] Edward Horsman, elected from Stroud, Gloucestershire.

[3] George William Pierrepoint Bentinck, elected from Norfolk.

[4] "Sir Robert Peel has of late laid aside his usual buffoonery, and has been speaking with very remarkable ability and gravity." *Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville*, III. 285.

lane running into Lord Holland's Walk, not far east of Holland House, is a plain unpretending building; has an air of comfort, and is just situate as you would wish the home of a literary man like its late owner. It is somewhat Roman in style, is painted white, and has a large piece of ground attached. The Duke of Argyll has a house next door, and there are several fine villas near by.

This has been a backward spring, and on Saturday we had some furious gusts of hail and snow.

Mr. Dallas had a visit to-day from George Wilkes of the *New York Police Gazette*, and this worthy is to be presented. I remember him as a man no one considered respectable and no one would recognize. Now, the pink of American decorum and refinement will present him to the Queen. He is very civil in his behaviour, and I have no fault to find with his conduct here. He is about five feet six inches high, has a solid person, black hair, short black whiskers, and a thick moustache coming down at the sides of his mouth, the face and chin being otherwise bare. . . .[1]

A man by the name of Haseltine who has been trying to establish an American newspaper here for years was up to see Mr. Dallas about it this morning. He is associated with a Mr. J. Adams Knight, before mentioned in this journal, and proposes to bring out the first number of his publication — the London American — on

[1] George Wilkes, editor of the *Police Gazette*, a "mild intelligent gentleman," and a Dr. Rawlings, who represented *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, brought "scores of letters to scores of people," but Rawlings made a bad impression on Moran. These men came with Heenan, for the famous Heenan-Sayers fight for the championship. When the two were "presented," the *Times* sarcastically asked why Heenan was not also? Dining with the Queen a few days before the fight, the Queen said to Mrs. Dallas, "I understand two American fighters have come over to thrash one of our men." Mrs. Dallas rose, as is the custom when addressed by royalty on such an occasion, and said, "She thought there was no danger to be apprehended from the contest to England, altho' she only had heard that such a combat was to take place, but knew nothing about it." (10 April, 1860.) Heenan, the Benicia Boy, visited the Legation on May 7 (the fight had come off on April 17) and quite won Moran. "This is a joyous, rollicking man of 25, with a figure and head like Apollo. He is six feet one and a half inches high, has a round head, large grey eyes, good teeth, brown hair, a splendid chest, and is one of the noblest looking fellows I ever saw. His nose has evidently been broken at some time in his life, but at present there are no marks of harsh treatment, or 'punishment' as the ring men say, about him. He is truly a splendid fellow, and both good natured and boyish in his manner. This is so natural and apparent, so free and pleasant, that I suspect the title of 'Boy' was given him by his companions because of it." (7 May, 1860.) Thirteen months later Moran learned how the mob jeered Dallas as he went to the next levee, for presenting Wilkes and Rawlings, asking whether his excellency had any more fighting men to present, and if Heenan was then in the retinue. (27 June, 1861.) Rollin M. Squire, a professor of the science of Spirit Rapping, was also presented. (20 June, 1860.)

Wednesday. I have no confidence in the scheme, and so told them, altho' I wish them well.

Tuesday, April 17. The grand fight between Heenan and Sayers for the Championship came off this morning at from seven to ten o'clock in a meadow near the Farnborough Station in Hampshire. A large crowd of Lords, Commons, authors, etc., was present, there being thirty railway carriages to take them down. The men fought more than two hours and the American undoubtedly whipped, but was chiselled out of his rights by foul play.

The Countess Persigny causes a good deal of Court Gossip. It is now said that she had a misunderstanding lately in a railway train with Bernal Osborne[1] coming up from the country where she had been with many others at a Nobleman's seat; and getting excited seized the gentleman's hat and threw it out of the window. Osborne coolly retaliated by pitching her muff, worth a hundred pounds, after it: and the scene became very exciting. I have not heard the fate of the muff yet; but Osborne had to go home bareheaded.

1861

April 18. Dudley Mann, one of the Southern Envoys was here this morning. He is an old and very strong friend of Mr. Dallas, and came up under the pretext of paying him a friendly visit. His manner was that of a coward, as he both sneaked in and out. He had a half hour's conversation in private with Mr. Dallas, but its purport I did not learn. I suspect it was treasonable, and there was great indelicacy in Mr. Dallas's receiving him at all. This man arrived in town on Tuesday and in half an hour was in close chat with General Campbell, a man holding a position under Mr. Lincoln, and today has been here concocting villainy with our minister. Dudley Mann is sixty years of age. He is not more than five feet 5, is thick, short and rather heavy. His voice is soft and enunciation slow, with a decided Southern accent. He has a rather good head, but there is not much in him, being like most Southern men, a mere talker.[2]

July 24. The Hon'ble William L. Dayton, our minister to

[1] Ralph Bernal Osborne (1808–1882), of a family of Jewish descent and Spanish origin, who was named Ralph Bernal and added Osborne on his marriage to Catherine Isabella, only child of Sir Thomas Osborne.

[2] When Rost and Yancey reached Southampton, April 27, they telegraphed to Mann in care of the American Legation. The Legation issued passports to Americans who would swear to the fact of their citizenship, although openly in favor of Secession. Mr. Adams introduced the common-sense rule that all asking for passports or visés should take an oath of allegiance to the United States Government. (27 May 1861.)

France, is now in London, to see Mr. Adams about the negotiations upon the Paris Declaration of 1856. Lord John Russell has been quibbling about this business, and with an Englishman's usual effrontery now wants to lay the blame on us. Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton are not inclined to submit, and it has been decided to ask his Lordship to put his opinions of the question on paper. This will bring the matter to a point. I like Mr. Dayton. He is a tall, manly gentleman of great dignity, and yet as polite and courtly as the most polished peer. He has a fine figure, is a fine commanding man. Intellectually he would make a dozen of Frémont, and yet in 1856 he was second to him on the Republican ticket for President and Vice President.

In a visit to the House of Lords, Mr. Dayton remarked on the inducements Englishmen have for deeds of greatness; and illustrated his meaning by pointing to the representation on the panels of Cabot receiving his patent from Henry the Seventh, of Ralegh's casting his cloak before Queen Elizabeth, and of Drake receiving knighthood. A stable government like that of England attaches the people to it by making the good deeds of its subjects a part of its greatness; but republics too often forget the deserving. It is much to induce great actions that a man knows his service will not be overlooked by rival politicians. I thought Mr. Dayton in this expressed a feeling latent in every reasonable reflecting American, that our Government needs more conservatism and less looseness. (26 July, 1861.)

Wednesday, November 27. We have received a long note from Earl Russell, dated yesterday, in reply to Mr. Adams' letter of last Friday, announcing the revocation of Mr. Bunch's *exequatur*. It is to me a hostile document. His Lordship defends Bunch, and boastfully states that his negotiations with the rebels on the last three articles of the Paris Declaration were authorized, and that Her Majesty's Gov't will continue to make such like communications to both the State Gov'ts and Central Gov't of the South whenever it sees fit to do so, and it will not regard such proceedings with the rebels as inconsistent with its obligations as a friendly power to the Federal Gov't. This is an affront these people would not have dared commit, were we not in a crippled state. It seems to me that Lord Palmerston has deliberately determined to force us into a war with England, and I believe this has been his purpose from the beginning. All his movements point to that end. With a malicious wickedness his worst enemy could hardly think of charging him with, he has been playing into the hands of the rebels from

the first: and with the aid of the *Times* he has been disseminating falsehoods about our enmity to England, until he has succeeded in making the people of these realms believe the enormous lie that we are doing all we can to involve them in a war. He is a foe to freedom; and if he succeeds in his Satanic object of hostilities between the Federal Gov't and Great Britain, he will deserve the execration of mankind. His hatred of us is a boyish passion, strengthened by accumulated years. As he was Secretary at War in 1812 he feels that his life and name will not be free from tarnish unless he can expunge us from the earth, and to do so he must be quick. Age will soon lead him to the grave, and he must glut his ire before he goes. In case he succeeds in this mad scheme, he will have the whole English people with him, and they will religiously believe his monstrous imposition that we picked the quarrel. He is one of their idols, and being a Lord, all he has to do is to put adroitly forth a shameful misrepresentation, bearing the semblance of truth, and with the backing of the *Times*, it will take such firm hold of the public mind that ages will not eradicate it in case of war.

That such a result will follow I much fear, for it seems as if the demons of darkness were against us. At about half past twelve this morning we received a telegram from Capt. Britton at Southampton announcing that the West India steamer at that port brought news in there this morning that Capt. Wilkes, of the U. S. Ship of War *San Jacinto*, had stopped the British Mail Steamer *Trent* in the Bahama Channel, not far from St. Thomas, on the 9th Inst. and had forcibly taken Mason, Slidell, Eustis, and Macfarland out of her; and at one o'clock a telegram from Reuter confirmed the statement. That the capture of these arch-rebels gave us great satisfaction at the first blush, was natural; and we gave free vent to our exultation. But on reflection I am satisfied that the act will do more for the Southerners than ten victories, for it touches John Bull's honor, and the honor of his flag. At present the people have hardly recovered from the paralysing effect of the news; but they are beginning to see that their flag has been insulted, and if that devil *The Times* feeds their ire to-morrow, as it assuredly will, nothing but a miracle can prevent their sympathies running to the South, and Palmerston getting up a war. We have no particulars, but from what we hear, it would seem that Capt. Wilkes acted on his own responsibility, and not on that of the Gov't.

I telegraphed the news at once to Mr. Adams,[1] and fear it has

[1] Then on a visit to Monckton Milnes, a friend of the North. "I am indefeasibly Northern, mainly from the abominable selfishness of the South in breaking up a great country." *Richard Monckton Milnes to C. J. MacCarthy*, June 25, 1861. *Life of Lord Houghton*, II. 71.

not added to his enjoyment of rural retirement. It is odd that he never goes out of town that some thing serious don't arise to call him home.

1862

Tuesday, February 19. We have received a letter to the Queen from President Lincoln in reply to one from the Prince of Wales on the death of Prince Albert. It is evidently the work of Mr. Seward and never could have been written by one who had suffered a great affliction. To me it is in questionable taste, has a tone of complaint about it, and is tinged very strongly with politics — in a word is hardly respectful though intended to be thoroughly so. And then it is sealed in an envelope the black edging of which was the work of some clever departmental clerk, whose coloring was ordinary writing ink.

Thursday, March 6. W. E. Forster, M.P. for Bradford, intends answering Gregory [1] on the blockade on Friday, and I have [been] getting out some facts for him that he may do it effectually. I was up at this work until one this morning, and have been able to prove the very lists furnished to the British Gov't the most conclusive proofs of their falsity. This morning I breakfasted with Forster, at his house 18 Montague St., Portman Square, and afterwards compared with him our separate analyses, and got out some curious facts about the British blockade of '12–'15. If Gregory dares to touch Yancey [2] and Mason's [3] figures, Forster will demolish him. The *flat boats* that old Mason says ran the blockade at N. Orleans number 119, and I explained to Forster what these are. The list was evidently made up, relying on success from English ignorance of our geography. In the course of our talk Forster said he had seen old Dr. Lushington [4] the previous day, and he had told him that the blockade was the most rigorous ever known; but Forster can't say this in the House.

Saturday, March 8. Gregory made his motion last night for more papers on the blockade, and I heard his speech. He is a mean-looking Englishman, with a good deal of the demagogue about him, and speaks with effort. I should say he was 45, and about five feet eleven with a rather robust figure, deep chest, a tolerable head, thick dark hair, and a very unsatisfactory, undecided longish face. It was evident from the first that he had the House, a very large one too, with him. He dealt in generalities, blamed all the bad manners of the South on the North, appealed to the prejudice of the House,

[1] William Henry Gregory, member for Galway.
[2] William Lowndes Yancey (1814–1863).
[3] James Murray Mason (1798–1871).
[4] Stephen Lushington (1782–1873).

and talked about England owing us scant courtesy. His speech was not that of a statesman, but of a demagogue. Still he was heartily cheered, and had I not noticed the confident and reliant manner of Ministers, I should have been afraid his motion would have been successful if pressed to a vote. I was glad to hear him refer to the lists of the vessels that had broken the blockade, for I then felt Forster had him. He was followed by Bentinck, of Norfolk, who is a tory demagogue, and who contented himself by abusing the U. States and quoting against them Tom Moore's scurrilous lines on the slave owners at Washington,[1] alleging they were written to describe the North. He spoke to empty benches, but was a good deal cheered.

Forster arose and went right to the point. He is young in the House, but he is able and made his mark. Unfortunately the audience was thin, many members having gone out to dinner; but his facts were telling. Gregory left when he got through with his tirade, and went over under the Gallery behind the Sergeant at Arms to talk to Old Mason, Mann and McFarland, who were there, but he came back when Forster began. Thurlow Weed and Henry Adams were on the floor, and Wilson and I were in the Diplomatic gallery. We watched closely, and as Forster went on with his exposé, and reduced the tables down almost to nil, Ministers looked up delighted. Gladstone turned round to catch every word, Palmerston looked up inquiringly, Milner Gibson seemed convinced. Thornton Hunt,[2] now a rebel, had been taking notes during Gregory's speech up in the Reporters' gallery, but his fingers suddenly lost their cunning as Forster went on, and he sat looking at him with mouth open, clearly showing a conviction against his will. The thin benches began to fill, and the cheers were strong. In ten minutes it was clear Forster had killed Gregory, his motion, and the blockade. Baxter,[3] the young member for Montrose, was exultant and evidently unexpectedly so, and cheered both vehemently and often. The speaker went on calmly, showing that confidence which always stands to a man who knows he is right. He described flat boats, unravelled dates, made Consul Bunch and Mason give evidence against themselves, and ended with a short peroration to the point, about who wanted to break the blockade. I never saw success so complete. Everybody seemed convinced; and as it was late, and Wilson and I had had no dinner we left. Before going we called Forster out and thanked him.

[1] "To Thomas Hume, Esq., M. D. from the City of Washington."

[2] (1810–1873), son of Leigh Hunt and a member of the staff of the *Daily Telegraph*.

[3] William Edward Baxter, a merchant of Dundee.

We were told that when Lindsay,[1] the ship-builder, was speaking later in the evening, Lord Eversley,[2] who happened to be on the floor near the South strangers' gallery at that point, heard a loud cheer behind him when something harsh was said against Mr. Seward, and on turning round found the cheer emanated from Old Mason. This has damaged him terribly, as it was not only out of place but indecent, and if anyone had been so disposed would have secured his expulsion from the House.

The motion was withdrawn without a vote, and the *Times* of to-day says the blockade is perfect![3]

Sunday, March 23. Wilson and I went to Lady Palmerston's at 10:30 last evening and remained until nearly twelve. We were among the first arrivals at Cambridge House, and I had ample opportunity to look at the rooms. It is a plain structure in every sense. The hall, however, is very large, the staircase lofty and noble, but the drawing rooms are not so large as one might expect. A fine picture of Lord Palmerston, when much younger than now, hangs on the wall facing the drawing room as you ascend the second flight of stairs, but beyond this and a fine portrait of Lady Joscelin[4] in the refreshment room I saw no "family" or other pictures. After depositing our cloaks in the cloakroom we went up unheralded, and seeing Lady Palmerston I introduced myself. She is still a fine

[1] William Schaw Lindsay (1816–1877) was in Moran's mind, but was not a member of Parliament at this time.

[2] Charles Shaw-Lefevre (1794–1888).

[3] "*Thurdsay, March* 13. On Monday night there was a debate in the House of Lords on the American blockade, when Lord John Russell declined to give the papers moved for, and said that 'the policy pursued by our Government had been dictated not by expediency, but by justice, and that both sides at some future period would acknowledge this fact, and he trusted that within three months, if not sooner, we might see the end of the war, and he hoped that it might terminate in a manner consistent with the welfare and happiness of both parties, and a renewal of the old good feeling between North and South, and that they would consent to a graceful separation into two States which might be powerful and prosperous?' I don't think this prophecy on the part of John Russell was judicious, however likely it may be of accomplishment, and I see no probability of it. It is, however, remarkable that by the advices from New York the same expectation exists of the approaching end of the war, and Mr. Seward gives exactly the same opinion of its duration as John Russell did (ninety days), though by no means with the same result. Edward Ellice, whom I met at Flahault's on Monday, said he was convinced that whether the war went on or not, the Federal Union was doomed. Mr. Adams, the American Minister, told Flahault that the war would be over by the month of June, but with what result he did not specify." *Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville*, 4th Series, 28.

[4] Frances Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Leopold Louis Francis, fifth Earl of Cowper, and Amelia, daughter of Peniston, first Viscount Melbourne. Cowper died in 1837, and his widow, in 1839, married Viscount Palmerston. The daughter married Viscount Jocelyn.

woman, altho' probably sixty-five, and has a most decided aristocratic bearing. As Mr. Wilson came up, I passed on and was received by Lord Palmerston in his usual frank, confident and gentlemanly way, as he shook my hand. He asked me how I was, replied that he was well to my questions about his health, and after some other commonplace remarks went to receive Wilson and Henry B. Adams. By this time many others had arrived, and the brilliantly lighted Drawing Rooms began to assume an animated and even gorgeous appearance, the murmur of voices contributing in no small degree to the cheerfulness of the scene. Before the crowd became dense, many ladies and gentlemen were seated in conversation, but as numbers increased, the ladies only kept their seats.

The main drawing room faces Piccadilly, and another joins it at the east running to the back of the House. Crowds soon filled this, and among the many ladies and gentlemen here the beauty that attracted all eyes was the Lady Dian[a] de Vere Beauclerk, the handsome, slender, descendant of Nell Gwynne.[1] She has grown taller than when I last saw her, and is more animated, and more developed. Beauty is hers undoubtedly, and her splendid head, so gracefully and yet so naturally borne, well becomes her swan-like neck and elegant figure. Her hair, which she wears back from her temples in thick masses, is a beautiful chestnut brown, her eyes are expressive, blue and bright, her mouth small, and remarkably pretty, her nose aquiline and her chin, the perfection of its kind, being small and exquisitely chiseled. There were a number of admirers around her, but being the daughter of a Duke and the sister of a Duke, plebeians went not near her. Lady Joscelin, a daughter of Lady Palmerston, a lady of forty-two years, was the next in point of beauty. She is one of the ladies in waiting at Court, whom I have often seen during the last five years, but have never been presented to. Her husband died suddenly of cholera in 1854, and much sympathy was felt for her at the time. She remains a widow, probably for the purpose of devoting herself to her children, for marry again she might no doubt if she would. It is the portrait of this lady I have before referred to. As the evening advanced the company ebbed and flowed like a tide. In it there came many

[1] Her first son by Charles II was Charles Beauclerk (1670–1726), first Duke of St. Albans. In 1694 he married Lady Diana Vere, daughter and sole heiress of Aubrey de Vere, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford. Beauclerk's grandson was Topham Beauclerk, who, with his wife Diana, eldest daughter of Charles Spencer, second Duke of Marlborough, is frequently mentioned by Boswell. The "Lady Di" of the text was daughter of William Aubrey de Vere, ninth Duke of St. Albans and sister of William Amelius Aubrey de Vere, the tenth Duke of St. Albans. She married, in 1872, Sir John Walter Huddleston and died in 1905.

persons of note. There was Austen H. Layard, the exhumer of Nineveh, a firmly set man of fifty with a fine head; Sir Charles Wood, whose intellectual face would extort an ejaculation of admiration from a physiognomist, if he were in a laborer's garb, and the Earl of Shaftesbury, with his long and heavy bony face, low forehead, crisp hair, sinister eyes, and gaunt heavy awkward figure. The diplomatic body were numerous. Baron Brunnow, the portly Russian Minister, was in company with his graceful, calm, gentlemanly young Secretary, Subaroff. D'Azeglio, the Italian, was also there; and Young Tricoupi, the Greek Chargé d'Affaires. Among the crowd was Sir Henry Holland, and his toadeating qualities followed him even there. Henry Adams was pleasant and gentlemanly. Wilson was coarse and awkward, besides being the worst dressed man present. I observed that many of the nobles wore a blue or red scarf over their shoulder; and many foreigners had their orders. Early in the evening Wilson and I were standing by a table on which lay a paper. I suggested it might be *Punch*, and so it proved, the main caricature being Palmerston at the helm of a coaster in a calm in sailor costume whistling for a wind, while Lord John and the other Cabinet officers are lying idly around.[1] It struck me that the fact of the paper being there was as good a joke as the caricature itself. Palmerston clearly liked the thing or he would not have permitted it on his table for the amusement of his guests.

In this society the talk of the men was dull and in the dawdling tone of their class; while that of the ladies was cheerful and in a natural voice both musical and distinct. Why this difference? I greatly admire the manner of speaking of English ladies, but that of the men is simply childish.

It was nearly twelve when we left, and we came away as others did, without saluting our host. He was engaged and it would have been rude to have intruded. There was an ample supply of refreshments.

Thursday, May 29. I was at an evening reception at Lady Charlotte Denison's [2] last night, at the Speaker's House in the New Palace, Westminster. The dwelling lies back near the Clock tower, and is approached thro' a courtyard from New Palace Yard. It was after dark when Wilson and I arrived, and the grand Gothic staircase in the entrance hall was filled with beautiful women and famous men whose splendid dresses were thrown out grandly by the brilliancy of light. Many were ahead of us as we ascended, and some

[1] March 22, 1862.

[2] Lady Charlotte Cavendish Bentinck, third daughter of William, fourth Duke of Portland. In 1827 she married John Evelyn Denison (1800–1873), Speaker, 1860–1872, and created Viscount Ossington.

minutes were consumed in reaching the cloak room. Here we found a crowd of ladies chatting and jesting, and the buzz of cheery voices was delightful. The room is Gothic, as are all those I was in. We followed the crowd along a corridor to the south, and were announced to Lady Charlotte, a pleasing middle-aged lady, who was both gracious and cordial. A few words with her and then we floated into the ocean of life in the reception room, the first persons we encountered being "Bear Ellice" [1] and Monckton Milnes. Conversation was impossible and we passed on thro' the hot crowd. The beauty of the ladies, their splendid dress, and the black coats of the men, blended in contrast with the panelled walls of the room, with its tasteful decorations, and the oak ceiling with its carved pendants and ornate panels. We got over to the windows overlooking the Thames and the waves of that dirty current really looked like water in the moonlight. While here, a very respectable, but extremely black negro stood near me, and seeing Gerald Ralston at his side, I was presented to him. He proved to be President Benson of Liberia. I found him to be a man of excellent manners, of good conversational powers, and of moderate talents. In fact, one that would make a good impression anywhere, and who is no doubt a thoroughly honest man. He told me he was a native of Maryland, but had not been there since he was six years old. I noticed that but few persons spoke to him, notwithstanding the English love of the negro.

We remained an hour or more and went through several rooms. One, that at the angle of the building, contains the portraits of many of the Speakers, and some are very fine pictures. There is a beautiful chimney-piece in the next room, and much fine carving. The brown oak panelling, and rich colors of the ladies' dresses, would have made up quite an antique scene, had it not been for the presence of men like D'Israeli and Gladstone, who brought my fancy back to fact and the 19th century. I saw Mr. Denison, the present Speaker, and our host, but was unable to speak to him. He is a tall, raw-boned man of about sixty, with thin hair, inclining to grey, a long face with a large nose, a good head, and a countenance expressive of cheerfulness and good humor. Wilson got tired, because he felt like a fish out of water, as he cannot hold a conversation with any one of intelligence, and urged me to come away. We left before midnight, and just as we got into the Courtyard, the great bell in the Clock tower beat twelve, and his hoarse roar went booming sullenly on the air of night over darkened London.

[1] Edward Ellice (1781–1863), generally known as "Bear Ellice" for his "wittiness," says Carlyle, "rather than for any trace of ferocity," but really because of his connection with the northwest fur trade.

Monday, June 2. I went to a splendid fête champêtre at Lord Granville's, at Chiswick House, on Saturday. This is where Canning and [*blank*] died. The approach from Turnham Green is through one of the sweetest lanes I ever saw, overarched by limes for half a mile, and this was filled with one long line of splendid carriages on Saturday from three to six. We alighted at the splendid gateway and entered the gardens, where crowds of ladies and gentlemen were sauntering under the trees towards the house. The grounds are wonderfully laid out, and the trees and shrubs which are numerous, are so arranged as to give the landscape a finely wooded appearance, interspersed with open lawns and beds of flowers. Over these trees we caught a glimpse of the house, a Palladian structure, which peeped out coyly, a large cedar of Lebanon, with its dark branches, adding an air of dignity to it. Crowds of carriages filled the drive. We reached the door on foot, and passing from front to rear through a tunnel-like hall, were met by Lord Granville in the rear grounds. Here were nearly two thousand ladies and gentlemen in all kinds of morning and evening dresses, the Frenchmen mostly wearing evening dress and those queer little fore and aft hats now so fashionable with them. I met many persons I knew, and saw many of the famous whom I did not know. Among these was Thackeray. He is a man full six feet high, with a good figure, grey hair and a flat broken nose. A half hour spent here, sufficed for a general survey of the company, and Wilson and I went off to view the extensive grounds and conservatories. The place is a Paradise, and a man with wealth might make a visit to it the envy of every one. I would like to own it and have the means to live there and entertain my countrymen. There is a lake with boats, a bridge over this in the Italian style, temples of pleasure, and lawns, the velvet turf of which was soft enough for the feet of fairies. About these lawns ladies and gentlemen were sauntering, bands played in the groves, and little tents pitched here and there invited the loiterer to enjoy the flavor of delicious strawberries, ice cream and fruit. When we returned to the crowd at the house it had greatly augmented, and among the ladies was the Lady Diana Beauclerk, with a crowd of admirers, Soubaroff, the Russian Secretary, being apparently the most devoted. But the Lady Die is a flirt, and I suspect the elegant Russian was merely the flatterer of the hour, being too much of the diplomatist, even in his gallantry, to be caught by the bird-lime of the flash of the patrician coquette's fine eyes and her inviting smiles.

Chiswick House was a great resort in the life-time of the late Duke of Devonshire, and there he permitted those magnificent floral fêtes to be held which for years were the resort of the most aristocratic

society of London in the Season, and to go to which was the ambition of many a female aspirant for the fame which beauty loves to extort from the world of fashion. It is now the residence of the Dowager Countess of Granville,[1] who is a relative of the present Duke of Devonshire.

We waited until near six and got home with difficulty, every body as usual trying to get away at the same time. I noticed Pres't Benson there, but he was not much looked after by the company. The weather was very fine and there was nothing to mar the enjoyment.

Wednesday, June 4. This being the day of the Great London Carnival, I suffered myself to be persuaded to go to it. I got a carriage; and myself, Hale, Judge Thompson[2] and Goodloe made the company. We started about ten o'clock, and when we got into Clapham Road there was a line of vehicles three or four deep apparently extending for miles, towards Epsom. Many of those going were very respectable in appearance, and many were of the lowest class. In the tremendous crowd were the four in hand with its aristocratic company of young men outside, dressed in light colored costume, their servants being inside; the tradesman's open carriage, with its pretty women; and the donkey cart of the coster-monger, to say nothing of the smart barouche with its freight of richly dressed "respectable courtesans." As we progressed towards the race course, chaffing began, but I heard but little that was witty. The jokes were nearly all stale and seldom good. The best I heard was got off by one of a lot of rough fellows in a sort of dog-cart at the expense of a company of young fellows on a four-in-hand dressed in ash-colored clothes and light hats. He was sitting with an impudent unconscious sort of air on the side of his cart, with hat half over his eyes, sucking a pipe; and without raising his eyes or giving any signs of having seen the subjects of his fling, cried out to a companion with, "I say, Bill, there's a lot o' bakers about, I smell the dough." The swells themselves enjoyed the fun, and whipped away in good humor. There was much vulgarity, and the whiskey began to work as we neared the Course, and by the time we reached Epsom the usual stiffness of John Bull had given way to uproarious familiarity. But this increased on the ground, and shall be described hereafter. Our horses toiled up a broad flat incline after leaving the town of Epsom, which lay exposed to the hot sun, and was there almost one mass of vehicles and human beings, dust begrimed and weary. The race ground is rolling, and over it for a mile or more,

[1] Lady Harriet Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of the Duke of Devonshire.
[2] James Thompson (1806–1874) of Pennsylvania.

perched on hills, or lining the sides of hollows, were thousands upon thousands of men and women, sitting on the ground, walking about or remaining in the carriages, of which there were unknown numbers. The Grand Stand was at our left, and we went as near to this as possible; but before we could do so we had to pay the enormous sum of two pounds for the doubtful privilege of going within a certain boundary on the side of the hill near where the horses emerge when ending the race. Here were already carriages beyond conjecture, side by side, packed so closely as to make it difficult if not impossible to thread your way between them, and these were surrounded by a lot of coatless, shoeless, vulgar vagabonds, whose expression betrayed their thievish propensities. The many gypsy waggons around the outside of the charmed two pound enclosures, indicated the homes and characters of these vagabonds, and their persevering begging and brazenry warned you to keep them at a proper distance. When our horses had been ungeared, we disposed ourselves so as to get a view over the ground. Far and wide was one mass of humanity, relieved occasionally by the green sward and the booths of showmen. The course I could not see, but its line was pointed out to the west and south. To my surprise it was over the turf, and was not a circle like ours but a semi-circle. The Grand Stand seemed a respectable sort of place and was well filled with people. The great attraction was however among the people in the carriages and on the ground: and these appeared to have come more for the purpose of giving way to wild hilarity than to see the race. Like the rest we soon opened our viands and food. The Champagne did its work soon, and chaffing began. Women inaugurated the sports by throwing a species of rough wooden dolls at the men and each other, and this folly soon became general. All reserve was cast aside. Pandaemonium seemed let loose. When the supply of dolls was exhausted, some beery Britons threw mud, and a good deal of anger was the consequence. But few seemed to think of the professed object of the long ride, until the signal for the first race was given, and then a temporary lull arose in the intellectual sport of doll throwing. The start was at the west end of the semi-circle; but the race was run too much behind crowds of people to be exciting. Soon after the great event was announced. Every body was on tip-toe, and when the cry burst out that they were off, eyes were strained to catch a view wherever the animals could be seen. I first caught sight of them at the side of the south hill on which the show booths stand, and saw them occasionally during the remainder of the run. On they came near us in very irregular order, three being to my view much in advance, and themselves somewhat straggling. They soon bunched however and a shout went up that "Caractacus," a

comparatively unknown horse, as usual, had won.[1] I had no risk and was indifferent to the result. Not so others. Much betting had taken place near us and losses were plenty. Wine again flowed, the day was declining, and we decided to return home. The home drive was something perfectly unique to me. The road was crowded, chaffing was wild, indecent and continuous; but few were sober, the whole road from Epsom to London seemed to me one crowd of vehicles, horses and tramps. But few were civil, and all vulgar. The scene was one of Bacchanalian riot, our pace was only a walk, and it was twelve this evening when I left Hale at his lodgings. He indulged in the fun, got into several mêlées, and lost his hat and cravat. Judge Thompson and myself were quite sober, and got home by one o'clock after taking a late supper.

Taking it all together, this Derby Day is one of the most disgraceful affairs mankind can be engaged in. It is virtually a carnival of lust, drunkenness and gaming. It may do to see once, but no respectable person would willingly go to it a second time. As we went we met many poor ill-clad men and boys walking to the ground in the hot sun and dust, and in several places ragged sunburnt boys were asleep in shady nooks, fairly worn out with the toils of the journey. But few of these I fear ever saw the race, and many slept where they were until morning. The number of people that visited the ground must have been about 200,000, and one-fourth of these were women. If any of these were respectable, and one half of them no doubt were, their faces must have crimsoned often at the vulgar remarks of the crowd of well-dressed and tawdry-dressed blackguards, male and female, on the road home. Here there was no restraint, and with their filthy language they hurled mud and turf. Several fights occurred in our presence, but nothing serious took place to my knowledge. The ribaldry and demoralization disgusted me, and I never care to participate in another Derby Day.

Tuesday, July 1. Mrs. Adams' reception was well attended last night, and old Brougham [2] had the impudence to be of the company. He invited himself.

There was an English gentleman by the name of Hargreaves present, a mild looking man, whom some persons took for a Yankee. At one time when he was talking to me, Lady Holland (Sydney Smith's daughter) [3] remarked to Henry Adams that we Americans

[1] "That race was won by a horse called 'Caractacus,' against which 40 to 1 was betted before starting. The favorite, 'Marquis,' came in second. There never was seen so vast a multitude on the Downs before, and the concourse of foreigners was enormous." *Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville*, 4th Series, 52.

[2] He had recently celebrated his ninetieth birthday.

[3] Sir Henry Holland (1788–1873) married for his second wife, Saba, daughter of Rev. Sydney Smith. She died in 1866.

were unmistakeable, and pointing to us, said, "See those two gentlemen — any body would know the American from the Englishman." "Which of them, Lady Holland, is the Briton?" said Adams. Her ladyship seemed piqued, and said, "Why, the dark haired one of course." "It happens," remarked he, "that that is Mr. Moran, the Secretary of Legation, a native Pennsylvanian, and your Yankee is every inch an Englishman, and has not even been in the U. States." Lady Holland dropped the conversation.

Lord Lyons called and paid his respects to Mr. Adams to-day. He did this before Mr. Adams had a chance to call on him. His Lordship is clearly not anxious to return to his post.[1]

Thursday, July 3. I was at a reception last evening at the Russian Embassy, and there met Joshua Bates. He was very friendly and talked a good deal about his early life, telling me among other things that he could remember seeing great waggons in the streets of Boston with the word "Ohio" on their canvas covering, and used to look at them like other Bostonians with wonder because they had come so far and told of the great forests of the West. In those days he went to the counting house at six o' summer mornings, and thought that late; and used frequently to swim in Charles River, when Charles River was a pure crystal stream. During the evening, as we wandered round among the celebrated men and women who constituted the company, and passed from one gay and crowded saloon to another, we met many notabilities whom we knew, among them Lord Lyons. He is a dull man with a heavy intellect and measures his words too much to please me. As we stood in one of the largest rooms looking at the moving throng and ever changing scene, an occasional celebrity passed whom I did not know, and these Mr. Bates pointed out. One was Lord Broughton, once Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the friend and companion of Byron. He is an odd looking squat old man, with a broad chest, small legs, large head and strongly marked but pleasing features. I gazed at him with feelings of reverence, for he seemed to me a person out on a sort of holiday from his grave. I read of him when I was a boy, and imagined him an old man then. But old as he is there is a good deal of vitality left in him yet. Still I wondered, as I gazed at him, what it was he possessed that so captivated Byron. Mr. Bates told me he talked well, and Tricoupi, later in the evening, said he was a good Greek scholar. These merits no doubt had much to do in attaching

[1] "On Monday I met at dinner Lyons, lately returned on leave from America; he declares that he knows no more of the American war, or of its probable issue, than we do here. He foresees no end to it, and says the hatred of the contending parties and the virulent irritation of the North against England are as great as ever." *Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville*, 4th Series, 59.

the great poet to him: and he returns the honor by cherishing a warm regard for the memory of his wonderful friend. I liked the reception and enjoyed it very much. It was getting into the small hours of the morning when I came away.

Wednesday, July 16. Occasionally a little piece of romance breaks the monotony of the daily routine of this Legation that merits record. Recently we have had for visitors two gentlemen, George and Frederick Sedgwick, of Chicago and Connecticut respectively, the first being a lawyer, the last a schoolmaster. The lawyer showed me a letter introducing himself and brother to Lord Monteagle, and expressed his conviction that it was written by an impostor. I looked at it, and finding it from Edward-Henry Spring Rice,[1] said that was really the family or surname of Monteagle, and the letter was doubtless genuine. The Chicago Sedgwick then told me that the writer was an usher at a moderate salary in his brother's school in Connecticut, and that as he had a very high opinion of the wealth of Lords he thought he could not be of a noble family. I enquired the man's age, and on looking over the Peerage found the name there. The description of age corresponded, and the school teacher in a Yankee village turned out in fact to be Lord Monteagle's eldest brother. On my advice the letter was delivered and a response in the shape of an invitation to dinner received. The brothers went and dined at the Lord's, somewhere near Barnes, were well and cordially entertained, and came away quite convinced of the true character of the usher, and that an aristocrat might have in him enough of the democrat to follow a plebeian calling for an honest living.

Saturday, July 19. Last evening being the time fixed for the discussion of Lindsay's motion for the recognition of the Rebels,[2] I was sent down to the House by Mr. Adams' direction to observe the feeling and report the proceedings. On going there at about five o'clock I found the Commons had adjourned to meet at six. I went at the appointed hour. There was a very large gathering of strangers extending all through St. Stephen's porch, and filling up nearly the whole of the outside lobby of the House. Among those who were lounging in the hall or corridor leading from the grand central vestibule to the Commons, was Geo. McHenry.[3] This recreant Northern man displayed much servility towards the door keepers and policemen, and had a good deal of the mean guilty look of a sheep-stealing dog. He observed me, as I did him, but as I always detested the fellow, I treated him as if I was unaware of his presence. Just as the House again met, the crowd of anxious visitors increased and much confusion followed at the doors. The gate-

[1] Edmund Henry, born in 1821.

[2] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 387.

[3] *Ib.*, 280.

keepers there increased their already very large stock of insolence and ill-manners, until they became unbearable. At this time the rebel Mason came up attended by Williams,[1] our late Minister at Constantinople, Geo. McHenry and two or three vulgar looking confederates, whose appearance and manners were not favorable to their modest pretensions to be considered as specimens of the only gentlemen in America. Mason and Williams are both coarse, gross, ponderous, vulgar looking men, and on this occasion they did not show to the best advantage. They were badly dressed. Williams always was a sloven. Last night his shirt front was crumpled and stained with tobacco spit, and his trousers were unbuttoned. Mason was impudent — which he mistakes for dignity — and wore a *dress* coat with a black satin vest. Linsey-woolsey don't answer here. The rough boor who keeps the door spoke to them in a loud insolent commanding tone and ordered them back. But while they were parleying, Gregory, their champion, came out and in his peculiarly offensive and whining tone said he had orders for the floor for his friend Mr. Mason and suite. The *suite*, however, being large was not admitted to the privilege he demanded, McHenry and the rest of the mean little rebels being sent into the Speaker's gallery, while Gregory conducted his friends Mason and Williams to seats on the floor under the gallery. I soon followed, and having the privilege of either going into the Diplomatic Gallery or on the floor, decided for the floor for the time. Mason sat near the gangway in front and Williams behind.

An ineffectual attempt having been made to induce Lindsay to withdraw his motion, that gentleman rose and began his speech. He opened by striking off every offer of *recognition* and fell back on simple mediation, without referring to hostilities. He is a wretched speaker and soon drove half the members of a very full House away. For years I have entertained great respect for the intelligence and dignity of the English House of Commons, but after hearing the vulgar misrepresentations of Lindsay on the United States last night, welcomed by applause, I can no longer even respect it. His speech, if a blundering utterance of a long tissue of naked falsehoods can so be called, was simply an insult to intelligence and reason. I thought old Mason was ashamed of his advocate. He openly lied about the tariff, and had evidently been crammed by the rebels. After an hour's abuse of us, and his reasons therefore, he wound up by saying that independently of all these he desired the disruption of the American Union, as every honest

[1] James Williams of Tennessee. He was United States minister to Turkey from January 14, 1858, to May 25, 1861.

Englishman did, because it was too great a Power and England should not let such a power exist on the American Continent. Old Mason spat tobacco more furiously at this than ever, and covered the carpet. I thought that if he had a particle of manly feeling left he would blush at the contempt thus expressed for him by his champion. For there was in it a positive declaration that the South was nothing to him, and that he was only trying to array one section against the other for the destruction of both in order to feed the envy of England.

I watched carefully the effect of this speech. At first it was cordially welcomed, but it soon became evident that there was a growing doubt in the House about even *Mediation!* The tories cheered the most. This revealed their policy. I gave Mr. Forster my private telegram giving the denial to the reported capitulation of McClellan, and he circulated it. The dates were conclusive, and I began to fear they would n't adopt the motion, for after the open abuse of us by Lindsay, and the approval it met by the House, I wanted the resolution passed. It seemed to me that fear of us, and fear alone, was the check to action. There was a lull after Lindsay sat down. Gregory and he, as well as some of the tories, went over to Mason. I went up to the Diplomatic Gallery, and Mr. P. Taylor,[1] the new Member for Leicester, began to speak.

This gentleman was jeered at first, but by perseverance he got a hearing. I observed Palmerston, who seemed to be quietly asleep on the Treasury bench with his hat over his eyes when Lindsay was speaking, but was not, turn and look enquiringly at Taylor. The tories behaved like blackguards. They showed their love of free-speech by trying to put down every body not of their way of thinking. Mr. Taylor however persevered, and under a great deal of provocation made an eloquent but an indiscreet speech. The popularity, or respect entertained for a speaker, is always evinced in the House by full or empty benches. Mr. Taylor soon brought back the crowd that hobbling Lindsay drove away and he was met both by applause and condemnation. He said the war was between Freedom and Slavery, which was met with loud cries of No, No! and jeers. He also said that mediation was an insult and would lead to war. This was also cried down. And when he mentioned the name of honest Abraham Lincoln, the burst of horse-laughter and ridicule that greeted it, was a disgrace to the age. The act itself was bad enough in all conscience, but the manner and tone of the expression were even more offensive. Mr. Taylor was equal to the occasion, and met the guffah of this intelligent assembly of honest

[1] Peter Alfred Taylor (1819–1891).

and refined English gentlemen with a declaration that shamed them to silence. "Yes," said he, "I say honest Abraham Lincoln — a name that will be remembered and honored when all the smooth-tongued diplomats and statesmen of the day are forgotten." He also told them that their hostility was hatred of America, that slavery was the cause of the rebellion, and that English advocacy of the rebels was an abandonment of that hostility to slavery that had ever been the characteristic of Englishmen in modern times. The jeers to this were feeble, as the truth it contained was felt. Mr. Taylor quoted most effectually from J. Stuart Mill, and made the most of the point so gained.

Lord A. Vane Tempest,[1] a dissipated and unprincipled young nobleman, spoke next. His manner is that of his class and his speech was, like Lindsay's, composed of falsehood and abuse. I thought he was drunk, and so did the House, for he came near falling over the back of the bench in front of him on several occasions. He described the slave-drivers as gentlemen and the soldiers of the Republic as mercenaries. Went over the old slanders about America insulting England, taking good care to charge to the present Administration all the faults of past Cabinets, and wound up with an insult to Mr. Taylor. Vane Tempest is bloated from drink, and would be in the workhouse if he were not a Lord, but being a Lord he is in the English House of Commons. He was a good deal cheered by the tories; and the current of their policy, which until last night they have carefully concealed, was seen to flow with the rebels.

Mr. Forster spoke next. He made a brief but telling speech. Palmerston and Gladstone looked up at him and the tories faintly applauded. I had prepared him with some facts to refute Lindsay and he used them. He showed that the North had always taxed itself to protect sugar, cotton, tobacco and rice, and that South Carolina never once mentioned tariffs or taxation in her Declaration of Independence. Lindsay had said that odious Northern taxation was the cause of the rebellion. But after all, I don't know that it was worth while to notice the fellow. Great respect was paid to Mr. Forster's speech and it did good. By this time the rebel story of McClellan's capitulation had been exploded and their cause was growing palpably weaker.

The tories had however prepared themselves for expounding their policy and Mr. Whiteside,[2] the Attorney General for Ireland under Lord Derby in '58, was selected as their mouthpiece. That

[1] Frederick Adolphus Charles William Vane Tempest, representing Durham County, Northern Division. He died in 1864.

[2] James Whiteside (1804–1876).

the proceeding had been prearranged is confirmed by the fact that Lord Derby himself came in to hear Mr. Whiteside's speech. Being in the lobby just before Mr. Whiteside began I met the Earl of Derby going into the Commons. D'Israeli usually represents the tories in all great debates in the Lower House, but on this occasion he had evidently declined the task. This fact, and Whiteside's selection, are further proof of prearrangement. He began very deliberately and delivered what was evidently a prepared speech. He is an able eloquent Irish Orator and speaks with great force. The tories cheered his references to the supposed failure of Republican institutions loudly, and he belabored us soundly but politely. At times he was severe, but he was never vulgar. One can bear polite slander with a better grace than he can coarse abuse. He was terribly sarcastic at times, but rarely truthful. In fact both classes of the rebel advocates seemed conscious that they could only carry their point by falschood, and appeals to prejudice. His philippics at times were savage and were hailed with laughter. Being a tall, fine, venerable and powerful man, with considerable action and oratorical force — rare qualities in England — and yet no ranter, he soon had the House with him. He spoke from the floor and therefore had room for movement. His modified Irish accent sounded well when I forgot in my admiration of the orator the subject of his eloquence; but it sent a chill crawling over me when I recollected myself and recalled the fact that its tones were pleading the cause of slavery against freedom. Mr. Forster came up to me while he was speaking and said, "You see now where the tories are." I did and was glad of it. They had thrown off the cloak and fixed their position. It was an able speech but altho' well received, its admirers seemed to be more noisy than determined. They were whistling to keep their courage up.

Gregory followed in his insipid way with a lot of platitudes, and expressions of confidence that "this House" would adopt the resolutions; but was not very happy.

There was a pleasant young gentleman whom I did not know in the gallery at my side with whom I had been in conversation during the evening, and who up to this time had thought the vote would be favorable. He however had, like me, been a close observer of the effects of the speeches and the changes in the feeling of the House, and agreed that there would be either no vote or a defeat. I expressed my regret. He knew my sentiments and said he would feel like me if he were a Northerner. While we were talking Palmerston, who had nearly all night preserved his sleepy appearance, rose. He was heartily welcomed, and in three minutes settled the matter adversely to the rebels. It was half-past one in the morning; that

old man — now 78 years of age [1] — had been for seven hours and a half listener to the debate, and had heard every word, as all close observers saw, notwithstanding his attitude of sleep, and altho' he tottered when he got up, his brain was clear and he delivered the best speech I ever heard from his lips. Silence was accorded him at first — applause and approval at last. His remarks showed that he had watched every action and heard every sentiment of the speakers, and in quoting them he neither misrepresented them nor attributed to any one sentiments that had been uttered by another. He said mediation meant war, and thought the Gov't could manage the affair without going that far, or wounding the feelings of a sensitive, and struggling people. That speech closed the debate, and altho' Fitzgerald [2] spoke afterwards, his remarks amounted to nothing, and Lindsay withdrew his motion.

As I came away I met Mason alone, looking sullen and dejected. He has a bad face. In a minute he was joined by Gregory, both evidently disappointed, and, putting his arm lovingly round the Irishman's waist, the slave-holder and the Briton stalked off to solace their minds and forget their disappointment in the consolations incident to smoking a cigar.

The papers of to-day acknowledge that McClellan has not capitulated, and approve of the withdrawal of Lindsay's motion.

Friday, October 17. Commend me to new-fledged Consuls! This record demonstrates beyond doubt that as a race they are geniuses. But, many as are herein painted, none so far have been preachers. It was reserved for Mr. Lincoln to add a person to the collection from that calling, and he stalked three paces in our fallow to-day in the propria persona of the Rev. B. F. Tefft,[3] United States Consul at Stockholm. With all respect, I must say that humility is not a characteristic of this Consul. He is grey, and good looking, fussy and impudent. I took his letters to Mr. Adams, but as he was very busy preparing his despatches he could not see him. One of the letters was from Vice-President Hamlin saying that Mr. Tefft had permission to make speeches on American politics in England.[4] I thought it was a pity he had not been constituted Minister here in full, with power to manage the press as well as to make speeches. In all decency, when will our officials learn wisdom!

[1] Henry Greville gives a number of instances of Palmerston's energy and endurance in these later years of his life. Disraeli drew Palmerston's character in the "Lord Fanny of diplomacy" in the "Runnymede Letters," and more favorably as Lord Roehampton in *Endymion*.

[2] Otho Augustus Fitzgerald, member for Kildare.

[3] Benjamin Franklin Tefft (1813–1885).

[4] Adams, *Studies, Military and Diplomatic*, 364.

What right had Hamlin to grant such permission to a sixth-rate Consul? I thought the folly of Cassius M. Clay and the other Paris speech-makers, would induce the Gov't to insist upon all such fellows keeping quiet. As Mr. Tefft believes himself to be forty times Mr. Adams' calibre he went away savage of course and with an expression of countenance by no means indicative of either piety or politeness. There was that in him that satisfied me he 'll not come again, and that he will abuse the Legation the rest of his natural life. To refuse a Consul an interview on Dispatch day was atrocious! But I say blessed be the Minister who had the courage.[1]

1863

Saturday, April 25. Mr. Cobden brought forward a motion last night in the Commons which produced a debate that lasted till midnight. I was present throughout. He attacked the pretended neutrality of England in the war, condemned the shameless violations of the law, both municipal and international, in building pirate ships here and arming them for the rebels, pointed out in forcible language the bad effects of this course, and in a spirit of high statesmanship warned the House of the consequences of the bad precedent the nation seemed disposed to establish in this dishonourable proceeding. His speech had a marked effect and will do a great deal of good. He was followed by Mr. Horsman who made a most insulting speech, which had evidently been carefully prepared, and was intended to irritate the people of the U. S. It was delivered in a flippant manner, was full of sophistry, jeer and false conclusion; and was of course not a little applauded. Still its general effect was bad, for its want of truth and unfairness could not be well overlooked even by our enemies. Offensive and provoking as it was, I kept my temper during its delivery. I have witnessed too many of such painful exhibitions in the British Parliament, to permit myself to be vexed by them. But not so others of my countrymen. The Hon. R. J. Walker,[2] who was present, was much exasperated, and

[1] On November 5, 1862, Guy Fawkes' day. "At about eleven o'clock a crowd of men and boys brought a gigantic Guy in military dress, with a gallows at its side, past the Legation, labelled 'The Brute Butler.' It was vociferously cheered, of course. The fog was thicker than it had been before this season, but not strong enough to hide from sight the hideous figure these London ruffians call General Butler."

January 5, 1863. "I have a letter from Mr. Hunter to-day from the State Department, in which he says that the late attempt on the part of certain republican senators to get Mr. Seward out of the Cabinet originated in Senator Sumner's hostility to that gentleman because he recommended Mr. Adams for the Mission to London, and thus deprived Sumner of it."

[2] Robert John Walker (1801–1869), sent to Europe in 1863 by the government

has been very violent against Horsman all day. He was astonished that any man holding the position of a gentleman could so coolly stand up in any public assembly and give utterance to so many deliberate lies. I told him that as it was a part of an English gentleman's business to lie when it suited him, I was by no means so surprised as he.

It was midnight before the discussion ended, and altho' no vote was taken, the result was extremely good. Mr. Cobden's speech was powerful and spoke to the reason. It will do good and so Mr. Walker thinks. Lord Palmerston staid the debate through and was apparently as fresh at its close as any man there fifty years his junior. Both physically and mentally he is a wonderful old man.

Major Wood, of Massachusetts, before mentioned in this journal, has been here to-day on his return from the South of Europe. His experience with the English on the Continent was unfavorable, and he did not meet with one who expressed, or professed, a generous sentiment towards the United States. This is the universal testimony of my countrymen, and therefore cannot be regarded as other than the truth.

Saturday, July 4. [Henry Ward Beecher visited the Legation.] He is a cheerful, witty man, apparently about thirty-five years of age, and has very little of the clergyman in his appearance. I don't know when I have seen one of his cloth who has so little cant and so much hearty manliness. His face is classical, and when animated is beautiful.

Tuesday, July 14. Last evening I went down to the Commons and heard Roebuck and Lindsay make statements about their late interview with Louis Napoleon and his alleged promise to recognize the rebels if England would. There was a crowd outside waiting for admission and that impudent scamp Cornell Jewett was running about with as much bustle and effrontery as if he were the great man of the occasion. Roebuck blundered on for a while through a tissue of assertions, slanders, and falsehoods about the U. S. and L. N. that caused a good deal of merriment, and showed that Napoleon had completely fooled him; and concluded by asking for the *discharge* of his motion. He was followed by Lindsay in a long rambling half mad jumble which the House alternately laughed and jeered at. Then Palmerston rose, and while patting the two dupes on the head expressed the hope that the unusual proceeding of Members of the English Commons constituting themselves Envoys to a Foreign Monarch to induce him to prompt legislation

with instructions to acquaint European capitalists with the actual circumstances and resources of the United States. See Hughes, *John Murray Forbes*, II. 43.

in that body, would never be repeated. This sentiment was loudly cheered, and finally Mr. Roebuck got his request and his motion was *discharged*, as the phrase is. The surly little dog was ugly to the last, and yet I think both he and Lindsay felt much mortified at the awkward position in which they had placed themselves by their folly. It turned out well for us, which was the very opposite of what they had designed.

Monday, October 5. George Harrington, the Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, has arrived in London with several important Despatches. He has been at the Legation, but I have not seen him yet. One of the notes he brought is marked Confidential, is dated the 19th of September, and contains the following curious history: It states that Mr. Stuart, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, had called on Mr. Seward, under instructions from London, and informed him that he was directed to say that orders had been given on the 5th of September, before the reception of Mr. Adams' note of that date, to stop the Iron-clad rams at Laird's shipyard in Liverpool, and that they had accordingly been stopped before the note was delivered at the Foreign Office. This statement was made by Mr. Stuart "to counteract the effect of news to the contrary, which might reach Washington from other quarters" — the "other quarters" being, of course, Mr. Adams. There is no doubt that this was authorised by Lord Palmerston, for Lord Russell was not then in town. On its face it looks very well; but it is not true. On that very 5th of Sept., *at three o'clock in the afternoon*, Mr. Adams received a note from Lord Russell dated on the 4th, in which he says the matter of stopping the rams "is under the serious and anxious consideration of H. M's Government." That note must have left the Foreign Office at about half past two, for Mr. Adams' note left the Legation at that hour and arrived at the F. O. at three, precisely the same hour at which Lord Russell's note reached us. Up to that time it is quite clear the "matter was (still) under the serious and anxious consideration of H. M.'s Govt." — but that consideration at once took the form of action on the reception of Mr. Adams' note; and then to make it appear that that action was in no way prompted by Mr. Adams this story was hastily concocted by Lord Palmerston and sent to Mr. Stuart to be communicated to our Government. The object was twofold: 1st to appear to Mr. Lincoln as having acted spontaneously in the business from a sense of justice; and 2dly to be able to say to Parliament when questioned that H. M.'s Gov't had not been "bullied" into stopping the rams by Mr. Adams, but had acted in the premises from its own convictions, regardless of outside pressure. But if this be really so, why did they not send these facts to Mr. Adams,

instead of to Washington? And then, does not the assertion that Mr. Stuart's statement was made "to counteract the effect of news to the contrary, which might reach [Washington] from other quarters," show that the stopping really was prompted by Mr. Adams' note? That announcement was not made to Mr. Adams until Tuesday, the 8 Sept., as will be seen by a note, a copy of which will be found under that date in this journal. It should have been made to him the very day it was sent to Washington.

Wednesday, November 4. The *Alexandra* Case came up for re-argument for a new trial yesterday, and the Chief Baron, Pollock, amazed everybody by flatly saying that he did not say to the jury what he was alleged to have said, and that their verdict was not the result of his charge, but was based solely on the evidence.[1] This has dumbfounded all who heard him — lawyers, reporters and spectators. That two hundred people should have misunderstood a judge's charge, and that that misunderstanding, which was commented on far and wide at the time by the press and society, should go uncontradicted for nearly five months, and now be denied flatly by the judge, is marvellous. This is another specimen of the honesty of the English Courts in matters between us and the rebels. This old man is lying in order to get free of the just charge of partisanship on the bench. If a new trial is to be granted it will not be on the ground of misdirection by the judge, but on some other plea. In fact the judge refuses to allow even a re-argument on that ground. And yet everybody, friend and foe, who heard the trial, says his charge and it alone, produced the verdict.

1864

Wednesday, February 10. Dr. Thomas Airey, a short thick set Englishman, heavy with vulgar jewelry, who has two or more Diplomas from American Herbalist Medical Colleges, and has declared his intention to become a citizen, has been here this morning to obtain Mr. Adams' assistance in compelling the Medical Registrars of England to register him as a practitioner. He was here in Mr. Dallas's time on the same errand, and was not a little astonished to see me. I explained that we could not interfere to prevent the operation of English law. But he plead that he was a citizen, and on that ground Mr. Adams must interfere. I told him he could not, that he was not a citizen, but had only declared his intention to become one, and if he were the Minister could not aid him. He then told me that the Judge who naturalized him said he was a citizen, and that was why he had come to us. This is another of the

[1] See Brooks Adams, in *Proceedings*, XLV. 305.

impositions constantly practiced at home by those who administer our naturalization laws. Dr. Airey believes he took the oath of citizenship, and has never before had it explained to him that the proceeding was only preliminary and not final. It appears he went to the U. S. last summer for the express purpose of getting this document in the belief that it would in some way enable him to get a registration here. That delusion was however dispelled to-day. While in the U. S. a Herbal College in Philadelphia, gave him a gold medal for his skill. He let me see it, and I soon perceived that it was a $20. gold piece with the stamp erased on one side and an inscription laudatory of him substituted. He is located at Bristol, tells an odd story as to the reason why the Registrar refuses him registration, and says he is liable to be tried for manslaughter, in case he has a death. He went away dissatisfied and means evidently to return.

A tall slender German by the name of Otto Hoepfner came to see me to-day, and brought with him a letter of introduction from Trübner. He came to Europe under an arrangement with a Dr. Schmole of Philadelphia, to procure 6000 troops for the State of New Jersey, and having interested a Col. Addison in the scheme came to get me to endorse the project. Schmole has failed to carry out his promises. I respectfully declined all participation in the affair, and said that while I would be glad to see Col. Addison as a gentleman, I would not put him to the trouble of coming up about this business. This is a specimen of the many schemes to get the Legation's endorsement to plans for enlisting men in Europe.

Thursday, February 11. This year's batch of our Diplomatic Correspondence has been published by Mr. Seward and that Solomon has in so doing exercised his usual indiscretion. Among the papers it contains is Despatch No. 651, to Mr. Adams,[1] threatening to follow the British pirates of the rebels into British ports and destroy them there; and this has caused the British Lion to growl amazingly. The Tories make a great deal ado about it, and its publication has caused much ill blood. This is to be regretted. For the despatch never was communicated to Earl Russell and to print it now is a mere act of wantonness. But Mr. Seward has the cacoethes scribendi in a violent form and loves to see himself in print.

Friday, April 22.[2] I was up at seven o'clock this morning, and went

[1] Dated July 11, 1863. It is in *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1863, I. 308.

[2] Greville states that the Duke of Sutherland had invited Garibaldi to come to England that he might consult English surgeons for his wounds. *Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville*, 4th Series, 193. Some interesting comments on the reception given to the Italian may be seen in the same compilation. Greville was then in Paris, but returned to London in season to feel the excitement.

at once to Mr. Morse's. As I was going over I saw Mr. Adams drive up in a hansom cab and stop at Kensington Gate and walk to Morse's house. I arrived before him, and at Mr. Morse's request went to Mr. Seeley's in a carriage to bring the General. The house was crowded with delegations, admirers, artists, and sightseers. Two artists were painting his portrait and one modelling his bust. I found him in the Drawing Room on the first floor, but in consequence of his being surrounded by so many, had to wait. The company was not choice, for I saw among the crowd two girls from the London Stereoscopic Company's place in Regent St. He knew he had an engagement at eight, and altho' pressed by delegations and bores, received them all civilly and got rid of them without offence in a very short time. I was struck with his prompt manner, and with the appropriateness of his replies on receiving addresses. In a few minutes he took my arm and I conducted him to the carriage — an open one belonging to Mr. Seeley, which he preferred to mine. He wore a small ash colored wide-awake hat, the red Garibaldi shirt now so famous, and a slight mouse colored sort of cloak, that had a picturesque effect. He was somewhat lame and walked with a cane. He is a lithe well made man about five feet eight inches high, has a fine head, indeed so like Washington's that the likeness is wonderful, and keen blue eyes. As we rode off the crowd cheered and we were followed by them for some distance. I was amused to see the delight of the servant girls. One good looking one waved her dust pan and brush over her head and shouted "Garibaldi" like a trooper.

On arriving at Mr. Morse's house, which we reached by way of [*blank*] he was received by that gentleman at the door and conducted to the Drawing Rooms. He was cheerful and talkative, and entirely free from restraint. By half past eight we went down stairs to breakfast. He sat at Mrs. Morse's right, who was at the head of the table, and Mr. Adams sat at her left. The company consisted of Mr. Adams, Mr. Wilson,[1] Garibaldi, Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., Mrs. Forster, Mr. Morse, Mrs. Morse, Miss Morse, Mr. Rossini, myself, Cyrus W. Field, Wm. M. Evarts, J. S. Morgan, and some others whose names I don't recall. Mr. Evarts and I sat near the General. He ate but little, mostly light food and drank coffee. He was entirely free from restraint, and Mr. Forster told me he was more natural than he had before seen him, a fact he attributed to our being Americans. He said Sanford[2] had asked him to go to America and take the rank of Brigadier General, while

[1] Charles L. Wilson.

[2] Henry S. Sanford, United States minister to Belgium.

Geo. Sanders had solicited his services for the South. He would go at once, if he thought his services were needed; but they were not. He considered himself an American citizen and would fight for the Union; but he was opposed to the South and told Sanders so. As to General Grant, he was a great soldier and a great general. It did not become clear to me that he was really an U. S. citizen. He had simply declared his intention to become one but had never completed that purpose. He laughed a good deal about Sanders and told us of a remarkable dinner given by that person in London in 1854, that he attended. I told him I remembered it. This pleased him and he named the persons present, remarking that General Sickles, Orsini, Mr. Buchanan, Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Hertzen were of them. He spoke English very well. By half past nine, we left the table and a great many visitors who had assembled while we were at breakfast, were admitted. Some of these made set speeches at him. An old woman talked about Washington and Tell, and delivered a short oration. C. F. Dennet presented him with the lives of a "Hundred Orators of Boston," [1] — the most cruel thing of the day, and I thought the book fell into the General's hands like lead; while a pretty child of four years of age, a little fairy, one Miss McMasters, gave him a basket of flowers, and their sweetness soon swept away the hard-heartedness of the Boston Orator business. His autograph was in demand, and having no paper, I emptied my card case, and he wrote his name on about fifty of my cards, all of which I gave away. There must have been 150 ladies and gentlemen present and all were pleased. At about fifteen past ten he signified his intention to leave. I conducted him to the carriage, but had great difficulty in getting him to it through the crowd. The women were the most eager to shake his hand, and one cried, "O Garibaldi, do, do shake hands with me." This he did. Others crowded up to the carriage and were crushing a child against it, which he saw, and said, "Go way, go way. I 'll shake hands with no one till that child is out of harm's way," and he kept his word. This incident I put down as characteristic of the man. We soon drove off saluted by cheers, and returned to Mr. Seeley's, Prince's Gate, where I parted with him. He said on the way back that he would have been chagrined had he not met the Americans in London, and that the breakfast at Mr. Morse's was one of the pleasantest incidents of his visit here. Of course he hoped we would meet again, to which I said, "Yes! General, in Rome." He shook my hand warmly and smiled. Wilson and I drove back to the Legation in Mr. Morse's brougham, and just as

[1] Loring, *The Hundred Boston Orators.*

we arrived, Mr. Adams came up in a cab! His carriage did not get over in time. But he should have gone in it, and then there would have been no slips.

Friday, September, 30. I last night dined at the Mansion House by invitation of the Right Honorable Wm. Lawrence, Lord Mayor of London. The hour was half past six. I drove along the streets of London from Westbourne Grove to the heart of the Great City just as twilight was thickening into night, and Holborn, Snow Hill, Newgate St., Cheapside and the Poultry were robed in a dusky haze between day and lamplight long e'er I reached my destination. That admirable order which always governs street traffic on such occasions in London was made visible near Bow Church, and I drove rapidly along thence without interruption to the Mansion House. The entrance was at the great front, where a number of trim policemen were assembled in their new tunics and useful uniforms. It being my first visit there I was curious about almost everything. On reaching the grand entrance hall I found a large crowd of apparently well-to-do and "greasy citizens," with joyous expressions, evidently ready for dinner. The scene was what poor Hawthorne so graphically describes;[1] and I am confident my overcoat and hat were taken charge of by the same servants, in powdered wigs and the uniforms of American Revolutionary Generals, who relieved him of the like incumbrances. A wide door was standing open showing a crowd in an adjoining apartment, at the extreme end of which in front of some wooden and gilded Corinthian columns stood a rather short gentleman, of middle age, in official robes, with a great gold chain like the cable of a 74 around his neck. At his side was a pleasing lady, and near him several officials in costume, one of whom, called the Mace-bearer, I believe, looked to me amazingly like that portrait of Franklin which we sometimes see, in which the old philosopher wears a peculiar fur cap and robe. A servant announced my name, and I made my bow to his Lordship. A finer or more manly face one seldom sees. It is intelligent, cheerful and, if not handsome, is so near it that one would be puzzled to find it in his conscience to say it was not. I was presented to the Lady Mayoress, and after some common place remarks drifted off as the visitors approached to pay their respects. They came in twos and threes, rarely singly, and were mostly in full evening costume, a few wearing black instead of white cravats. There was a sprinkling of civic and military uniforms only, civil black being the rule. The appearance of the people was common, and nearly all I heard talk

[1] *Our Old Home*, "Civic Banquets." Also *cf.* Thackeray's "A Dinner in the City" in his *Sketches and Travels in London.*

smelt of the shop. My friend John G. Elsey, the chief discount officer of the Bank of England, came in and soon had a crowd round him. I heard one whisper to another, "You must know him, he 's the great man in the Bank of England," and then, without permission introduce him. He made some remarks about Mr. Elsey being the great authority at the Bank on commercial paper. "But," said Elsey, "I never touch yours." As we drifted away in the crowd, he remarked that he thought he had given that fellow a good shot between the ribs, and I agreed with him.

I found that the wooden columns supported a sort of gallery, and that under that was a door leading into a great hall beyond. Elsey said I had better look out my place, but not knowing what he meant exactly, I asked for information. I had observed a number of rather sharp old men disappearing and reappearing through that door, but could not make out what they were doing. They did not seem to be servants. The thought struck me that they were looking for their places, and I went to see. Sure enough, I was right, and by a little searching I found I was to be planted between two sheriffs and their ladies. The room was very lofty, with rows of pure Corinthian columns on either side, and had a concave, carved and gilded roof. There were acres of tables and dishes, but things were mostly of a rather cheap cast. I noticed some fine English modern statuary in niches under the colonnades of columns, but no pictures. On returning to the hall, which is also gilded and carved, there was a movement for dinner. A band thundered forth its music, and a wild trumpet screamed out a warning that the company, headed by the Lord Mayor, were going to dine. We got in comfortably, and I soon found myself at table with a stout jolly lady at my right and an equally burly gentleman at my left. The lady was pleasant and so the gentleman. Being at the side table I had a very good view, but was too much on a line with the Lord Mayor to see much of his Lordship's doing. When the company had found their places, and the trumpet had ceased braying, silence became general, and was only broken by a blessing asked by the Lord Mayor's Chaplain, for these stout English maintain all such state, and carry their chaplains with them even to their feasts. When we got fairly seated, the scene was very fine, for there were nearly three hundred guests present, not a few of whom were ladies, and their dresses broke the monotony produced by black coats on such occasions where all are males. In a little while the feast began, and the famous Turtle Soup came round. It was excellent, but I had a wholesome fear of too much of it. My Aldermanic friend at my left was not bashful, and sustained the character of his class by disposing of two large plates of it. His better half at his left, better half in more senses

than one, for she was much better looking to begin with, and about four times his size, and he was no shrimp, for she must occupy a large share of God's footstool when she sits down, was not a whit behind him in her admiration of the savory and fragrant fluid. And so I noticed with others. Two or three M.P.'s near me likewise did justice to the famous dish, and enjoyed it with aldermanic gusto. The feast went off well, and while waiting for the Loving Cup, I looked round at the company. Honestly, much cannot be said for either the refinement, or intelligent appearance of the men, and Hawthorne's description of the ladies he saw there is so applicable to those I met that I adopt it. There was a general air of vulgarity, and forced dignity. One gentleman opposite me forgot himself early in the evening and was drunk before ten o'clock. He was a red faced, sandy haired man, whom people called Mr. Under Sheriff, but I thought it would have been more appropriate to call him "under the table." Near him sat one of the prettiest women I ever saw. She had the head of an angel, and so like Power's Proserpina that she might have served for the model. We all admired, an old M.P. being rather extravagant in his admiration. She soon saw through the cause of our attention, and bore our silent admiration with that playful prudery that her sex have a right to indulge in when they know they are pretty. There was a gentleman at her side who was doubtless her brother, for altho' ugly, he resembled her; and it does sometimes happen that an ugly person resembles a pretty one.

The ceremony of speechmaking began by the Toast Master, who is an institution, and a great bore at English public dinners, proclaiming aloud a long list of names of those present to whom, et cetera, the Right Hon: the Lord Mayor was about to send the Loving Cup. I heard my own name among these, and presumed that I was to drink with the honored guests. I observed that five or six cups, of various shapes and sizes, were in circulation. The great one, the Lord Mayor's, came however to me. The ceremony is simple and has often been described. You lift the lid of the cup, which in this case was a finely embossed old silver one, for your neighbor at your left, facing him the while and standing. He bows, wishes you good health, drinks deeply or not, as he pleases, wipes the rim with his napkin, and passes the cup to you. You turn to your right hand neighbor, and go through the same ceremony. The beverage had a spicy taste, of the far Indian isles, and was as nice a drink as it ever was my lot to enjoy.

The speeches were usually dull and one or two were insulting to Americans. The Lord Mayor spoke wonderfully well, and made the best speeches of the evening. Being fearful that I might be called

upon for some remarks, I came away early, glad of the visit and its results.

I noticed that the Room in which we dined was called the Egyptian Hall, but why, was unable to learn. Surely not from its architecture, for that is most decided Corinthian.[1] I got home at half-past eleven. . . .

I should have mentioned above that the dinner was given in honor of the Lord Mayor elect, Alderman and Sheriff Hale, a man about 70 years of age, from appearances. My costume was the ordinary evening dress.

Monday, November 7. At about four o'clock on Saturday, I left London from the Waterloo Station, and went to Midhurst, Sussex, to visit Richard Cobden, Esqr. The ride was rather dull, but I was met at the station by a very gentlemanly young man by the name of Fisher and we drove through the old town, and then by a circuitous road to Dunford House, Mr. Cobden's residence. It lies in a valley, has a fine lawn to the East, is near the South Downs, which loom up rather boldly, and is pretty much surrounded by firs, larch and other English evergreen trees. I was cheerfully and cordially welcomed, and was introduced to Mrs. Cobden,[2] and her eldest daughter, a slender and pretty girl, with a most sweet and expressive face. The warm fire in the fine Drawing Room was welcome after my cold ride. A few minutes more, and we were at dinner, where there were three little girls, all very ladylike, and pleasing, but not pretty. Mr. Cobden and I talked till nearly twelve o'clock, and I was struck with his great sagacity and clearsightedness. I have never met an Englishman who knows so much of the U. S., or of his own country.

My bedroom was large and comfortable, the bed one of the nicest and cleanest I ever occupied, and the furniture. We breakfasted at nine on Sunday morning, and at about half past ten I went with Mrs. Cobden and three of the little girls to church at Heyshot, a mere hamlet about a mile and a quarter distant, under the frown of the dun and lofty South Downs. The rustics were a primitive set, and the church small cold and cheerless. The clergyman was a harsh featured man, but he read with a tolerable emphasis, and preached a very respectable sermon. I noticed the name of Cobden on one of the tombstones. It is an old Saxon and Sussex, but not a common name. Dunford House belonged to Mr. Cobden's father and it was purchased by [for] Mr. Cobden by his friends of the Anti-Corn Law League.

[1] It is said to be a reproduction of the hall described under that name by Vitruvius.

[2] Cobden married, in 1840, Miss Catherine Anne Williams.

After luncheon, Mr. Cobden and I took a long walk around the country and through woods and over downs. It was one of the most pleasant rambles I ever had, and he talked like a sage. He thought we must succeed, the Union must be restored, slavery be extinguished, and then common schools would spread over the land. We talked of Burke, of Pitt, of Fox, who was once a Member for Midhurst; and then of the great landowners in the neighborhood, the Duke of Richmond, and Lords Egmont and Laconfield. While we rambled over the lands of the second, two game keepers came and warned us against allowing our dogs, two little Scotch terriers, from going into the copse, as there were traps there in which they would get their legs broke! This is freedom. I told Mr. Cobden that the Society for the Suppression of Cruelty to Animals should get hold of Egmont. "But," said he, "that won't do, he 's a Lord!" On our homeward way we met a number of the peasantry, a harmless class indeed. Their condition led us to conversing about them, about landowners, and about the clergy. To the worth of this last class he bore willing and hearty testimony. He said they were the friends of the poor, gave to them liberally from their salaries, attended them in sickness, and advised them in trouble. They do their duty well, and are a different class to what they were forty years go. And this particularly relates to those of the High Church party. The walk was delightful, and this was the kind of running talk we had all the time.

Our dinner was pleasant, we talked till twelve, I bade him good bye, got up early this morning, took breakfast at half past six, drove to the train, and got to London soon after ten.

My visit was a treat, and I have reason to remember it. Mr. Cobden has a family of fine girls; and I find that young Mr. Fisher[1] is engaged to be married to the eldest. . . .

Mr. Cobden says Thurlow Weed is an old fox and made everybody believe he was on their side.

1865

Tuesday, March 14. Last evening I took Mr. C. A. Washburn,[2] our Minister to Paraguay, down to the House of Lords in the hope of hearing a debate there. As their Lordships were not in session, and Mr. Washburn wanted to see Mr. Bright I took him to the Commons and sent my card in to that gentleman. He came out and took

[1] T. Fisher-Unwin, the publisher.

[2] Charles Ames Washburn (1822–1889), a brother of Elihu Benjamin Washburne.

us on to the floor of the House. The debate was on the Canadian fortifications and Seymour Fitzgerald [1] was speaking. It was quite apparent to me that the real object was to obtain a revelation from the Ministry of the actual relations existing between the U. S. and Great Britain; and that Fitzgerald's speech was simply a tory attack on the Government. From the beginning I saw the debate would end in our favor, for there is always something indicative of the true temper of the House in the manner in which they receive speeches for or against us. Fitzgerald certainly spoke like a gentleman. His manner was conciliatory and his tone complimentary; and he made the fatal admission that our claims for damages on account of the pirates were just. Mr. W. E. Forster followed and made a speech that amounted to eloquence. I did n't think it was in him; and he delivered the best speech I ever heard from him. Mr. Cardwell spoke well and dissipated all fear of war by showing that *we* were friendly; and then Mess. Lowe, D'Israeli, Bright and Ld. Palmerston wound up the debate. The marked feature was the tone of respect towards the U. S., Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward. This was in wonderful contrast to the jeers, the sneers and the disrespect common in that House on all occasions when these names were mentioned two and three years ago. The debate will do immense good and crush the war feeling that the *Times* had so malignantly fanned up in Europe by its falsehoods. Throughout it compliments flew about the room to Mr. Adams like flights of arrows. The air was thick with them. And when I told him of it this morning he was perceptibly affected.

Altogether it was the best debate I ever heard in the Commons. The men who engaged in it rose to the dignity of statesmen, and fairly and manfully met the points at issue. They were equal to the occasion, and for once elevated the House of Commons from a "Club of private gentlemen" to a Legislative Assembly.

Wednesday, April 26. At about half past twelve to-day, when the Rev. Dr. Bliss and others were here, Mr. Horatio Ward came in with the news that telegrams had been received in London announcing the assassination of President Lincoln and the attempt to take the life of Mr. Seward. I was horror struck and at once went up with Mr. Ward to announce the intelligence to Mr. Adams. He turned as pale as death, and gave vent to feelings of indignation. A number of persons, among them H. T. Parker, and the Sec'y of J. G. Elsey of the Bank of England, came to learn if it were true. We had received no official information, but had no doubt of the

[1] William Robert Seymour Fitzgerald, the member for Horsham Borough, Sussex.

fact. About one o'clock we received an official telegram from Mr. Secretary Stanton, giving full particulars, and saying that Mr. Seward had at the same time, about ten and a half o'clock on 14 April, been attacked by an assassin in his bed, that his sons Fred'k and Major Seward had been dangerously stabbed, and a male servant killed, but Mr. Seward himself was living. It was announced that Mr. Lincoln had been shot from behind in his private box in the Theatre at Washington, and had died on the 15th or the next morning at 7.30, or thereabouts. Mr. Adams was directed to communicate this at once to the other American Ministers in Europe. W. E. Forster came in when the telegram arrived and burst into tears. I took it off at once and telegraphed to all our Ministers but those at Berne, Turin and Constantinople, and took the original telegram from Mr. Stanton to the *Globe* for immediate publication. Hooper was amazed and indignant. When I got back that arch scoundrel Fernando Wood was here. He wanted to hold a public meeting of Americans. I could hardly be civil to the rogue, and Mr. Adams would not see him. . . . Further news came up from the City. I was told that some influential people there secretly exulted over the event as a triumph of the rebels. Our stocks fell and one notorious dealer in rebel bonds, a stock broker by the name of Gowen, whose failure took place last night, was said to have been ruined by the news. We soon had telegrams here from our Ministers and Consuls to know if it were true, and the Austrian, Haytian, Portuguese, Spanish and Belgian representatives called to offer congratulations [condolence]. Extras of *The Times* sold for 5/. each. While I was out, a number of persons came; but that poor fool Alward,[1] could not remember them. Professor Rogers of Glasgow, and Miss Edwards of the Hotel, as well as T. B. Potter, R. C. Fisher, and Dr. Ballard were among the early visitors. Mr. McHenry, Mr. Morse, and Mr. John Goddard were here. The sympathy has been general but there has also been much secret exultation among our enemies. Mr. Adams was as much moved as his selfish nature would permit. But he told me Mr. Lincoln had died at the proper time for his fame. If he had been in his place, he would not have desired anything better.

About two o'clock, that scamp Fernando Wood came up and wanted to get up a public meeting of Americans. Mr. Adams would not see him, and I gave him no encouragement. I thought, but did not say, that his conduct was impudent and that the initiative should be taken by resident Americans here. The fellow has a bad face and looks the rogue. . . .

[1] Second Secretary of Legation, and much disliked by Moran.

Thursday, April 27. I dined yesterday at McHenry's and met with many expressions of sympathy on the death of Mr. Lincoln. I got here at 8:30 this morning, and have been crowded to death almost with visitors. The list so far is as follows: Benj'n Fitch, (an old gentleman who cried like a child), Judge Winter, Rev. Dr. Cleveland, Rev. Dr. Bliss, H. T. Parker, Horatio Ward, Dr. J. R. Black, R. C. Fisher, Rev. Crammond Kennedy, J. S. Morgan, Russell Sturgis, T. Walker, Ld. Houghton, J. B. Smith, R. Hunting, T. B. Potter, McCulloch Torrens, Elihu Burritt, Earl Russell, Dr. Ballard, Astor Johnson, Sewell Warner, J. Pereira d'Andrada, and C. M. Fisher. The majority of these came about a notice of a public meeting signed Fernando Wood, and were indignant that he should have had the impudence to move in the matter. . . . To-day Dr. Black, Mr. Sturgis and Mr. Morgan came to know what was to be done. At first Mr. Adams refused all participation, but on a note from Sturgis and Morgan consented to preside at a meeting on next Monday. So soon as this was arranged, Dr. Black went off to the Grosvenor Hotel, where a large meeting had been convened by Wood, and by management snuffed that worthy out. I am told that he afterwards said I and Alward had advised him to call the meeting. This, so far as I am concerned, is untrue. I don't know however that he has been reported correctly. But the meeting terminated against him and one will be held under other auspices on Monday.

Lord Russell called and expressed to Mr. Adams as much sympathy as he was capable of. He said no such excitement had ever before prevailed in England.

Mr. Potter was here with the Address. It was gotten up by him and commits the House of Commons to sympathy with the U. S.

All the Englishmen who have called here have been deeply affected, and many wept. The sorrow of such gentlemen as John Benjamin Smith, T. B. Potter, Lord Houghton, and Mr. Thomas Walker is genuine.

The Prince de Joinville and the Duke of Argyll have just been here. I met them just now in the Hall. Both shook hands with me, and expressed their horror at the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. Among the other visitors have been the Earl of Derby, Lord Clarendon and the Attorney General.

It is twelve years to-day since I left home.

Friday, April 28. Last evening I called at Warrington's and ordered some mo[u]rning replies in Mr. Adams' name to be sent to persons who have called to condole on the murder of Mr. Lincoln, and then went to the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone was

speaking on the Budget. Sir Geo. Grey had just given notice that on Monday Lord Palmerston would in that House move an Address to the Queen on the assassination of Mr. Lincoln; and Earl Russell gave a similar notice in the House of Lords that he should move an address on the same subject in that body.

I did not stay long and got home early.

This has been a frightfully busy day and we have had crowds of titled and other sympathisers here. But I have been too much occupied to get their names.

Mr. Adams was very indignant that Dr. Black should have said yesterday that he had been sent from the Embassy by him to advise the postponement of Mr. Fernando Wood's meeting. This he very properly denies. But he at the same time says, he don't want to be made to appear as having treated Mr. Wood unkindly. . . . Wood in a speech said I advised him to call the meeting, but this is false. I had no advice to give him and he wanted none from me.

Among the many letters Mr. Adams received is one from a fellow calling himself an Englishman, inclosing some doggerel verses exulting over the murder of Mr. Lincoln. But this is exceptional. Mason, however, has written a letter justifying the crime. He will be well roasted for this. Louis Blanc and several leading Germans have sent address[es] of denunciation and laying the crime at the doors of the South.

Saturday, April 29. After working at home until one o'clock, I got here at nine this morning and had crowds of visitors until nearly quarter past two, when I went to the City, and met Messrs. Morgan, Morse, Black, Sturgis, and Bergh as a Committee on Resolutions at the coming meeting. But little was done, the duty of preparing the resolutions having fallen upon me and Mr. Morse.

We received news of the fall of Mobile this morning and the probable recovery of Mr. Seward and his son.

The following has been sent anonymously to Mr. Adams and Mr. Morse:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S DESCENT INTO HELL.

As the famed Abe Lincoln to Hell was descending
The devils stopped brawling, and left off contending.
Old Lucifer ran his dear Abe to meet,
And thus the rail-splitter the arch devil did greet,
"My Dear Abe Lincoln, I'm glad beyond measure,
This visit unlooked for, gives infinite pleasure,
And pray, My dear Abe, how go things Down East,
And tell me what now are the prospects of peace
Now you're down, down, down, down, derry down?"

AN ENGLISHMAN.

Sunday, April 30. Last evening I went to the great meeting of the London Emancipation Society at St. James Hall on the assassination of President Lincoln. In all my London experience I never saw so much enthusiasm or heard so many good speeches. The feeling of profound and heartfelt sympathy was deep and unmistakeable. Mr. Wm. Evans presided and presided well. Mr. W. E. Forster made a calm, statesmanlike speech, and so did young Lyulph Stanley. The room was draped in black and three United States flags were gracefully entwined in crape at the east end of the room. The floor, the balcony, the galleries, and the platform of the great hall were literally packed with ladies and gentlemen and the sea of upturned faces showed a greater number of fine heads than I ever before saw in any assembly of the same size. It was an intelligent audience. And the warmth of the applause, the earnest detestation of the murder, and the condemnation of slavery made me inwardly vow that hereafter I would think better of the feelings entertained towards us by Englishmen than ever before. And that if ever any chance of quarrel should occur between the two countries, and I should hear an uninformed countryman of mine denouncing honestly but mistakenly, the spirit of England towards us, the recollection of what I saw then would nerve me to declare that we had friends in England in our day of sorrow, whose noble sympathy, should make us pause, and the remembrance of whose kindly words and manly grief at the assassination of our great and good President, should never be forgotten, but should prompt us to stifle the voice of discord and forgive injuries. In this I am sure I am right. The loud bursts of applause at the mention of Mr. Lincoln's greatness, and indignation at his murder, were intense and without a parallel in my experience. There were some thoroughly democratic speeches made, and expression given to many injudicious sentiments against the British aristocracy, which I fear may be turned against us. But I hope not. It is such follies that damage the best cause, and I have always observed that British democrats instead of relying on the merits of their cause, run away with themselves by abusing the nobility.

Mr. Morse, McHenry and I were present and came away thoroughly pleased.

On my return home last evening I found a note inclosing a printed circular to the following effect:

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

To H. R. H. The Prince of Wales, to Some Members of the House of Lords, to the Majority of the House of Commons, to the Hon'ble Mr. Adams and other Americans resident in London, to the Lord Mayor and Courts of Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London, to Members of the Bar, the Press, and the Bench of Bishops, and to the English people generally.

Your Royal Highness, My Lords, Gentlemen, and Fellow Countrymen.

You have been struck almost dumb by this atrocious deed.

But, remember: On that very day twelve-months, you were vieing with each other how most to honor Garibaldi; himself a notorious cut-throat, and the sworn friend of Mazzini, the Apostle of Assassination.

Be not surprised, then, at an action in exact accordance with your own conduct, and reflect that this may be but the beginning of similar atrocities which may plunge Europe into War. Though Orsini is dead, Mazzini still flourishes. I am, Your obedient Servant,

COMMON SENSE.

This morning I went to Mr. Morse's house, 8 Hanover St., Hanover Square, and he drew up the Resolutions for the meeting to be held to-morrow. We then went to the Legation at three o'clock where we met Russell Sturgis,[1] J. S. Morgan,[2] C. M. Lampson,[3] Dr. Black, Dr. Ballard and Mr. R. Hunting, and submitted the Resolutions. Mr. Adams made some objections and alterations, and I did not get away until half past five o'clock.

Monday, May 1. This has, as usual, been a trying day. We received official notice of Mr. Lincoln's death, and I drew up a letter to Lord Russell announcing the assassination, which Mr. Adams signed. We also received a Circular directing us to wear crape on the left arm for six months and at once complied with the regulation.

During the morning I had visits from Charles H. Coutoit, of New York, Mr. Marshall Woods, an old acquaintance, and quite a number of other persons. At three o'clock we went to St. James' Hall to a meeting of Americans to pass Resolutions on the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. The same drapery that adorned the Hall on Saturday remained. The attendance was very large and the proceedings passed off much better than I expected, although I must say that the speeches as a rule were mainly composed of fustian. There were about 1500 present, and we got through harmoniously a few minutes before five o'clock.

[1] (1805–1887). See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc. Memorial Biographies*, VIII. 317.

[2] Junius Spencer Morgan (1813–1890).

[3] Sir Curtis Miranda Lampson, bart. (1806–1885), an American by birth, who became a naturalized British subject in 1849, and was knighted for his activity in laying the Atlantic cable. His only daughter, Hannah Jane, married the poet and Shakespearean collector, Frederick Locker, who assumed the name of Lampson.

Immediately after I drove to the House of Commons and heard Mr. D'Israeli second the Address of Condolence to the Crown on the Assassination of Mr. Lincoln. I regretted not being there earlier to hear Sir George G[r]ey. But Mr. D'Israeli spoke with great sincerity, condemned in unmeasured terms the great Crime, and expressed deep sympathy with the President and people of the United States. There was a large attendance of Members, and crowds of people waiting outside to get in. I never saw so many people waiting outside on any previous occasion. And every word I heard spoken in the Commons was in favor and in praise of the self-made American, whose honesty raised him so high, and who was so much abused in that very house a few years ago. The resolution was passed unanimously and every body seemed honestly impressed with the enormity of the murder, and with the worth of Mr. Lincoln.

As the matter was ended there I went to the House of Lords. Earl Russell was speaking. The House was very much crowded, the Duke of Cambridge being among the Peers, and there were twelve or fourteen bishops. Every word about Mr. Lincoln was kindly. And as an American I felt proud of the self-made Illinois lawyer, who by his honesty, his singlemindedness, and his love of freedom, had extorted words of admiration from the two greatest deliberative assemblies in the world. Yes, that crowded House of English Lords — the proudest nobles in the world — pressed forward to hear the respective chiefs of their parties speak words of praise of Abraham Lincoln, and like the Commons, passed unanimously an Address to the Throne on his assassination. Lord Derby did not grudge an honest tribute to the great man, rail-splitter as he had been, but he showed a small mind in his remarks; but every word uttered about him was of respect. I came away, impressed with the fact that honest worth, however humble its origin, could extort encomiums from the haughtiest Aristocracy in the world.

There were a great many young lordlings on the steps of the Throne, and one of them said, when Lord Russell was speaking, that he was sticking the Address into the American's Eagle's beak.

I went then to Fenton's, where I dined with McHenry, Dr. Wilson and Mr. Goddard. We then drove to Little Marie Wilton's Prince of Wales' Theatre and saw a very amusing burlesque on Somnambula.

This day we put on crape and black, and began to use black bordered paper for Despatches and notes of all kinds.

Saturday, May 6. About four o'clock Mr. Adams came for me mysteriously and asked me up stairs. On reaching his room, I

found Mr. E. Hammond [1] of the Foreign Office there. Mr. Adams asked me to get some Foreign Office despatch paper, which I did, and then wrote a note to Lord Russell saying Mr. Adams had reason to believe that J. Wilkes Booth,[2] the assassin of Mr. Lincoln, was in this country and asking a warrant for his arrest, with a view to his extradition. This Mr. Adams signed and I handed it to Mr. Hammond. It then came out that H. M.'s Gov't have found out that a person strongly resembling Wilkes Booth arrived in London on Tuesday night and went to his brother's house in Clerkenwell, where he now is being watched by detectives. There is great secrecy about the whole thing and, if Booth is not at his brother's, some rascality is going on there. A large number of detectives are watching, and an arrest will no doubt be made. Mr. Adams has written home for depositions.

This action of the British Government is very honorable, and shows how thoroughly in earnest they are in their sympathy with us in this calamity. It appears the de[te]ctive who was sent here yesterday, is a Government officer.

In the course of the interview Mr. Hammond said they kept their secrets well in the F. O., by allowing everybody to know them, and by trusting to *honor*. Mr. Adams thought the plan wrong and so do I, and that it is not safe as frequent revelations of late show. But Mr. Hammond was not shaken. He said he left every secret behind him when he left his office, and I approved that as from my own practice the best course one could adopt.

He went away to get the warrant with a determination to arrest the man.

About forty addresses were received to-day.

Thursday, July 20. When General Pruyn was here the other day he said he met George Jones of the N. Y. *Times* in Paris, who had just arrived from the U. S. Before he left the proprietor [3] of the *Charleston Mercury* or *Courrier* had arrived and wanted a new set of printing materials. He was frank and jocular, said he was whipped, they were whipped, and Sambo was free; stated, that whereas he had a good printing office at the beginning of the war and the most profitable journal in South Carolina, he now had no office and only the title of his publication. Knowing the North he had come for

[1] Afterwards Edmund, Lord Hammond (1802–1890). See p. 489, *infra*.

[2] Booth had visited the Legation, June 6, 1862: "We had a son of Booth, the actor, here this morning, who looked so like a Catholic clergyman that I thought he was one. He is a gentlemanly fellow, good looking, and yet very unlike his brother, Edwin."

[3] Robert Barnwell Rhett, Jr., a brother, and Roswell T. Logan, were the conductors of the *Charleston Mercury* during and after the war. The paper was discontinued in November, 1868. Hudson, *History of Journalism*, 407.

credit. He had only money enough to pay his board a few days, and wanted to know where he could get paper, types, a printing press, cases, etc. on time. Jones said they would see about it, took him out for a glass of brandy, talked the matter over, and in three hours arranged for all that was needed. The next day the heavy articles were put up and sent to the steamer for Charleston. This is the way the North forgives and the South comes back to the Union. The Charlestonian professes to be Union in future, but at the same time he says he was an out and out Secesh. at first.

Saturday, August 12. The death of Joseph Parkes [1] is announced in this morning's *Times*. This is unexpected to me, as I had not the faintest idea of his being ill. Mr. Parkes was an English politician, who carried water on both shoulders in our war, and while professing friendship for us to Mr. Adams, got all he could from him and carried it to De Laine [Delane] of the *Times*. He was particular to report Mr. Adams' gloomy views during the *Trent* affair, and on our getting the news of Pope's and Hooker's respective failures. I always regarded him as a snake in the grass. Mr. Cobden thought him doubtful in our cause; but spoke very warmly of his great services to the liberal party in England. His wife was born at Northumberland, Pa., and is a daughter of the celebrated philosopher, Dr. Priestley.[2]

Saturday, October 21. Some days ago when little Hudson was here I asked him to find out for me the name of the person who furnished the rebels with information of the intention of the British Government to stop the "No. 290," and thus enabled them to get that ship away from Liverpool and avoid her seizure. He came this morning and gave me a curious narrative. He says one James Buckley was engaged with one Davison, at that time at 57 Cannon St., City, in some business and recruited for both the *Oreto* and *Rappahannock*. This firm shipped supplies to both of these vessels, and was very active in the rebel cause. Joseph Buckley has a relative, one Victor Buckley, who is a clerk in the Foreign Office, and that Mr. Victor Buckley furnished the information of the intended arrest of the ship, to him. He at once communicated it to Fraser, Trenholm, Bulloch, and others, and the ship escaped.

Now, on referring to the Foreign Office List, I find Victor Buckley is a clerk in the department of the Foreign Office which has charge of the correspondence with the U. S., so that much color is given to Hudson's statement. This is worth following up. There is a Rev. Dr. Buckley also implicated. And the firm of Beech, Root

[1] (1796–1865.) See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIII. 304.

[2] Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Dr. Joseph Priestley. A daughter of Parkes — Bessie Raynor Parkes — married Louis Swanton Belloc.

and Co., of Liverpool, are supposed to know something of the matter. If I can prove this charge, Great Britain will be obliged to yield at once these *Alabama* claims.

Thursday, October 26. Little Hudson came to see me at my house last evening. He insists upon it that the rebels got two millions of bales of cotton out through the blockade during the war, and that there is a large amount of the proceeds now on deposit at Gilliats [1] in London. This is most likely true. He also says that Spottiswoode and Co., the Queen's printers, Little New St., New Square, printed the greater part of *The Index*, and all the handbills posted about London and issued at Exeter Hall to cry down Rev. Ward Beecher. And that these were prepared by Hiram Fuller. The staff of the paper were:

Henry Hotze, Principal,[2]
Capt. Hamber,
W. Willis, of the Temple,
Gov. Morehead of Ky.,[3]
Jno. Geo. Witt, 3 King's Bench Walk, Temple,
J. B. Hopkins,
Geo. McHenry,
Hiram Fuller; and
J. R. Thompson, of Richmond, Va.[4]

This gentleman was sent out by the rebel Government at a salary of £2400 per annum. He has just gone home. The paper never paid, and often cost £40 a week to print it.

Its correspondents were:

G. Hudson, Vienna,
C. Adderley, Nassau,[5]
—— Wilson, 135 Broadway, N. Y.,
Carl Zeitz, Bremen,
Gaetano Catullo, Milan.

[1] J. K. Gilliat and Company, a "highly respectable firm," which advanced to McRea £150,000 for the purchase of a steamer, in return for $3,000,000 cotton loan bonds, at five per cent commission, seven per cent interest, and two and one half per cent commission for selling produce. See *War Records*, 4th Series, III. 525.

[2] Henry Hotze, whose "untiring industry and energy" found occupation in the Confederate newspaper — *The Index* — which he established in London. This journal began May 1, 1862, and ran to August 12, 1865.

[3] Charles Slaughter Morehead (1802–1868).

[4] John Reuben Thompson (1823–1873), at one time editor of the *Southern Library Messenger*. In 1863 he was in London, but after the war returned to the United States and for several years was literary editor of the *New York Evening Post*.

[5] Probably of the firm of Henry Adderly and Company at Nassau, who managed the cargo of the *Gladiator* in 1861.

And he further states that the letters from the South to *The Times* and *The Telegraph* came to the *Index* almost all through the war. . . .

Hudson has been here and I have given him £10 to go to Paris. He is, if possible, to get a list of the persons to whom the last interest was paid on rebel bonds; and also to trace Victor Buckley's connection with Hotze and the sailing of the "No. 290." The telegram was sent to Beech, Root and Co., that led to her going out. If I can get the proof, I am made at once.

Hudson says Mason was regarded by all as an old Granny, and that Slidell was the head man. This I can believe. Mason is now living off the money in Gilliat's bank, placed there by Hotze.

Saturday, November 18. Last evening little Hudson came to see me on his return from Liverpool. He got but little information about Buckley, but what he did get was good. It appears that Capt. Butcher brought the notice down that the No. 290, was to be stopped. He left London on the 26th and arrived at the Angel Hotel, Dale St., L'pool, at about three on Sunday morning, the 27th July, 1862. Now, the next thing is to connect Victor Buckley with Butcher in this matter. It turns out he was a subscriber to *The Index*, and that his name as such is still on the books. Hudson called here to see me this morning on the subject, and gave me a narrative of all he could learn on the matter.

1866

Thursday, March 1. Mr. Geo. Bancroft's oration on Mr. Lincoln on the 12th ult. in the House of Representatives at Washington has given great offence.[1] It was as bad to Sir F. Bruce[2] as Lord Brougham's insult to Mr. Dallas at the Social Science Congress of 1860.[3]

[1] Bancroft wrote to Charles Francis Adams, March 23, 1866: "When I learned that the British Minister at Washington was likely to be one of my hearers, I requested Mr. Seward to advise him not to be present; and through another friend, I sent him a similar message, which he received and perfectly understood." Howe, *Life and Letters of George Bancroft*, II. 162.

[2] Sir Frederick William Bruce (1814–1867), the successor of Lord Lyons at Washington.

[3] On July 16, 1860, a statistical congress opened at Somerset House, Prince Albert presiding. The American minister attended by invitation, and in the sessions "Lord Brougham arose and insulted Mr. Dallas most grossly by saying to him in a tone of irony and insolence that he was probably not aware that there was a negro present, at which the polite and well-bred people there laughed and cheered most loudly. Mr. Dallas, of course, said nothing, but the darkie thought fit to make a speech." Two days after, Dr. Jarvis of Boston, an American delegate, brought to the Legation an apology from Lord Brougham, which Mr. Dallas

And Lord Russell himself has written privately to Mr. Adams about it.

Friday, March 2. Mr. Bancroft's oration has stirred these people wonderfully. They writhe under his lash. In fact they are the most thinskinned people in the world when their national pride is involved, and fire up at trifles.

Saturday, April 21. I dined at the Queen's Hotel, Cork St., at five yesterday with Green Clay [1] and then took him to the House of Commons. The reform debate was on, the Sergeant at Arms was surly, and I was not admitted. Mr. Stansfeld however got admission for Mr. Clay, and I went down into the smoking room and talked with Mr. Bright. He introduced me to Henry Labouchere [2] the Member for Windsor, a young man who was in the British Legation once at Washington, and from him I learned that Judah P. Benjamin had been accepted as a British subject at the Temple on the ground of having been born abroad of British parents.[3] I pointed out that he

refused to accept, saying that the apology must be as open as the insult, and that it must be made in the same place. The next day the apology, such as it was, was made, Brougham saying he meant no wrong, and would have said the same thing to the Spanish or Brazilian minister. And on the day following, Lord Brougham came in the morning to the Legation in person, but Dallas refused to see him; he returned in the afternoon, and saw the son, but the explanation of his remark was regarded as unsatisfactory. The incident attracted some public attention, and Lord Lansdown, then very feeble, called to explain; but the more rational laughed at the sensitiveness of Americans on what was said in England on slavery. Buchanan, it was reported, approved Dallas's conduct, but in October (1st) came a dispatch from Cass, No. 278, September 11, censuring Dallas for not having replied to Lord Brougham at the Congress, or at least for not appealing to the Prince Consort for protection from insult, and November 20, just after the return of the Prince of Wales from the United States, Cass wrote (No. 285) on the slave trade, saying to the English Government that those repeated reminders to the United States of their alleged duty are not respectful and must be discontinued. Lord Russell replied that in his opinion the cause of humanity justified his repeated letters on the slave trade. The statistical congress incident determined Dallas to attend no more public meetings in London, and he declined to accept for a proposed Union conference after the British Government had recognized the Southern Confederacy as a belligerent. (7 May, 1861.)

A few months before this incident, Moran heard a debate in the House of Lords on the French annexation of Savoy. Lord Derby did not impress him, for though fluent, he had awkward gestures and repeated his words. Brougham was the best speaker, and Stratford de Redcliffe "the very worst. Brougham looked well and banged the desk with the vigor of a boy of twenty, instead of a man of eighty-four." (February 8, 1860.)

[1] Son of Cassius Marcellus Clay.

[2] Henry Du Pré Labouchere (1832–1912).

[3] Judah Philip Benjamin (1811–1884). His parents were English Jews who sailed for New Orleans in 1811, but learning that the river was blocked by the British fleet, they landed on the island of St. Croix, then a British island, where Judah was born.

was an American by birth, had exercised citizenship, and held high offices under our Government. Mr. Labouchere said he saw the absurdity of the law, and condemned it; but so it was and Benjamin had been accepted here as a subject of the Queen under it, and would be admitted to practice law here as such.

There was a pleasant company present. Sir George Bowyer [1] was holding forth on primogeniture. The six or seven persons in the room smoked, took tea, and made running comments on his remarks. Mr. Bright was told that Gregory was speaking, and "pitching into" him. "Why did n't he tell me what he would do?" said Mr. Bright. "I saw him a few minutes since, and he was all friendship." I found this spirit general and that a general kindly feeling prevails personally among these gentlemen.

Mr. Bright told me that Lord Russell was in favor of household suffrage, but was overborne by his class. And he further said that altho' abused for advising Lord Russell to bring in this bill, he never had more than one interview with that person on the subject of reform and that was not in relation to this measure. I confess this surprised me.

Seeing that Mr. Bright was about to engage in a political discussion, I came away and got home by nine o'clock.

Wednesday, June 20. Capt. Fox [2] and John Van Buren [3] were here together, and met Mr. Adams. Mr. Van Buren was full of fun as usual. He said he was at the House of Commons the other day and there met a member who took him and his daughter in, the House not being in session. He also conducted them to the library and terrace. At parting Mr. Van Buren gave him his card, whereupon the Member remarked that he himself was not very popular in America, and gave Van Buren his name. It was Mr. Gregory the Member for Galway. He said his advocacy of the South was on the principle that Englishmen always took the side of the weak. Then, rejoined Mr. Van Buren, you ought to be on the side of the Fenians, for God knows they are weak enough, and want aid. The hit was good and Gregory laughed heartily at it.

Wednesday, June 27. Yesterday afternoon I went down to the House of Commons with the Rev. W. W. Atterbury to meet Messrs. Cox, and Keener of Maryland, and Judge Maynard of Pa., for the purpose [of] trying to get them in to hear Mr. Gladstone announce the decision of the Queen on the resignation of Earl Russell's Ministry. I never saw a greater crowd. By management I got Mr. Bige-

[1] Sir George Boyer (1811–1883), member for Dundalk.

[2] Gustavus Vasa Fox (1821–1883).

[3] (1810–1866), son of Martin Van Buren. He died at sea in October of this year.

low, the U. S. Minister at Paris, and Messrs. Cox, Keener and Maynard in; but failed in the case of Mr. Atterbury. This gave him mortal offence and he will I am sure remember me adversely in his prayers to the day of his death. He is a peppery man and very fault-finding.

Mr. White, the chief doorkeeper, admitted Mr. Bigelow, Judge Maynard and myself to the Diplomatic Gallery. On the occasions of the announcement of the death of Mr. Cobden and of Mr. Lincoln the house was densely crowded; but not so much as last evening. The floor was black with Members and so were the side galleries. Whig and Tory, Adullamite and radical was alike in his place. After some formal proceedings, in the course of which there was some awkward blundering by a gentleman who had been summoned on some business to the bar, where he produced great merriment, Mr. Gladstone arose. He was received with long continued and hearty cheers by his side of the house to which he bowed with civility. Silence having been obtained he stated that the Queen had accepted the resignation of the Ministry. This announcement was received with stillness of a most profound character, indicative of regret on the part of the Tories for their act and apprehension of evil on the part of the friends of the Government. The feeling was one of discomfort. Mr. Gladstone then made a statement of the facts connected with the Reform Bill, and said the Ministry were bound in honor to go out. His speech was an adroit history of the bill and will be very useful in future. It was warmly received by his friends, and when he moved an adjournment until Thursday, the members left in a crowd. I introduced Messrs. Cox, Keener and Maynard to T. B. Potter, and then came away.

Tuesday, July 24. Yesterday evening about half past seven, I drove down the Bayswater Road in a hansom cab from the foot of Westbourne Terrace towards the Marble Arch, on my way to meet Clarence A. Seward and Mr. McDonough to take them to the House of Commons. When near Albion St. I found a considerable crowd in the Bayswater Road, all the park gates shut, and numbers of policemen inside the railing to prevent access. Crowds gathered and men got on to the coping stones, took hold of the iron rails, and swagging them to and from by main force brought them to the ground. Then hundreds rushed into the park and I saw the policemen beating people with their truncheons. By the time I got to Edgeware Road the crowd of men, women and children was so dense that my cabman had to take me up that street and go down George St. to Orchard in order to get into Oxford St. But here the crowd was equally dense, and a long procession was going up to the Park with banners flying and bands playing. These persons were some of the

Reformers whose meeting the Government had determined should not take place in Hyde Park. But they had not arrived and the destruction of the railing was the work of the populace who had been excluded from the park and who were not reformers. Indeed the work of tearing down had been begun long before the procession reached the park. They were a respectable class of people, well dressed, and well behaved, and carried banners on which were inscribed, "Manhood Suffrage" and other similar mottoes.

Mr. Seward was out and I went to the Club. Some of the people passed there, and hissed, as I supposed, at some fopling lords who were insulting them from the windows above. But no harm was done. I met Lieut. Lamson there of our Navy, who told me he had resigned, and also de Castro of the Belgian Legation. No one seemed to know of the rioting.

After calling to see Edward S. Sanford at Fenton's, and Mr. Boomer at the Palace Hotel, I drove home about half past nine in a hansom up Park Lane. In my absence the British Lion had done his work, and the iron railings of the park were down from near Stanhope Gate all the way to the Marble Arch with little exception. They were twisted, or warped or lying inside or outside the Park. The grounds were full of people, but all seemed well-behaved, altho' deep censure was poured on the Government. It was a London sight rare to see. And the Government had clearly failed of its object, after having raised a useless riot. The people said they would stand such things from Mr. Gladstone, but not from the Tories. The soldiers were out, but did not act. To-day's papers are full of this affair; but as might be expected take different views. My idea is that it is damaging to the Tory cause.

Saturday, September 29. Last evening I dined with Col. Blanton Duncan at No. 5 Orchard St., Portman Square. His wife could not join us, and his little daughter Mary was our only companion.

As a matter of course we talked mainly on the war. He was here as a rebel during much of it, and had an extensive acquaintance with the movements in its favor in Europe. He says Louis Napoleon invited Lindsay and Roebuck to come to him in Paris about recognition, and that they never would have gone there if it had not been for that invitation. He also states that he knows that Louis Napoleon about the same time invited this Government to coöperation and recognise the South as an independent nation; but Lord Russell refused. If this be true, it shows that Napoleon and his tools lied about this business, for they assert that he did not make the offer, but it came from the British Government to him. But I am inclined to confide in Col. Duncan's statement.

Among other things he says that Prioleau[1] (of Fraser, Trenholm and Co.,) has made a large fortune out of the rebels, as has also McRae,[2] and that the blockade runners lately seized now belong to the rebels, and that they should again be attached. At the end of the rebellion there were hundreds of thousands of pounds here in the hands of agents, and that this has been kept by Prioleau, McRae, Hotze[3] and others.

I found him very bitter. And he believes the South will still rule the United States.

Friday, October 26. Yesterday afternoon I drove up to a place at Hammersmith, I never was at before, called Ravenscourt Park, to visit Miss Louise de la Ramée,[4] the authoress of *Strathmore* and other novels, at her residence called Bessborough House. It is a quiet nook, in an eddy of the great river of London, and a retreat I would like to own. The lady is chatty, clever, and refined. She was with her mother; and received me in an airy drawing room where we talked for two hours. The interview was very satisfactory and her remarks on men, women and literature were instructive, forcible and original. Lord Bulwer-Lytton is her admiration as a novelist; and she admires Longfellow as a poet, but condemns his sentiment. Dickens, she said, is neither a gentleman, nor can he describe one. He seems to live in a realm of vulgarity. Hawthorne is her admiration, and also Prescott.

My visit was to hand her a bond of the Five-Twenty issue for $500. from Mr. Lippincott. She took it with delight, and thought the fact of receiving so great a sum from the sale of her books in America, where she owns no copyright, an event in her history. She praised Mr. Lippincott, and deservedly, for his generosity.

Miss de la Ramée is small, slender, and of dark complexion. She has a pleasing face, a good forehead, delicate chin, and large lustrous black eyes full of intelligence and fire. I was agreeably disappointed in her appearance and glad to have made her acquaintance. Darkness had gathered in before I left; and she looked almost like a goddess, with her great black Newfoundland dog at her side by the fire, as I took my last look at her and bowed myself out.

1867

Friday, January 4. Mr. Edward F. De Lancey[5] brought me a letter from Clarence A. Seward. This gentleman is the son of the

[1] Charles K. Prioleau.
[2] Colin J. McRea, agent for the Confederate loan in England.
[3] Henry Hotze.
[4] Better known as "Ouida" (1839–1908).
[5] Edward Floyd De Lancey (1821–1905).

late Bishop De Lancey,[1] and a very nice person. He is over to settle an estate of old Chief Justice Allen of Pa., one of whose daughters was the mother of The Right Hon: Edmund Hammond[2] of the Foreign Office. This is news, and may account for Hammond's hatred to Americans, particularly as there is a family quarrel about money.

Saturday, March 9. To-day at half past twelve, I went in Mr. Adams' carriage to No. 9 Malden Crescent, Prince of Wales Road, Haverstock hill, to attend the funeral of Charles F. Browne,[3] otherwise known as "Artemas Ward." There were a great many of a certain class of literary men present, among whom were young Tom Hood,[4] Alexander Halliday, and Charles Millward, and also Toole the actor,[5] and several other members of the dramatic profession in London. Much curiosity was shown by the crowd in the street. The coffin bore a plain inscription to the effect that Charles F. Browne, was thirty-three years of age, and world renowned as Artemas Ward. The cortège left at half past one and proceeded to Kensall Green Cemetery, where there was a large gathering of people English and American. The funeral service was solemnly read in the Chapel, and the body lowered into a vault. This was very impressive. Afterwards there was service in the Protestant Chapel by the Rev. Mr. Conway,[6] but I did not go.

Wednesday, May 22. Mr. Seward's No. 1971 is very ugly and shows an evident disposition to quarrel with England. In talking of it, Mr. Adams condemned the policy and said he would not be a party to it. His mission was peace, and if Congress showed war on the Alabama claims, as Mr. Seward seemed to think, he would resign and go home. Not because he felt for England, for he thought she had acted very badly; but because there is no wise ground for a quarrel.

[1] William Heathcote De Lancey (1797–1865).

[2] He was son of George Hammond (1763–1853), first British minister accredited to the United States, who while minister married, in 1793, at Philadelphia, Margaret, daughter of Andrew Allen.

[3] Charles Farrar Browne (*c.* 1834–1867).

[4] Thomas Hood, the younger (1835–1874), at this time editor of *Fun*.

[5] John Laurence Toole (1830–1906). Moran associated with many actors and singers, such as Dion Boucicault and his wife, Agnes Robertson, Mr. and Mrs. William J. Florence, John Brougham, and Fechter, whom he described as a "splendid fellow." He was present at the first appearance of Clara Louise Kellogg. He more than once speaks of the prejudice shown by the English against American actors. On Washington's birthday, 1862, he sat next to Edwin Booth at a "breakfast" which lasted from two to seven P. M. Booth he described as "a pale young man having a wonderfully intellectual face, a fine marble forehead, long raven hair, and an expression of great beauty. He complained, as all American actors do, of unfair treatment at the hands of the profession in England."

[6] Moncure Daniel Conway (1832–1907).

Thursday, June 20. Last evening I dined at Mr. Stansfeld's [1] in company with Mazzini,[2] Safi,[3] Lord and Lady Amberley and Mr. Trevelyan, M.P. It was the first time I ever met the two distinguished Italian patriots and I was more than pleased to make their acquaintance. Mazzini is about five feet eight inches high, has a slender figure, a fine intellectual head and a face expressive of benevolence, and mind. His eyes are dark, his hair grey, his complexion rather sallow. But benevolence glows in his countenance, particularly when lit up by conversation, and the listener is struck with his integrity, honesty and frankness. He is no theorist, but a practical statesman and lover of his kind. He wears a grey beard which hides the mouth; but notwithstanding there is force about his thin lips.

He talks English well. We touched upon many things, and among others the celebrated Sanders dinner in 1853.[4] He was not struck with Buchanan, but thought him cold. Sanders had been to see him during the war, to induce him to give his moral support to the rebels, but he refused. How such loud-mouthed advocates of the rights of man could support a rebellion to sustain slavery he could not comprehend, and so told them.

M. Safi is a younger man. But he is one a person would remember. His face has a very kindly expression and wins on one at once. He speaks English well in a soft liquid tone, and seems a very sensible person.

The conversation turned on the untruthfulness of history. Mazzini told us that Mignet made out that he had fought the French on a certain occasion at Rome in 1849, when the fact was the French were seventy miles away. The truth was, the invaders were expected and he was walking gloomily up and down a long corridor in the palace where he was, singing to relieve his anxiety from the oppression of the night, when a shot was fired on the walls and then whole volleys! He went forth to the scene and found it a false alarm. A young soldier had mistaken one man for an army, and hence the firing. And out of this Mignet made a battle between the Italians and French, when there was not a French soldier in Rome. M. Safi laughed at the blunder, and hinted that it was about as true as that Mazzini is an assassin.

They told me that the Americans behaved well in Rome, but

[1] Sir James Stansfeld (1820–1898). His wife was Caroline, daughter of William Henry Ashurst, the well-known radical and friend of Mazzini. She died in 1885.

[2] Giuseppe Mazzini.

[3] Aurelio Saffi.

[4] He gave 1854 as the date on page 467, *supra*.

that all the English but three — two yóung girls and a gentleman — fled in 1849. They like to take care of themselves.

I was much pleased with Lady Amberley, a sharp blond young lady of twenty-five, who is much of a politician. He[1] is about the same age, small and quiet; but not otherwise remarkable. No one would suspect him of the ability he has so far displayed as a Member of the Commons. I was surprized to learn from her that the Prince of Wales lost £10,000 on the Derby. She says the English people don't vote him money to gamble away. And I found all the company agreed with her. Indeed the notion that England is tired of monarchy was entertained by all. To my surprise I found a son and daughter of Earl Russell professing republicanism. All knew MM. Mazzini and Safi and were on the best of terms with them. Grant Duff came in late.[2] He is a clever man and talks well, but is rather dogmatic. I was disappointed in finding him comparatively young, and red-haired.

Mrs. Stansfeld was out of humor with Carlyle for placing Ruskin in the wrong in saying he could not go out without being insulted by the boys of Chelsea. She says she went to see him some time ago, and he said he was insulted wherever he went all over London; and had even been pelted with snow. And yet when Ruskin said so in print he in print denied it! What can we think of his veracity now?

Mr. G. O. Trevelyan pleased me much.[3] He is a fine young fellow with a handsome face, any one would like. I came away about midnight.

Wednesday, September 25. Col. Hiram Fuller came to my house at eight o'clock last evening and remained until eleven, talking about the affairs of his paper, *The Cosmopolitan*. He is as snaky as ever. At first he apologised for his attacks upon me, said they were the work of George McHenry, that he did not endorse them, and regretted their publication. This is all very fine, but he published the slanders and is guilty of wrong in so doing. He wanted money, but I would neither give him any, or allow him to use my name to get it. His paper is evidently in a bad way, he is in debt, and his prospects are far from encouraging. He left at about ten o'clock.

[1] John, Viscount Amberley (1842–1876), son of Earl Russell. He married in 1864 Katharine Louisa, daughter of the second Lord Stanley of Alderley.

[2] Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff (1829–1906), member for Elgin and Moray.

[3] Sir George Otto Trevelyan, then member for Tynemouth.

1868

Saturday, March 7. I then went over to the House of Commons and heard Mr. George Shaw Lefevre[1] introduce his motion on the "Alabama Claims." I was in the Diplomatic Gallery and saw all that passed. The temper of the House was very friendly — a marked change from the time when they cheered Laird for boasting that he was proud of having built the pirate.[2] Mr. Shaw Lefevre called him a malefactor and no one dissented. Lord Stanley made a good speech although it was disfigured with some inaccuracies about Dudley Mann's visit to Hungary. He mentioned Mr. Adams' name and the House cheered spontaneously in almost every quarter. I never heard so warm a burst in favor of a foreigner there before. During the debate I looked down on Laird,[3] who sat beneath me with his hat over his eyes, and I must say he looked like a guilty and condemned man. Take it all in all the debate did good, and will, or I much mistake the course of events, bring about a settlement of the affair or aid us to do so.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Mr. LONG.

INDIAN DEED, 1651

The following paper is one of the very few known, signed by Ousamequin (Massasoit) and Wamsutta his son. The original is in the collections of the Society, and the signatures are reproduced in its edition of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, I. 200 *n*.

Be it knowen vnto all men by these Presents that we whous Names are here vnder writen beinge of the blood and kindred and Nabor Sachims or princis bordringe vpon the Confines and in heritance of our beloued cosin wequequinequa and Nummampaum sachim and Squa Sachim the treu heire aparent vnto a tract of land buttinge vpon the East side of the East harbor Cominge in to Rood Eyland and for as much as our Cozins haue sould vnto captin Richard morris his heires executors Adminestrators and assines for Euer a Neck of land cauled Nunequoquit or Pogasek Neck with som othar parcilles Nere there vnto we do here by Renownce and disclaime for our selves our heires Executors Adminestrators and assines for euer all claime of Right title or Intrest in any kind

[1] George John Shaw-Lefevre baron Eversley (1832-——).
[2] See Brooks Adams in *Proceedings*, XLV. 248.
[3] John Laird (1805–1874), the member for Birkenhead.

what so euer in or to the afore said land or any part or parcill there of with all the profits there vnto appurtaining or any wais belonginge and do by these presents give vnto captin Richard morris our free approbation and full consent vnto the purches of the afore said land and do further here by testifie that this act and ded of saile from our cozins vnto captin Richard morris is Just and with out all controuarcie sould out of there own propar Inheritanc no waies dependinge vpon vs or any othar Sachim confininge Ner these Inheritanc And for as much as I Osamekin chefe Sachim of a great tract of land confining vpon the Inheritanc of this my brothars dafter haue put my land vnder plimoth gourment these are to testifie that I Neuar did nor intendid to put vndar plimoth any of my kinswomans land but my owne inheritanc and there fore I do disalow of any pretended claime to this land sould by my Cosin wequequinequa and Nummampaum to captin Richard morris Eathar by plimoth or the inhabitants of porchmoth one Rood Eyland by vartew of any grant from me or any through my mens in testimony here of we do set to our markes and seales this twentie sixt day of July one thousand six hundred fiftie and one 1651

X The marke of Osamekins
chefe Sachim
X The marke of Wamsutta
X The marke of Tasomockon

Witnis here vnto
James J. S. Sands
his marke
Richard Bullgar

JAMES FORBES was born in Edinburgh, July 10, 1857. His father, serving in the British army in India during the mutiny, died shortly before this event, and the son was early apprenticed in his native city to a trade. An opportunity offering, he went to London and there served the usual long apprenticeship in a book bindery, where his natural aptitude rapidly developed by experience. He came to the United States in September, 1883, and entered the employ of Francis P. Hathaway, then on Washington Street, but later in the building of the Boston Athenæum. For thirteen years Mr. Forbes remained with Mr. Hathaway, proving his growing skill in all branches of bookbinding. He soon became recognized as a master workman on the finer work, notably in treating old manuscripts and inlaying portraits and letters, and few collections of importance in the city are without examples of his binding. In 1896 he set out independently, but after five years he entered the establishment of Dudley and Hodge. In August, 1910, he came to the Society, to repair, mount and bind its manuscript collections. Much as he had accomplished in these last years toward putting the manuscripts in a permanent shape, only a beginning had been made on its wealth of material; but every volume he completed was final as to its needs for preservation. He died, after a short illness, May 6, 1915. He stood among the best in this special occupation: his thorough training, his painstaking and conscientious study of methods, and the touch and practised ability which come only to the few, gave to his work a certainty of treatment and permanent finish. He married in December, 1885, Sarah J. L. Roberts, who survives him.

JUNE MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the PRESIDENT, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported that Miss Ellen Susan Bulfinch, a granddaughter and biographer of Charles Bulfinch, architect, places on deposit a portrait of Stephen Greenleaf (1705–1795), Sheriff of Suffolk, by John Smibert; and a portrait of Charles Bulfinch by Mather Brown.

He also reported the following gifts to the Cabinet: a portrait of Rev. Joshua Huntington (1786–1819), from the heirs of John C. Phillips; an engraved caricature of a fop, or "macaroni," published in London in 1773, from the estate of Edward H. Hall; two lithographs, Harrison Avenue Congregational Church, and the Iron Light House on Minot's Rock which was destroyed by a great storm on April 16, 1851, from Mrs. Elizabeth S. Barry; and several medals, store cards and coins, from Mrs. Charles F. Richardson, the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Mrs. Roland C. Lincoln, and Miss Mary C. Pratt of Plymouth; also a bronze medal of the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition, 1907, in commemoration of the first permanent settlement of English speaking people in America awarded to Arthur Lord, Commissioner from Massachusetts, from Mr. Lord.

The Editor reported a gift from Mrs. Thomas R. Watson, of Cambridge, of manuscripts chiefly correspondence of the Watson-Goodwin family, and containing some early papers on colonial and Revolutionary matters.

From Mrs. George B. Parkinson, of South Lincoln, manuscripts and printed issues of the eighteenth century.

From Andrew McFarland Davis, a volume of Belknap's

History of New Hampshire, enriched by many manuscript annotations by Charles Deane.

Robert Grant, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. BIGELOW, in a few remarks, presented to the Society, in commemoration of the seven hundredth anniversary of the Magna Charta, June 15, 1915, a piece of wood from the Magna Charta tree, which was cut down in 1880. This relic was given to Mr. Bigelow a day or two later by the wife of the tenant.

Mr. SANBORN spoke on the Weare Papers, the sale of which has been enjoined by the State of New Hampshire.

Mr. WATERS read a paper on

AN EPISODE OF THE WAR OF 1812.

"Madison's War," as the Federalists delighted to call it, was very unpopular in New England. The President's Proclamation of an Embargo touched the pocket, paralyzing thriving industries and destroying the prosperous commerce. His "Retaliation" Proclamation wounded the feelings of his political opponents. Some of the American prisoners had been sent to England to be tried as traitors on the ground that they were subjects of the British Crown, who had taken up arms against their sovereign. Some had been confined in a dungeon in Halifax, it was reported, and in Quebec, black, rotten bread, honey-combed with vermin, according to the affidavit of a Lake Champlain pilot, caused the death of many prisoners.[1] The *Boston Patriot*, of January 1, 1814, contains the advertisement of a book, "Barbarities of the Enemy," published in Troy, N. Y., in November, 1813.

As an act of reprisal, announcement was made in the *Essex Register* of Salem, of Saturday, October 9, 1813, that:

> On Thursday last, ten English prisoners were selected from the Prison-ship in this Town and sent to Ipswich Stone Jail, to be kept in close confinement as hostages in part for the 16 unfortunate Americans confined in a dungeon at Halifax. We also learn that about 100 English soldiers and seamen are to be detained in retalia-

[1] *Boston Patriot*, January 5, 1814.

tion for these so unaccountably selected from the American prisoners at Halifax and sent to England.

Three months passed without any move to relieve these prisoners, but early in January, 1814, public attention was centred on these unfortunates by a violent newspaper controversy between the *Essex Register*, a Democratic sheet, edited by the famous Dr. Bentley, and the *Essex* or *Salem Gazette*.

A correspondent, who signed himself "Essex," wrote a communication to the *Gazette*, which was published on January 14:

In the *Essex Register* of the 1st inst. was the following notice.

RETALIATION.

"Ten of the petty officers of the *Chesapeake* frigate having been released from close confinement at Halifax, the ten British officers, who have been closely confined in Ipswich jail in retaliation have been likewise released."

This agreeable intelligence has been republished in most of our papers under the name of "Christian Retaliation," and no doubt was entertained of its truth. It is time that the public should be correctly informed on the subject of the unfortunate prisoners at Ipswich. Seventeen of our fellow-beings have been immured in dungeons in our own neighborhood three months and the public attention has not been called to their sufferings. The following we believe to be a correct statement of this affair.

On the 7th of October, 1813, James Prince Esq., Marshal of this District, issued his mandate directed

"To the under keeper of the gaol of the United States at Ipswich" . . . requiring him, "to receive into his custody and safely keep in DUNGEONS in the gaol aforesaid, the bodies of Thomas Cooper . . . in retaliation for cruelties," said to be "exercised" on certain persons at Halifax, "and also as hostages to respond for any acts of violence, which may be inflicted on them."

. . . . . .

These men have ever since been kept in dungeons as dreary as Mr. Madison could desire. The gaol is a gloomy stone building. The dungeons are 7 ft. by 10 on the ground floor, of rough stone at top, bottom and on all sides. There are loop holes or narrow openings of two or three inches wide, through the upper part of the stone walls, to admit the little light and air which these unfortunate victims are allowed to enjoy. In damp weather, the water runs down

the walls, and drips from the stone ceiling over the floors. These dungeons were never intended for any other purpose than to punish the worst of criminals by a few days solitary imprisonment, and it is believed have never been used even for that purpose. Yet in these places have 17 innocent men been languishing for 3 months, 16 of them 4 in a dungeon, and the other (Capt. Ross) in a dungeon by himself. A few days since 10 of them were removed to the cells in the second story, appropriated to criminals. These cells are larger than the dungeons but extremely cold and uncomfortable.

So far have these unfortunate prisoners been "released," and no further. Seven, viz. Capts. Ross and Clements, Lieuts. Owen, Black and Nickerson, and two seamen it is understood are still confined in two dungeons; and on some of the late cold nights several were chilled almost past recovery, notwithstanding they had received a supply of warm clothing from some charitable individuals: and medical aid was necessarily called in to restore the perishing, and it is only by this charitable relief and the attention of the gaoler's family not warranted by the orders of Government, that these poor prisoners are not dead.

. . . . . .

The public are already informed from authentic sources that the 16 Americans who were in prison in Halifax, were not shut up in dungeons. They were confined in apartments, with which they were so well satisfied that they preferred remaining there to being removed to Melville Island.

"Essex" closed his letter with an appeal to the Legislature to take this unwarranted use of a County Prison by the General Government under consideration.

On January 21, 1814, another article appeared, bearing the caption, "The Dungeons of the Inquisition." A correspondent, who signed himself "Howard," having examined the records of the Inquisition of Portugal and elsewhere, institutes some damaging comparisons between the dungeons in which the victims of the Inquisition were confined, and those in the notorious Ipswich jail. Thus, he notes that the former were shut up in dungeons, 10 or 11 feet long, 8 or 9 feet. wide, and appends the foot-note, "larger than Ipswich." "The sufferers sat in darkness, anxious for the night that they may have a light;" *foot-note*, "We do not know whether the British prisoners at Ipswich have a light in the night." "Out of their allowance, deduction was made for washing, fuel, etc." *Foot-note,*

"The dungeons in Ipswich, we understand, have no fire in them." "The prisoners of the Inquisition slept on tiled floors." *Footnote.* "The dungeons at Ipswich have stone flooring, which are colder than tile or brick, and in damp weather I have been told the prisoners lay a board or two upon the stones to keep themselves out of the wet."

Fortunately for the Ipswich dungeons this well-balanced, antiphonic refrain fails in its last member. "The countenances of those who are brought out for an auto-de-fé show the treatment they have received for they are so altered that nobody can recognize them." The suggested inference only is that the filth, vermin and stench of the Ipswich dungeons have caused similar transformation in the British prisoners.

In the next issue, William Gray, in an article headed, "Must we wait to hear from France?" quotes from the works of the philanthropist Howard the narrative of his visit to a French prison. "In four of these dungeons (10 ft. 8 in. by 6 ft. 8 in.) I saw 16 prisoners, two in irons, all lying upon straw," and calls attention to the fact that these are a little bigger than the Ipswich dungeons.

To all this, the *Register* retorted that there was gross misrepresentation of the treatment of the Ipswich prisoners, but acknowledged that the Marshal visited the jail on the 23d of December and removed all, except one sick of a fever and one left to take care of him, to more comfortable quarters.

Evidently, there is reason to believe that in the heat of partisan controversy there was considerable exaggeration of the facts concerning the Ipswich stone jail. As a matter of fact it was a new building, built according to the approved plans of prison architecture. It was planned in 1799, but building operations were not begun until 1803 or later, and in the meantime Colonel Wade of Ipswich, the County Treasurer, had visited Concord and examined the prison there. It was completed in 1806, a plain two-story building, with four rooms in each floor, the lower rooms designed for thieves and disturbers of the public peace and the upper rooms for the safe-keeping of those imprisoned for debt. By a singular accident, if accident it be, the annual reports of the jailer of the Ipswich jail for the period covered in this controversy are not found in the files of the Court of General Sessions, but in the report of years a little

later, the number of prisoners would involve as great crowding as in the case under review.

A new stone jail was being built in Salem, in the year 1813, which was modelled in the main after the Ipswich prison. The Committee appointed to make the preliminary inquiries, reported on March 25, 1811:

> That it is expedient and necessary to build a stone Gaol at Salem with comfortable apartments for debtors separate from criminals and with accommodations for the safe keeping of prisoners and for punishment of convicts.
>
> The Committee ask leave to suggest the propriety of furnishing the debtors' rooms with grates or stoves to be fixed in the walls in such manner as that those rooms may be warmed as circumstances may require. The other rooms also may be occasionally warmed by iron stoves placed in the entries.

The probable cost of the whole structure, it was calculated, would not exceed the cost of the Ipswich jail. The ground plan of the new Salem jail shows four cells, 10 by 10 feet, and four others, 15 feet 10½ inches by 10½ feet. It was the common type of the prisons of the period, and was similar to the New York prisons, regarding which Mr. McMaster[1] reveals extraordinary conditions, moral and physical. I find it hard to believe that such barbarities could have found place in our New England towns, inasmuch as only a few years later, in 1820, the sentiment toward prisoners was so humane, that petitions were signed by many of the influential citizens of Newburyport and Salem, and in response, the Court assigned definite limits in each town, within which debtors were allowed their liberty, and the opportunity of work, and the privilege of entering any meeting house within the prescribed bounds.

Meanwhile a merry war was being waged in the columns of the Worcester papers, the *Boston Patriot* and the *Massachusetts Centinel*, between Hon. Francis Blake, the friend and counsel of the British officers imprisoned in the Worcester jail, and Mr. Prince, the United States Marshal. The really tragic experiences of the Ipswich prisoners give place here to an amusing series of serio-comic happenings. If we may presume to judge what the real facts of the case were, by balancing the

[1] IV. 542.

charges and denials, in piecing together the bits of truth that were acknowledged by all, these English officers were men of wealth and refinement, attended by man-servants, well equipped with buffalo coats and clothing adequate to the severities of a New England winter, and they seem to have been enjoying their parole of honor in such pleasant fashion, that friendships had grown up with men of influence. When the blow fell and the Marshal acting in obedience to his instructions was obliged to remove them to prison, they resented his act as a personal indignity, and Mr. Blake, a member of the Senate and a prominent citizen, acted as their counsel.

In the *Boston Patriot* of January 15, 1814, the Marshal replies to the charge made in the *Worcester Gazette* of the 5th, that he had "executed in a rude and unfeeling manner the Presidential mandate for the imprisonment of the ten British officers, prisoners of war, confined in the gaol of the County," pronouncing it utterly false, and making the counter charge that the Hon. Francis Blake, appearing as their counsel, declared "he was ready for rebellion, when British officers were arrested."

The same issue reported that nine of these prisoners had made their escape.

> It is rational to conclude they had external assistance, and from the disposition of certain individuals in Worcester, it is probable they found no difficulty in obtaining it. . . . *i.e.* where the doors of our prisons are treacherously set open and the subjects of the enemy held as hostages for the safety of our own citizens are set at liberty, when in short some of our own magistrates appear to have inlisted into the service of the enemy, it is time for the National government to adopt such wise and energetic measures as will defeat the design of foreign emissaries and domestic foes.

The Marshal published a proclamation offering $500 reward for the apprehension of the escaped prisoners, information of traitorous help, etc. Five of them were soon retaken in the town of Barre.

Mr. Blake retorted in the next issue of the *Patriot:* "A false and slanderous communication . . . imperiously demands from me a reply." His reported declaration about being ready for rebellion he affirmed was "a base, malicious and infamous falsehood." So far from sleeping on feather beds with

comfortable blankets, "we found that bags of dirty straw with filthy and offensive rugs had been taken from the common stock of the prison and thrown on the floor, without a sheet or a blanket for their covering, and without a chair or other furniture for their accommodation."

He appended the affidavit of Hon. Oliver Fisk that he had found the prisoners in dirty quarters, with scant fire, straw for bed, etc., and made further charges against the Marshal, whom he is pleased to style, "a bloated pensioner upon the public sufferings."

He most infamously and falsely asserted that either he or the Government was in possession of the baptismal certificates of 22 of the 23 prisoners, who had been sent to England for trial from which it would appear they were American citizens. The inference which it was intended the British officers should draw from this was in case of their execution, they themselves would be inevitably hung. An inference admirably calculated to render their confinement more comfortable and tranquil.

In a two-column communication in the *Patriot* of January 26, the Marshal cleared himself from the charge of unnecessary severity, as the Cartel provided for three shillings a day.

In a letter from Dr. Lincoln he states it was understood they were to have coffee with toast, crackers, butter and steak for breakfast, Roast and boiled meats with the variety of vegetables with which the country abounds, and pies and puddings, together with good cider as a beverage for their dinners, and the same for supper and to be furnished with firing, good beds and bedding, for which $3½ a week was to be paid the gaoler.

The picture that Mr. Blake had drawn of the scene of the arrest is affecting in the extreme. These British officers were together, when the Marshal appeared. One of them of peculiar gentleness of temperament, with the most hospitable intent was about opening a closet door, that he might offer their guest becoming refreshment. The Marshal laid his hand roughly upon his shoulder, so that the astonished officer was almost moved to tears. To which Mr. Prince replied that he thought the prisoner was opening the door to effect his escape, that he communicated to them with delicacy and tenderness, that they were afterwards indulged to dine, and to remain at large until the close of the day, that their servants were not

excluded, nor were they deprived of their buffalo coats, and that arrangements were made for their comfort and accommodation as was due their rank.

In the *Massachusetts Centinel*, of February 2, Mr. Blake published the sworn affidavit of Mr. Heard, the gaoler, that he had never said he had received instructions to treat them better than ordinary prisoners. In the *Patriot* of the 5th, Mr. Prince published the sworn affidavits of his Deputy, the Collector of the Port of Boston, and other reputable citizens, that they heard the gaoler use these words.

Whatever the truth may have been, the Federal newspapers were not open to conviction. The *Newburyport Herald* of February 8 reviewed the Blake-Prince controversy and pronounced judicially: "In short it appears from the evidence that Marshal Prince's conduct toward the prisoners was cruel, vindictive and base." This was the undoubted Federal sentiment.

The Legislature had been appealed to, and it took decisive action. Governor Strong approved on February 7, 1814, "An Act, Declaratory of the true intent and meaning of an Act, entitled, 'An Act to provide for the safe keeping all prisoners committed under the authority of the United States in the several gaols within the Commonwealth.'"

> That nothing contained in an Act, entitled . . . shall be so construed as to authorize the keepers of the said gaols to take custody of and keep within said gaols, any prisoners committed by any other authority than the Judicial Authority of the United States.
>
> And whereas several prisoners of war have been committed to gaols, within this Commonwealth under the Executive Authority of the United States.
>
> Sec. 2. Be it further enacted That the keepers of the said gaols are hereby authorized and required to discharge from said gaols all such prisoners of war, after the expiration of thirty days from the passing of this Act, unless they shall be sooner discharged by the authority of the United States.

This led to an act of Congress, says Mr. Hildreth,[1] authorizing the marshals of the United States, whenever the use of stone jails was withdrawn, to provide other places of im-

[1] *History of the United States*, VI. 470.

prisonment; "and to an application by the President to his faithful Legislature of Pennsylvania for the use of the Pennsylvania penitentiaries."

Removal was made by the Government, but shortly afterward, some of the American prisoners, who had been sent to England were released on parole, and commissioned to inform the American government that the twenty-three prisoners, charged with treason, had not been brought to trial, but remained on the ordinary footing of prisoners of war. This was followed by a dismissal on parole of all the officers, prisoners on both sides.

Happily for the British officers whose experience in the Ipswich "dungeons" and the Worcester jail had been so painful, nothing remained but bitter memories. But profound and enduring significance was attached to the action of the Massachusetts Legislature. By its refusal to permit the President of the United States to use its jails, it had taken a long step toward the declaration of the right of the State against the Federal Government. It was in complete harmony with the action of Governor Strong in refusing to allow the Massachusetts militia to be enrolled by the Government for service outside the Commonwealth, and with the Proclamation of Governor Chittenden of Vermont, ordering the return of a brigade of Vermont militia, which was serving under the command of a United States officer outside the jurisdiction of the State Executive, to return forthwith. Taking their stand upon the Constitution of the United States, the men of New England declared that no exigency had arisen that authorized the general government to call out the militia, or interfere with the privileges and rights of a sovereign state.

Mr. MURDOCK presented, for publication, five letters selected from his collection:

JOHN WENTWORTH[1] TO JOHN HANCOCK.

EXETER, 21st April, 1775.

SIR, — Upon the melancholy Intelligence of Hostilities being committed by the Regular troops upon our Brethren in your province the provincial Committee thought proper Immediately to call a Convention in order to consult in what manner they might afford

[1] (1719–1781), of Somersworth.

Seasonable Succour, to your province, but before convention could meet,[1] our men had taken the alarm and marched, many of them unprovided with ammunition and provisions, not being able to obtain certain Intelligence whether they are or may be needed, or can be supplied by our Brethren there with those necessaries, this convention have therefore appointed a Committee of their Body [2] to wait on your Congress for that purpose, and to obtain Information what further measures you may Think proper to be pursued for the General good. I am, Sir, your most Obedt. Humb. Servt.

JNO. WENTWORTH.

FROM LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

STONELAND LODGE, July 27th 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for your letter and for the *Gazette*. The Action [3] does honour to the Troops, but I must lament the loss of so many good officers and so many brave men, what pity it is that these Rebels cannot be met upon fair ground; I trust this defeat will cool their courage, and that Mr. Gage's intelligence will prove true about the difficulty of keeping them together. I cannot concieve how the Rebel army is pay'd or subsisted; when the Trade is stopp'd and the intercourse between the Provinces prevented by the men of war, what resources can be found for the providing the innumerable demands of an army in the field, and for the supporting the families of those who die in action, or are ruin'd by the burning of Towns etc. etc.

I see by Gage's account that he commends Mr. Howe and Clinton because he must, but he praises Pigot with warmth and affection. Col: Abercrombie's death will be a particular Loss to the army, as he understood the making war in that Country as well as any officer. I hope the Ministers will now think seriously of recruiting and encreasing the force there; if the Rebels persevere you will never reduce them by arms but by Possessing of New yorke, and carrying on your offensive operations from thence. The more I think upon that subject the more I am convinced of its being right. I took the Liberty of saying so in my letter to Lord Suffolk,[4] and I am persuaded till that idea is adopted and vigorously pursu'd no decisive blow can be struck, and the protracting a war of this sort is dangerous in the highest degree. when the four Regts. destined for N.

[1] It assembled at Exeter on the day this letter was written, and Wentworth was chosen its President.

[2] Josiah Bartlett and Theophilus Gilman. *N. H. Prov. Papers*, VII. 454.

[3] Bunker Hill, June 17.

[4] Henry Howard, twelfth Earl of Suffolk (1739–1779).

Yorke join the army at Boston, I conclude we shall hear of another attack, I hope with as good success and with less loss than in this last. I beg you would assure my Lord Suffolk of my respect and best wishes. I am, Dear Sir, Your faithfull Humble Serv't.

GEO: GERMAIN.

JOHN HANCOCK TO DOROTHY HANCOCK.

YORK TOWN, June 20th, 1778,
Saturday morning.

MY DEAR DOLLY, — I arrived at this place the 18th Inst. after a most fatiguing Journey, bad roads and miserable entertainment, but thank God I am in tolerable health. I long much to hear from you and the little John.[1] I hope this will find you well over the hurry of your week's company, and that your health is thoroughly establish'd. This is my fourth letter, and besides many messages by persons who promis'd me they would call upon you and inform you of meeting me well on the road. Do let me know if three sailors call'd on you with a message from me, they had been prisoners and were returning. I gave them sixteen dollars on the road, and they promis'd to call. I met Mr. Adams who keeps with my Brother,[2] he will call. Mr. and Mrs. Hillegas are well, desire their compliments to you, she wrote you by Mr. Adams. Capt. Landais[3] just going off I have only time to add my regards to all friends, love to Mr. Bant and my Brother, to Mrs. Brackett and all in the family. I shall write you fully by Mr. Dodd[4] who sets off for Boston on Monday and shall write Mr. Bant and my Brother, do beg them to write me and send me the news papers. My Dear, I must beseech you to write me often, if you wish my health you will not omit one opportunity. Pray do not neglect me in that respect. I will write you particularly by Dodd. I wish you the best of Heaven's blessings, and am with the most perfect love, Yours for ever,

JOHN HANCOCK.

[Endorsed] To Mrs. Hancock at her house near the Common, Boston. Favored by Capt. Landais.

We have this moment an account that the enemy have evacuated Philadelphia and that some of our Troops have march'd in, and taken possession of the City.

J. H.

YORK TOWN, 20 June.

[1] John George Washington Hancock (1778–1787).

[2] Ebenezer Hancock (1741–1819).

[3] Pierre Landais (1734–1820), just appointed to the command of the new Continental frigate, the *Alliance*.

[4] William Dodd, one of the "express" riders for the Continental Congress.

Lord North to Major General Riedesel.

Duplicate. Whitehall, 16th April, 1783.

Sir, — The Provisional Articles of a Treaty of Peace having been agreed upon between His Majesty and the United States of North America, and it being intended to abstain from all offensive Operations in Canada; I have the King's commands to acquaint you, that Instructions have been sent to Governor Haldimand to make the necessary preparations for your return to Europe, with the Troops of His Serene Highness the Prince of Brunswick.

The King has further commanded me to signify to You that during your residence in Canada he has received the most honorable testimonies of your merit and services, and of the spirited behaviour of your Officers and Men. I beg leave to add on this occasion, that I have peculiar satisfaction in conveying to You this assurance of His Majesty's approbation, which, it is His Royal wish should be expressed to You in the most ample manner.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

North.

Major General Reidesel.

John Adams to William Plumer.

Quincy, March 28, 1813.

Dear Sir, — You enquire, in your kind letter of the 19th whether, "every Member of Congress did, on the 4th of July 1776, in fact cordially approve of the declaration of Independence"?

They who were then Members all signed it, and as I could not see their hearts, it would be hard for me to say that they did not approve it: but as far as I could penetrate, the intricate internal foldings of their Souls, I then believed, and have not since altered my Opinion, that there were several who signed with regret, and several others with many doubts and much lukewarmness. The Measure had been upon the carpet for Months, and obstinately opposed from day to day. Majorities were constantly against it. For many days the Majority depended on Mr. Hews [1] of North Carolina. While a Member, one day was speaking and reading documents from all the Colonies to prove that the Public Opinion, the general Sense of all was in favour of the Measure, when he came to North Carolina and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the Majority of that Colony were in favour of it, Mr. Hews who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and lifting up both his Hands to Heaven as if he

[1] Joseph Hewes (1730–1779).

had been in a trance, cry'd out "It is done! and I will abide by it." I would give more for a perfect Painting of the terror and horror upon the Faces of the Old Majority at that critical moment than for the best Piece of Raphaelle. The Question however was eluded by an immediate Motion for Adjournment. The Struggle in Congress was long known abroad. Some Members who foresaw that the point would be carried, left the House and went home to avoid voting in the Affirmative or Negative. Pennsilvania and New Jersey recalled all their Delegates who had voted against Independence and sent new ones expressly to vote for it. The last debate but one was the most copious and the most animated; but the Question was now evaded by a Motion to postpone it to another day, some Members however declaring that if the Question should be now demanded, they should now vote for it, but they wished for a day or two more to consider of it. When that day arrived some of the New Members desired to hear the Arguments for and against the Measure. When these were summarily recapitulated The Question was put and carried. There were no Yeas and Nays in those times. A Committee was appointed to draw a Declaration, when reported underwent an Abundance of Criticism and Alteration: but when finally accepted all those Members who had voted against Independence now declared they would sign it and support it.

The Appointment of General Washington to the Command in 1775 of an Army in Cambridge, consisting altogether of New England men, over the head of Officers of their own Flesh and Choice, a most hazardous step, was another instance of Apparent Unanimity and real regret in nearly one half. But this history is too long for this letter.

The Taxes must be laid and the War supported.

I have nothing from My Son [1] since 28. Oct. I know not how we shall ever get him home: though that is the most anxious wish of my heart. Pray write him as often as you can.

I regret the change of hands, in N. H. at this juncture very much.[2] With great respect I am, dear Sir, your Friend and Servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Through the courtesy of Miss Mary Rivers the Editor prints the following extracts from a journal kept by Miss Lydia Smith, daughter of Barney Smith, and sent in the form of letters to her friend Miss Anna Lothrop, of Boston, later Mrs. Thomas

[1] John Quincy Adams, at this time in St. Petersburg, as United States Minister Plenipotentiary.

[2] The election of John Taylor Gilman as governor.

Lydia Smith

From the original portrait by Gilbert Stuart
in the possession of Miss Mary Rivers

Motley, and mother of the historian, John Lothrop Motley. The journal was kept in 1805 and 1806, and but a fragment appears to have been preserved.

Last evening[1] I was at the representation of Hamlet at Drury Lane theatre. To say I was pleas'd, you would doubt so cold a term — I was "rapt, inspir'd." Young Roscius[2] in Hamlet, even in Hamlet, lost none of the interest he had excited in the more simple character of Achmet.[3] In the variety of Hamlet's character it is almost impossible not to fail in some parts, and the sensibility, almost absorb'd in the interesting Prince, is shock'd at the least deviation from Nature and is impatient at the most trivial mistake that serves to dispel the illusion into which the mind loses itself. I discover'd faults even with his perfections. Roscius avoids the offence which most actors commit, that of addressing the audience instead of the person with whom he is conversing; but he often falls into an equal one, and addresses his speech to the air, and turns his head to heaven, and "conjures the wandering stars" instead of his companion, who stands awkwardly confused to answer what was not address'd to him. The other fault I perceive in him is a kind of boyish levity which sometimes shows itself, even in Hamlet; particularly when surprise is exprest, he is apt to look in a "Wonderment," a thing unpardonable in such a character as Hamlet. But he supported the part most admirably. The scene between him and the Ghost was impressive and affecting; the closet scene which requires the strongest exertion of passion was almost inimitable; he was more animated than Cooper,[4] but not so solemn; he had more passion, but was neither so affecting or affected. The melody of Cooper's voice was wanting, and I think all that was wanting. The "Beauteous Majesty of Denmark" was Mrs. Powell.[5] She seconded his efforts so well as to render it truly interesting, particularly in this scene. Her figure is majestic, her face is not so handsome as *our* Mrs. Powell;[6] but her features are fine, her voice is superior, and so well expressed the deep remorse and repentance of the Queen that I even wept. It was impossible to behold uninterested what it would have been treason to sensibility to have disbelieved. You have told

[1] Some time in December, 1805.

[2] William Henry West Betty (1791–1874).

[3] Or Selim, in John Brown's "Barbarossa."

[4] John Cooper (fl. 1810–1870).

[5] Mrs. Powell was three times married, and known under the names of Mrs. Farmer, Mrs. Powell and Mrs. Renaud. She acted from 1787 to 1829, supporting with ability the leading actors of the day, and had even taken the part of Hamlet to Mrs. Jordan's Ophelia.

[6] Mrs. Snelling Powell, who was Miss Harrison before her marriage.

me to describe to you what I see and I would obey; but in descending into the impertinence of description I may incur the censure of your patience. But I will forewarn you that I am proceeding in an exact detail of what and how, etc. So that you may either arm yourself with patience or throw by the sheets, as I shall say what I have a mind to and all I have a mind to. To give you an idea of this Theatre, I should know its dimensions; but as I cannot correctly state them, I will say that it is vast and stupendous. It is about five times as large as Federal Street, so I was told; but it is impossible to form any comparison by the mere eye. There are four tiers of boxes. The decorations of this Theatre are extremely elegant; on the front of each box there is a tablet of fine painting, and so much gilding about it as to give it a gay and lively air. The stage boxes are partition'd from the rest, partly by a lattice work and by a wall that receives two large mirrors. But they do not chuse to sport these on common occasions, and never put them up but when the royal family are here, and they then dress these out in Crimson Velvet, etc. We sat in one of them — it is called the Prince of Wales box — the same from where he look'd so sweet a[t] Mrs. Robinson.[1] Should you not have considered the place consecrated? I was very much offended to find the box rob'd of the Royal Purple and intend never to sit there again, unless beforehand sending a demand to the Privy Council to have it in full dress: and as Eloise wonders whether Bonaparte would not make peace to permit Mrs. Capt to go to France, if he knew that prevented her, so do I wonder if the House of Lords would not bring it in Crowners Quest that the box should be in Royal habiliments, in order to induce me to honour it with my presence. They never bring on their whole forces at once, tho' this play in all its parts was respectably supported. The dignity and elegance of Mrs. Powell were all we should wish in her character. Mr. Powell[2] in his Majesty looked the Villain, and acted his part most villanously well. Mr. Dawton in Polonius was much more correct and more respectable than our Dickinson;[3] he had more the air of a Court about him. Dickinson is too low and vulgar in his

[1] Mary Robinson. The name of her father's family had been changed from McDermott to Darby, and he, born in America, served as captain of a Bristol whaler. The daughter married Thomas Robinson, and acted at Drury Lane, becoming the mistress of the Prince of Wales, and later of Banastre Tarleton, the well-known cavalry officer in the American War of Independence. Born in 1758, she died in 1800.

[2] He had been prompter at Liverpool, and later at the Drury Lane Theatre. He married about 1789 and died about 1811.

[3] Seilhamer (III. 356) mentions a Mr. Dickenson, who made his first appearance on any stage as Saville at the Haymarket Theatre, Boston. His real name was Dickson, an Englishman, who came to the United States about 1795.

drollery for anything but Scrub or a pert footman. Polonius, tho a fool, must have been polish'd, and besides he was the "Next man to the King." Now no one would ever believe Dickinson the "Next man to the King but when he pull'd his boots off." I was very much displeas'd with Mr. Bartley[1] in Laertes, the more so because his faults were from carelessness; he has powers and is a "very proper man;" and whilst he is speaking is correct and interesting; but that finished he is no longer Laertes but Mr. Bartley, looking round and smiling at the audience, recognizing his acquaintances and appears totally abstracted from the play — a most unpardonable fault. The delusion is entirely destroy'd, and who is ever thank'd destroying a delusion when the best pleasures of this life are but illusions. Dear Deceit! when the visions are lost "how flat, stale and unprofitable seem all this to me." Mr. Holland[2] was Horatio. I believe this Holland was once upon the American boards; he is not young enough for Hamlet's friend, and you remember that Horatio was formerly a good natured fellow, a "man that was not Passion's slave;" but I was so near him that I heard him swear most terribly several times. The Ghost look[ed] most terrific in a front view of him. His armour concealed his figure, but he was a "fine portly man," and rather seem'd to have come from the fires of a cook's kitchen than from sulphurous flames. His voice was full and solemn. The scene where he appears in the closet was conducted so as to leave no time to recover from the interesting delusion; there was no pause, no vacuum for the passions to recover themselves. Mrs. Powell was all astonishment and horror, Roscius was all impassion'd, and the Ghost all impressive. I never beheld so interesting a group. You could not look at either without perceiving the connexion of the whole. They seem'd as tho' arranged by the skilful hand of a painter who had disposed of each figure so artfully as to give effect to the whole. I have seen this tragedy performed five times, but till now I never saw an Ophelia. Mrs. Mountain[3] in the interesting Ophelia was all sweetness and all softness. She has a handsome face and a good figure, to speak without enthusiasm; her voice is all melody, and in the maniac scene she was *toute interessante*. Instead of degenerating into that shrillness which is painful to the ear, she preserved with wildness of her song a full tone of melting sweetness perfectly characteristic. There are few of our actresses who preserve enough of nature and simplicity to

[1] George Bartley (1782?–1858). He and his wife, Sarah Bartley (1783–1850), visited America in 1818.

[2] Charles Holland (1768–1849?). His name is not mentioned in Seilhamer.

[3] Mrs. Rosoman Mountain (1768?–1841), daughter of one Wilkinson, a circus performer, and wife of John Mountain.

even conceive of the character of Ophelia. I had an opportunity of admiring Mrs. Mountain by her comparative superiority over Mrs. Jones,[1] who marr'd it so execrably last year. Mrs. Mountain had not forgotten her bashfulness, but *your* sweet Ophelia had lost every trace of hers. I was in admiration at Mrs. M's voice; she has power with it and a harmony superior to anything I ever have heard. Would you not have thought that, seated for the first time within the wall of "Majestic Drury," that my sensations must have been awful, when the mysterious curtain which veil'd from our expectant eyes scenes of anticipated delight and admiration, when at the signal bell it rose — you remember the solemnity of the first opening of Hamlet — the time mysterious midnight, and a conspiration of horors to impress an interest in the mind. The scene you know is admirably contrived for effect. Should you not have imagined me almost congealed with expectation, that my pulse almost forgot its motion at this moment? And so I was prepar'd for all this; but no sooner did the curtain rise than all sentiment dispers'd, the most unwarrantable merriment possess'd me, for who should salute my sight but our comical little *soi disant* Dykes, or Lathy[2] (I forget which), at whom we have so often laughed on our stage, all accoutred, cap-a-pie as Francesco. Eloise[3] will well remember the sport we have had with this manikin. He is still the same diverting little figure, has the same queer phiz, and I thought that he was one of those whom nature's journeymen had made and that most execrably. The musick of the orchestra was grand. The band was very full as it must be to fill this vast Theatre. This kind of musick is not very much thought of in Boston, because it requires too much taste and science to understand it, and for that reason it is not even attended to, nor thought part of the amusement. They do not even know that they are imposed upon by bad musicians and miserable musick. If this were attended to, it would become the favorite part of the performance. To hear one of the grand overtures of Hayden, Handel, etc., well play'd, with every part properly supported, is most exquisite harmony. Songs are in general most admir'd because they are translations of the sound; but when one can understand an original it is the most delightful refinement. There is as much *sense* in musick as in poetry. Musick

[1] Of the Boston Theatre, and the Sollee Charleston Company. She played Juliet and Lady Macbeth.

[2] Thomas Pike Lathy (1771), a novelist, who was in America in 1800, when his "Reparation, or the School for Libertines," a dramatic piece, was performed at the Boston Theatre. He was living in 1819, when he perpetrated a hoax upon Gosden, the publisher.

[3] Eloise Payne, sister of John Howard Payne.

requires more cultivation than the latter; it is conceived only by imagination and translated by sensibility. A composer when he writes a piece of musick has a deeper meaning than the mere arrangement of the notes; it is the language which expresses his soul, and it requires one well vers'd in it to understand it. Many feel it, and some understand it. How often have I been sensible to its effect without knowing why; have felt its indescribable emotions; but I now know just enough of it to pedantize, and that is one of the happiest degrees of knowledge, when one knows enough to be vain. Beyond that one is lost in a maze of unbounded knowledge which rather serves to teach us what we cannot know, than what we may or have attained. Did ever you yourself now think of attending to the orchestra? It appears to me to be a thing totally unthought of; and the audience seem to regard it as merely to mingle with the other noise and confusion of the theatre in order to increase it, and no one dreams of anything like sentiment after the play is finished. They're for a "Jig or a Song of Baudry, or they sleep." So much for Home!

I had almost said that I was as much pleas'd with the Afterpiece as with the Tragedy; but out of respect to Shakspeare, to sentiment, and my own understanding, I will not confess it. It was but one of the common run of farces — nothing good, either in design or execution; but the musick was fine and the players admirable. It is call'd the Soldier's return. The name gives you the whole of the plot. Mrs. Mountain reappeared in Belinda and was as interesting as ever. Mrs. Bland [1] in the character of Fanny display'd her skill in singing. She and Mrs. Mountain in a duett were admirable; they were applauded and encor'd and I had the pleasure of hearing again their *voix harmonieux*. This Mrs. Bland is the wife of Wilson [2] of the Federal St. Theatre. I could not bear to look at her, tho I admir'd to hear her. She is a short clumsy creature, and has such a wicked expression in her face, it was a kind of self-condemnation. She treads the stage with so much ease and assurance that she seems "perfectly at home," the impudent thing! Her *voix* has a most astonishing resemblance to that of Mrs. Jones of Fed'l St. Theatre. If it were not the difference of appearance, it would be impossible to distinguish the different voices. There is a certain fineness in it which distinguishes Mrs. Jones'. It is entirely different from the melody of Mrs.

[1] Maria Theresa (Romanzini) Bland (1769–1838), who married Bland, a brother of Mrs. Dorothea (Bland) Jordan (1762–1816) of the Drury Lane Theatre. Mrs. Bland is said to have treated her husband badly, and, leaving her, he came to America, where he died.

[2] An actor in minor parts, named Wilson, was at the Boston Haymarket in 1796–1797, but his identity with Bland was not known.

Mountain's; it was the same voice which Mrs. J. possest when she was first on our stage. It was then at its perfection, it has since lost all its power and become perfectly dissonant. Mr. De Camp was a perfect Racket. Johnstone[1] was Dermont O. Doddipole, was really him. This seems to have from Nature Letters patent of merriment and drollery. She (Nature) seems to have stamp'd upon his visage a defiance to all sentiment and sobriety. I used to think Bernard[2] immensely droll, but he is no more to Johnstone "than I to Hercules." Bernard has great powers to "make mouths and distort himself most admirably — this fellow is naturally irresistible." The expression of his countenance is what you would judge the Falstaff of Shakspeare to be; not *more* of refinement. He is an antidote to melancholy. 'Tis impossible to look at him unmov'd. He does not appear to exert himself to excite a laugh; he only looks and the whole house is in a roar; and if to laugh be a heresy against common sense, this fellow was sent on earth to make fools of us all. The last, best character, was Miss De Camp, the exquisite, the irresistible Miss De Camp.[3] Of all the beings I have ever seen upon the stage I have never seen her equal. Her every movement is grace and vivacity, her voice delightful, her attitude is elegance. She has the air of an Euphrosyne. Her countenance is rather expressive than handsome, 'tis animated and interesting. What will give you a more exact idea of her, she resembles extremely your Amie Amore Callahan. She has the same sylph-like form, her eye *plein d'esprit*. There is a peculiar turn of feature which characterizes both, the first idea that struck me at her entrée was this semblance. It might be that only seeing your friend *en passant*, or at a distant view, my picture of her might not be correct. My portrait of her being partly from imagination, I may have erroneously drawn it; but I could not have been mistaken as to the resemblance. I was delighted with it for your sake, delighted with it. I attempted to survey impartially her features to convince myself if I were right or not; but after I had the idea of this similarity I could look only with partial eyes, the more I look[ed] the more I traced it, and *enfin* I had them so mingled together I could not distinguish the least difference between the original and the representative. . . . This Miss De Camp is I find a general favorite and what is passing strange bears a most unblemish'd character. The voice of calumny has never tainted her

[1] John Henry Johnstone (1749–1828), known as "Irish Johnstone."

[2] John Bernard (1756–1828), who came to America in 1797, and from 1806 to 1810 was connected with the Federal Street Theatre, Boston.

[3] A Viennese by birth, and whose real name is alleged to have been De Fleury, she became the wife of Charles Kemble. Doran, *Annals of the English Stage*, III. 216.

spotless fame, is not this a virtue indeed? to have surviv'd the fiery ordeal of the Green Room? One may boast of purity that has never stood the test of temptation. The depravity which exists amongst this class of people seems to be its excuse and toleration; the interest they excite, the influence they possess o'er our feelings would be dangerous were it not for the disgust with which we behold them for their vices. That alone counteracts the irresistible spell in which they hold our passions. Can there be a more interesting companion than one of these players? Such as they should be, such as they represent themselves. Possessing all the delicacy of sensibility all refinement of feeling which we imagine so enviable; possessing in their manners the elegance of grace and ease which *seems* so amiable, so enchanting, could they but like Hamlet "know not *seem*," I would admire, reverence and approve. . . .

I[1] find that my idle habit of scribbling interferes so much with all regularity that I have determined to relinquish it, tho not entirely, yet I must so constrain it as to pursue my duties and studies etc. I must wean myself by degrees for I have not strength to quit it at once. I have been today upon what I used to call a *Traipse!* you may remember that was my fort or at least I had acquired a little celebrity at it — this was truly one unabridged. The morning was delightfully fine, ev'ry body alive, (we are still at the Adelphi) from whence we proceeded to the Terrace on the Thames and then thro the Parks and then down thro the City to Lombard Street. You have no idea of the distance unless from its being one of my walks. The contrast between Westminster and the City is astonishing, in the Parks you may sometimes walk uncrowded, but in the City — I almost made a determination never to pass Temple Bar again; but really 'tis the greatest amusement imaginable to pass thro Cornhill and Cheapside, the immense throng of the Mobility make it dangerous; the porters with their loads upon their heads threaten continual annihilation. It appears to me that the lower class in England [are] the most barbarous set of beings on earth, they scarcely ever see a lady in the streets (it is most customary for the genteel class to ride thro these places) and when they do they stare and gape at them as at a raree-show. I was never so heartily ashamed as in my promenade thro Fleet Street. I had dress'd myself *toute à la mode* for the Park, having on all my new finery and as I pass'd along I was mortified by being look'd at by all the idlers and refuse of society and when I enter'd Clementi's there was a half a dozen fools stop'd at the door to look at me. I do not value displaying myself to the inspection of taste and refinement, but to be the

[1] December 30, 1805.

amusement of such a sett I wish'd myself at home and them in the Thames. I have determined if ever I go in the City again to go in disguise. Now imagine me with my Trafalgar Robe and Yeoman's Cap, so new and so gay, splashing along such a crowd as here. I will tell you exactly what a walk thro' the Strand resembles, it is just like one of the Country dances at our Assemblies, there is as much confusion, crowding, shoving, etc., in the one as in the other, tho I certainly give the preference to Concert Hall,[1] because there you stand a chance of being clean and the danger is generally at your feet and here your head runs the continual hazard of fractures etc. from the impudent porters who carry on their heads what our cartmen carry in handcarts. It was an observation of my own that these Anglois had pretty thick skulls for it. I call'd at Clementi's to see his harps, they were extremely elegant. I intend as soon as we are settled to commence taking lessons, at present I am very eager for it, it is very fashionable here and considered one of the most elegant accomplishments. I did not in my excursion meet with any great adventures, but 'tis impossible to pass thro London streets without meeting many things to interest the curiosity. As I pass[ed] along I was much struck with the appearance of a tall and elegant woman. She was supported upon crutches, there was something extremely excentric in her appearance. I inquired who it was and found her to be quite a celebrated character here. She is the sister of Mrs. Siddons.[2] She leads this vagrant life from choice. Mrs. S. and Kemble[3] have offered her a handsome support but she has refused it, it is supposed she gets more from the charity of transient passengers than they would give her. She is known perfectly all over London. It is a kind of tribute I think to the fame of Mrs. Siddons that ensures her the liberality of the public. She is extremely elegant in her form, her features are fine, she is not very old and has no more claim upon the charity of the publick than any other idle beggar, her picture is in all the print shops and you will see it amongst all collections of waxworks; indeed one need not wish a better establishment in London than to be a celebrated beggar, they live in style excepting particular hours, *levee hours* which they appropriate to receiving their friends. I would never give to any such an one as her, it is mere ostentatious vanity and there are so many real objects to whom we owe a tribute that it is defrauding them to give to such as her. This woman is always dres'd as neat and *tasty*, she varies her dress according to the season, in summer a

[1] It stood on the southerly corner of Hanover and Court Streets.

[2] Mrs. Ann Curtis, whose disreputable career is sketched in Fitzgerald, *The Kembles*, II. 98.

[3] John Philip Kemble (1757–1823).

green jacket and in winter a long cloth cloak. 'Tis a droll idea that she should parade herself thro London for charity; however, she never asks anything, not she she is above that and will not take notice of anyone unless they particularly address her and then she will condescend to accept a guinea or so to keep her from starving. And I met another of the Popular Paupers, this fellow is the most expert and practis'd of any you ever imagined, he is one of the most celebrated characters of the age and when he dies he may, for aught I know, claim a place in Westminster Abbey, he will be the hero of all the wonderful magazines, excentric biographies for a century after him, he has lost both of his legs, his knees are fasten'd on to a little sled and he wheels himself about. He never asks for charity, he sometimes extends his hat, but if you look at him not all the stoicism of philosophy can resist him, there is an irresistible demand upon your sensibility in his look, his eye turns towards you so full of eloquence, with such an imploring air, that the passion that is not moved by him is not human and were your purse strings in a Gordian knot he would unwind them, and this same fellow — who every day takes his stand amidst the bustle of the City — a few months ago only he married one of his daughters with a portion of £7000, some say per annum, but I think it was enough to sound pretty well if it was *only* seven thousand pounds. I esteem myself quite fortunate in thus seeing two of the most celebrated characters of the day. I know no names for either of them, they are never mention'd but with their respective qualifications, so is there no name necessary. To give to the one is a tribute to Mrs. Siddons, and to the other is a tribute to Nature, who seems to have given this Pauper letters patent as her alms gatherer. But all the beggars about here are not so civil as these, some of the sturdy, healthy wretches will follow you a mile to extort a few pence from you and another to thank you for it. It is a great tax upon a person's feelings to pass thro the streets here, there are so many objects, miserable objects, and there are so many that it precludes the possibility of relieving them all, and to see them so miserable, a person of the least sensibility feels —[1]

January 10th, 1806. After the vast and splendid preparations the last obsequies have been render'd to the memory of Lord Nelson. The magnificence of this Triumphal Entrée surpass'd anything I had expected; two days have been entirely devoted to it. The first was to see the Aquatic Procession from Greenwich to Whitehall, this was entirely a novel scene to me. There was a solemnity in it if one

[1] A break in the MS.

had an inclination to keep in mind all the causes etc., but for me I was rather inclin'd to be amus'd with the gaiety of the barges, the elegance of their decorations, the bustle of the crowds of spectators. I was in an excellent situation at the Terrace and could see the whole of it from its passing the London Bridge to Westminster Bridge where it landed at Whitehall. The majestick movements of the procession were observ'd and lost a great deal of their effect from the innumerable boats which cover'd the Thames; the effect of the bands of musick which swell'd from the barges as they pass[ed] us was extremely grand, the humid air upon the water always softens the intonations of the musick, makes it a much sweeter harmony, the voices of the people assembled on the Rivage mingled with the air almost melodized it; the air of *allégresse* diffused around inspir'd a gaiety in ev'ry one, ev'ry one was animated — they might have been vastly sorry for the death of Lord Nelson but Ev'ry Englishman is fond of a show and like John Bull I must confess my passion for them. The prettiest thing that I saw was the Lord Mayor's barge all gold and ribbons. I do think the Lord Mayor the most enviable man in England, for his is the only one except the Livery Servants and the Beadles who have any pretensions to dress. I wonder what the Noblesse of a former Century would say if they were to return and behold all the gaudy trappings of gold and tinsel of which they were once so proud upon the shoulders of a saucy footman and to behold the Noble Blood which they have transmitted to posterity wrapt in the common drapery of their modest *laquais*. The modern livery is a coat of crimson, orange or any fancy colour, a bulwark of nine or ten capes fringed with deep gold or silver lace that reaches the coach box, thus engarrison'd is discover'd the diminutive coachman almost accablée'd with weight of his blushing honours, nor would he be discover'd but that his head is elevated above all this in order to support an immense cock'd hat that gives the idea of the cloud capt Towers. These also are fringed with a lace about a quarter of a yard deep. Behind the carriage are mounted three impudent footmen similarly caparison'd except their hats *en militaire:* as they would interfere with each other were they in the same sober angle as the *avant courier*, they have but two points, those extending in a parallel direction to accommodate each other, and thus is Hyde Park decorated ev'ry fair Sunday and when they are in motion it resembles very much a "Flying Camp" with every one a tent upon his shoulders, indeed the only sure way in London to awaken the languid voice of fame is to try who may be more ridiculous than their neighbours. This late fashion has succeeded wonderfully. All the candidates for notoriety have thus equip'd themselves Fashion will continue it until every fool has extravagantly

adopted it and then she will laugh at them with some greater extravagance which every one cannot attain. As to being in fashion in London it is out of the question, what is in one day is out the next, if you are at the very summit of Bond Street to-day to-morrow some one will rival you with a new invention, and what every one has seen no one admires, for unless it has the effect of surprise it is ridiculed as *outré* and antique. No one pretends to be fashionable more than one day at most, every fool must have his turn, indeed it would be cruel if it were not so, so many are there whose whole existence (at least fashionable existence) depends upon it. I think that you would call this in poetry an Episode, for I think I was saying something about the Funeral of Nelson; but I conceive my Episode as excusable, not being wholly unconnected with the funeral procession, for these same gay liveries formed one of the gayest and most diverting departments of it. But I should not speak thus lightly on this solemn occasion, for indeed it is one of the grandest and most noble scenes I ever witness'd. The car on which the coffin was borne was extremely magnificent, tbe first artists of the Kingdom were employ'd in its invention, but I will not attempt the description as you will undoubtedly behold it much more ably portray'd in the accounts which fill all the public prints and will reach America perhaps before this. I was very fortunately situated in Fleet Street, so near Temple Bar as to see the junction of the Mayor and the City procession with that from the admiralty and the while that we were awaiting its arrival I was amused at the manoeuvres of the mob who had assembled in the streets. We were oblig'd to be up before light and to get our stations, as by the rising of the sun the streets were impassable for the crowd. As no carriages were allow'd to pass after two o'clock in the night we were obliged to walk from the Adelphi thro the Strand to Fleet Street and I think I had a little sample of what the mob *was* to be. I know I was never so happy as when Temple Bar was in view, I was apprehensive of being crush'd to death. The streets were all cover'd with a kind of sand in order to give a solemnity and stillness to the procession and I think it had its effect. We lost the ceremony at St. Paul's by not being within, but we should have entirely lost seeing the procession without, which was by far the gayest and most important and besides St. Paul's has been open ever since for a "*show*" where we have been to see all the decoration etc. The coffin is yet uncover'd, it lies in the grave, but they will not yet cover it lest they should lose the immense sums which are daily paid them for the sight; indeed this funeral has almost made the fortune of many of the inhabitants of Strand, Fleet St., White Hall and Ludgate Hill, etc. They all let their houses or rooms at an enormous price. One of them offer'd

seats in his house for ten guineas and another having a little more conscience informed his countrymen that "he thought it extremely unjust that the price of seats should be so high as to prevent those who could not pay so much from seeing, but that he in pure benevolence and public spirit would accommodate some Gents and Ladies at the mere trifle of five guineas a seat." The Duchess of Devonshire is said to have given forty or fifty guineas for a house for this day. This same Duchess is the original of the Lady Delacour in Maria Edgeworth's favorite novel of *Belinda*, and I think my friend Eloise will not read this novel with less interest when she knows that Clarence Hervey was the late Duke of Bedford in whom she has been so much interested, the matchmaking Aunt, the Duchess of Gordon, who goes here by the name of the "Match-making Duchess," and Belinda is Lady Georgina, her daughter, the present Duchess of Bedford, allow'd to be the most beautiful woman in England. I forgot to ask who was the odious "Mrs. Luttrige." You have partly read the novel and should you finish it may read it with more interest knowing that the characters are from real life. . . .

There is no justice or reason in these *Anglois*. Last evening I intended to have been very much amused at the representation of a new comedy at Covent Garden, but it was preordained for me to be disappointed. A party of beaux were assembled there for the sport of what is called *damning the Play*. They scarcely permitted the two first acts to be quietly finished when they commenced their operations, those who were unprejudiced attempted to support it, but the rioters soon overpower'd them and they were obliged to resign their attempts to patronize a very promising play. There is something very repugnant to my feelings to see these poor players hissed off the stage and I think unless there is something very offensive that it is even cruel, their support is so very precarious, their pleasure as transient as animating, 'tis hard to rob them of it. The noise of the audience, the confusion of the actors, the clashing of hissing and applauding form a very amusing scene for many but for my part I would rather be content to permit a bad play to have its course and soberly go to sleep at its insipidity than to be kept so terribly awake by such an ungovern'd riot; in order to be able to have any correctness in one's opinion it is necessary to judge for oneself. Everything here is carried by party or by favour, to judge from common bruit is to be more in error than to be entirely ignorant. There was an amusing circumstance happen'd a little while ago which will serve to show you what dependence you may place upon the opinions in circulation. A new play was announced at I think Covent Garden and as there is the jealousy of rivalship sub-

sisting between that and Drury Lane, the opponents had prepar'd the severest critiques beforehand on the intended representation of the play. The newspaper in which it was to appear came out early in the morning therefore they were obliged to print the paper before the finishing of the play and they had, without being witness to its representation, prepar'd the severest strictures upon ev'ry character, the very actors were personally criticized, their attitudes ridiculed, their tones were corrected and their whole performance pronounc'd languid and absurd; but it, unfortunately for them, happen'd that one of the principal characters, one whom they had the most libel'd, was taken sick and the play obliged to be postponed, but it was too late known to the printers, they could not erase it from the papers, nor could they prevent their circulation, but were obliged to display before the diverted public their, what they had entitled, "Impartial Strictures."

We have left the Adelphi and reside now at No. 49 Bernard Street, Russell Square. This situation is very pleasant, the street passes directly from Brunswick Square to Russell Sq., our house is the last in the street and is almost in Russell Square, which forms a most delightful prospect from our windows. This is one of the largest and newest squares in London or rather Westminster, as the mere city is the smallest part of what is called London. All this part of London is lately built and has a very fine appearance, it is more modern than the older squares, the houses are not built so large as those in Grosvenor but are more compact, which ornaments the place, but I think separately considered they are not equal. It is astonishing that such an immense place as this is increases as much in proportion as Boston has lately, so you may judge by the new buildings, especially at West Boston, how London must spread; its environs for many miles around assume the appearance of a Town, the Villages are now almost joined by the chain of new houses which extend so far and so fast that upon a moderate calculation in six or seven years London will be completely covered for the space of twelve miles. . . .

I was last evening at a party at Mrs. Guests given for her children in honour of the twelfth night, the company mostly consisted of children, but some of them young ladies; one of them, a Miss Fox, played on the harp. She was a great proficient in musick, how sincerely did I breathe the wish that you were there. I have never in my life been so delighted as with her musick. She is one of the most interesting girls I have ever seen. She was beautiful, all sensibility and perfectly accomplished, what could have been wished more, her voice was extremely sweet and under the guidance of Verrara had attain'd a correctness and purity truly excellent. She

played with so much delicacy and expression, a retiring timidity rendered more interesting even the melody of her notes. How much I wished you had been there, you have a soul for harmony, how we could have enjoyed it. I feel it sufficiently proved that I am not wholly a selfish being since in all my pleasures there is a reserve — I cannot enjoy but half a pleasure which you do not partake. I feel very anxious to begin my lessons on the harp but have not yet been able to determine what master to have. There are several very eminent here but they have all a peculiar style which varies so very much that 'tis difficult to determine which to adopt. I feel as if I were wasting my time, these moments which I should employ in qualifying myself for your society and your affection — 'tis my aim, if I fail it will be owing to the *oisiveté* which I have of late insensibly yielded to, this indolence deadens the vivacity of *mon esprit*. I want something to inspire me, to animate me, there is every advantage I can wish for here but I doubt if they will ever be of advantage to me. I shall be always too much unsettled here to pursue anything rationally and my stay will not be long enough for an education — two years and tho long to — . . .

I had the pleasure of meeting the celebrated Mrs. Opie[1] at a splendid ball at Mrs. Barnard's in Finsbury Square. I was delighted with being in company with a woman in whom I have so often been interested. You have undoubtedly admired in the course of your readings the little novel of the *Father and Daughter*.[2] I remember well the unexpected delight I received at my first perusal of it — it is near four years since — one gloomy winter's night, I was at home solitary, the family were out and my Eloise came to spend the night with me, and for want of better amusement we sent to the Library for a book and our good stars directed this; we had never heard its merits mention'd and therefore approved it from better motives than common bruit, the sensibility, the pathos in which it was written delighted and affected us, the delicacy of sentiment, the purity of the style unusually interested us. I think I never perused a novel with more genuine satisfaction and emotion in my life, the vigils of that night were insensible and unnoticed. I shall never forget the first pleasure I received from this simple tale; we have since often mentioned it with delight and I never hear the name of Mrs. Opie or her writings mentioned without a glow of that pleasure I had once felt from her. I dare say Eloise remembers the enthusiasm with which we thought and spoke of her. I have since met with several celebrated little poems and poetical effusions of

[1] Amelia (Alderson) Opie (1769–1853), wife of John Opie, painter.
[2] Published in 1801.

hers and had drawn from them a conclusion not very unfavourable to the mind or the heart of the fair authoress. Do you Anna get by heart those stanzas of "Forget me not" by Mrs. Opie, if you do not already know them. Her style is very much what you admire, all sweetness, sensibility and harmony. Think with what delight I must have met this interesting woman. When she was at first introduced to me I did not distinctly hear her name, but afterwards enquir'd "who was that elegant woman, she who was so distinguished by her beauty, taste, etc." It was Mrs. Opie. What Mrs. Opie? then followed the explanation of her talents, fame, etc. She is as beautiful as wise, as wise as interesting, and as — but I dare say you have formed a just opinion already of her; but you have never seen her picture and I will give it to you. She has a soft but animated eye, full of sweetness and expression, like her own poetry, her complexion as soft as her eyes, "'twas beauty truly blent," her lips, like those — but I will not flatter her, and *sa belle chevelure*, how much I was indebted to that *belle chevelure*, it loosened in the dance and fell luxuriantly about upon her shoulders, the light brown hair as it slightly shaded the snowy whiteness of her neck gave her so wild an air, as tho in the very extasy of inspiration. I was next her and offered my fair hands to repair the accident and received in return the sweetest smile that ever played around her lips and throughout the evening I essayed all my coquetry to attract her attention, nor did I fail, tho I had no opportunity to converse in a ball room, and with a stranger but a soft beam from her eye, a smile, was enough. I should have sat beside her at supper but for an odious partner of mine, he would not permit two ladies to sit together. She retired directly after supper and I knew not till then that I was tired to death, that the rooms were intolerably hot, etc. I attempted to dance afterwards but was obliged to leave my partner, break my engagements, go home and go to sleep. I caught a most violent cold. I suppose from being overheated. . . .[1] Stanzas "Forget-me-not," and I believe had it not been for [ ] I should have been much more reasonable in my admiration. The idea of rivalry mutually incited us and it appeared to be the endeavour of each which should be the most extravagant. I cannot give you anything very descriptive of this ball as I did not trouble myself with the rest of the company except Mrs. Opie, tho there were a great many elegantes, dashing beaux etc. and the musick of the harp (which is now the fashionable instrument to dance by) it seemed to inspire every one and as I only dance by inspiration I could not want for animation. The atmosphere of a ball room seems always

[1] The MS. is incomplete.

congenial to my feelings and not mine only, for I have known many a cold heart thaw'd by dancing that ne'er before had known a genial warmth — am I not indebted to the dance for melting you to *mon amour?*

We have had a very pleasant party today. Mrs. Guest dined with us and brought with her Mrs. Knowles,[1] of whom you have undoubtedly heard as ranked amongst the literary characters of the age, as well as the most accomplished. She is now near seventy years of age and still retains all the vivacity and intelligence of youth. I was extremely delighted with her, her conversation is peculiarly entertaining and there is an energy of expression, or as I may say an aptness characteristic. I was not aware of the nature of our guest, not having any previous acquaintance with her until my friend Mrs. Guest introduced her. I was attracted unwitting to observe the superiority of her conversation. She gave me an account of a visit to Scotland formerly. She knew the literary characters of time which we think quite passed by. She observed the ladies of the former day very different from the present effeminate race, they were what she termed "executive" and I admired the originality and the aptness of the expression which conveys forcibly the peculiar meaning, and I know of no other which conveys so correct a meaning. Mrs. Knowles is a Quaker, tho a very different one from those I have generally seen. She has all the liberality of a *Christian* and all the simplicity of a *Quaker*. I understand she is an excellent painter, and possesses a great deal of taste withal. She has been very much celebrated for the perfection which she has attained in embroidery, so much so that the King requested her to work his picture, which she did and it is now one of the curiosities of the Palace. She has been formerly a great deal at Court where she was a great favorite of the Royal Family and her talents and accomplishments procured her distinction. She is now too old to support the fatigues of etiquette of the Drawing Room and I believe has not been this several years. I expect to derive a great deal of pleasure in viewing her collection of paintings, etc. How interesting is it to behold age without its deformities, it almost reconciles to the loss of the lively blush of Youth, the fair complexion and the form of symetry, to behold Age, not as the ruins of Beauty, but the Maturity of Wisdom, to see it not as a wither'd blossom but the rich fruit the buds of Spring had promised; when the restlessness of youth is only changed for the peevishness of Age, how disgusting — but who can behold without admiration or without interest the mild declining of a life of virtue, to see the fire of Youth yield to a soft and peaceful

[1] Mary (Morris) Knowles (1733–1807), wife of Dr. Thomas Knowles.

serenity, the eye has not forgot to sparkle, but beams content and cheerfulness, the features retain more of expression than animation, they have attained a character which suffices, for there is nothing terrible in age were age always thus, but reverse the picture and what is life after thirty! The rest of our party was composed of Mr. and Mrs. McIlwham from Scotland. They are newly married and have come according to fashion to pass the honey moon in London. He is (or was) an old bachelor of about fifty and she about twenty. He had an immense fortune and she had beauty, so as it was a fair bargain she gave him a note of hand, signed the bond and I dare say is pleased with her speculation. The lover settles four thousands pounds a year and a carriage upon his mistress and brings her to London, which was certainly a very seducing advantage for one who has but beauty to deal withal and beauty is not a scarce article in this country. From the circumstances of Mrs. McIlwham's marriage I did not expect to see anything more than beauty and that not of *my kind*, but I was surprised to find her agreeable, polite and well educated, she is a true Scotch lass, speaks in the Highland style, there is something peculiarly interesting in it. She told me a great deal about the curiosities and antiquities of Scotland and tells me that the poems of your favorite Ossian are only a forgery which the vanity of the author did not deny at his death — this, tho it does not advance anything against the merits of the work but rather in favor may prejudice you. But I should be angry to see your taste so fickle as to desert your favorite because he had agreeably deceived you, for my —

I was last evening at the new opera of Argenide e Serse[1] in which Mrs. Billington[2] and Braham[3] were the principal characters, to say I was delighted would but faintly express my admiration. Delight is a sensation I have so often yielded to at more trivial pleasures it would but convey a dull sense of my enjoyment. We have so few operas in our language that you may not perhaps understand the style of these divertisements. The Rosamond of Addison[4] tho a burlesque is most in the style of the Italian. The sentiments are exprest in poetry and the voice accompanies the recitation and is allowed to play at pleasure on all the sentiments and expressions throughout the piece. The fable of the opera was taken from history. Serse, Mr. Braham, is betrothed to Argenide, the Princess of the Parthians. His son Sebastes (Signor Righi) is his rival.

[1] Music by Portogallo and first produced in 1806, at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket.

[2] Elizabeth Billington (1768–1818). [3] John Braham (1774?–1856).

[4] "Fair Rosamond," an opera in three acts, published anonymously in 1707.

Serse, or Xerxes, in a battle is conquered, his fleet destroyed, and himself said to be lost in the waves of the Euxine; the report reaching home, Sebastes is elected King, and claims Argenide (Mrs Billington) for his Queen. Xerxes is informed of these movements by Barsene whom Sebastes was to have married, and she in jealousy and revenge aggravates the guilt of Sebastes to his father. It seems that one of her minions by her directions circulated the report of the death of Xerxes in order to ensnare them in her plots and excite the revenge of the father, who, when they are at the Temple in order to celebrate at once the nuptials and coronation, he enters, thro a *fentiero* and surprises them. *Les jeunes amants* however deceive him. Argenide renews her *serments de fidélité* to Xerxes, whilst at the same time she makes an appointment to meet Sebastes in an obscure cavern in the Reali Giardini. This appointment is overheard by Barsene, who informs the King of it. Xerxes seeks them in the Giardini, surprises them and dooms his son to death, which is seemingly obeyed, but by the influence of Meraspes (Rovedino), the grand papa, he is saved and concealed. After the first gust of passion has past Xerxes relents, and when the tromba announces the death of his son, all the father rushes on his soul. His despair, his agony plead so well the pardon of his son that when he is again introduced alive the enraptured father sacrifices his mistress and unites her to the resuscitated son. There are many fine scenes drawn from this story, tho it cannot boast much of the elegance of design the colouring was very fine, the shading of passion was well arranged. The first idea that strikes is that this is unnatural to hear one under the influence of violent passion, warbling in sweet quavers the frenzied agonies of jealousy, revenge, etc.; or when the tongue would give utterance to the sweet passion love, that he should time it to the soft measure of Lydian numbers; but as melodie is the refinement of the voice, and this voice is the gift of nature, and were we to rest content as when we first discovered it, we should not even attain speech or language. As language is the second grade of refinement, so musick exceeds that. They are both latent powers which we possess from nature which need only to be developed to display its perfection. Nature is more perfect than we believe her, and simplicity is only an imperfection of our constitution or a want of energy. I am inclined to believe that Nature would never own all the imperfections placed to her account, and what we art call she would claim as a *denouvellement* of her powers. You see I have thrown the gauntlet of disputation; how sad it is to have no one who will even contradict me, me, who am so impassionné with disputation. Like many other passions this, mine for contest grows faint and languid for want of opposition. So as I can have no opponent I must draw

my own conclusions. Thus Nature gives us a voice to use in whatever perfection we can attain, and as melody is that perfection, so should all our future converse be softened into harmony. We should introduce in all the intercourse which we have with one another the soft movements of piano, the vivacious allegro should regulate the tones the very meanings of our conversation. It would be simple enough to teach the child who first begins the soft and imperfect accents to tone the word as well in Fa as in Si. Methinks it is even one of the vestiges of barbarism of savageness to retain the unmelodized tones in which we now converse. How sweet it would be to have everyone, instead of using the unmellow and unmusical, to set all our sentiments to an opera tune, what a world of harmony would this be. Let us, I say, have it reduced to a system to the entire exclusion of the present barbarous custom: "let the sound be an echo to the sense;" let the loud laugh be exchanged for an Italian trill, and the soft sigh be breathed in a fine intonation, and all the common intercourse of life be in the recitative. How I should love to hear your soft voice warbling the sweet sounds "Io amovi, Idolo mio," etc. Would you not think this system a very rational one? At least, it would so harmonize the universe; and had you heard a Billington sing, you would wonder that ever the world had remained so long without adopting it. To give you an idea of her voice would be impossible, and yet I would you could conceive of it. With all its compass it possesses a sweetness a compass that passes imagination, and when it does "glance from earth to heaven," it seems to fill the space; no chasm for even Fancy to fill up. And when it reaches Heaven, it sports as light as a summer zephyr. If you can connect the idea of sound and light mingling the two senses, I would tell you that her voice sparkled. Have you not seen the majestick rocket that swims along the bosom of the night and mounts to Heaven, and spreads a brilliant bow across the skies, then bursts and scatters from it a thousand sparks, that play and glitter amongst the stars and seemed to almost eclipse their lustre? So did her voice, as it sailed along the air, the very winds enamoured seemed dissolved lest they should intercept its pass. It breathed so sweet of Heaven, that not a sense but arrested its motion to attend, scarce did a rebel respiration intrude to divert the attention. Braham, the next in melody, possessed a voice of compass and of sweetness; it was the only one that seemed formed to mingle with that of Mrs. Billington. One duetto between them received a third encore, twice it was repeated, and oh such musick. I remember three soft notes which I have heard in Darley's[1] voice

[1] John Darley, Sr. or Jr. Seilhamer, III. 137.

that bore a resemblance to Braham's, but only those three that even bore comparison. Righi was sometimes very fine. He possesses power and sweetness in his tones; and as an accompaniment to Mrs. Billington was admired, but for a comparison he is nothing. Rovedino has an astonishing, full and deep voice, but it has something so sepulchral in it that it almost frightened me. Signora Columbati took one of the principal characters, but they never allow any but the second rate to appear with Mrs. Billington (except Braham). She was the greatest bore upon a delicate ear in the world; they began to hiss her, but the poor creature was so much pitied, or the audience were in such good humour at the successful exertions of Mrs. Billington that they pardoned her and dismissed her with a clap, tho' every one wished it had been upon her ear. I was in an agony for the poor creature. I can never bear to behold them hissed from the stage, their dependence is so precarious, their transient pleasures so on the caprices of the audience and their resources so terrible, for they can hardly sink lower, that from my heart I pity them. Mr. Shaw,[1] who was with us, suggested the idea that we had best make a subscription for her and set her up as a milliner, and so rid the stage of her. I was diverted with the idea and wish they would institute a Magdalen for all the shocking actresses who infest our stage. Mrs. Billington is a fine stately woman. She is what we call *embonpoint*, but she has such a commanding air that it seems to give *weight* to her character. Her face is very handsome, a fine blue eye, sweet mouth, etc., etc. Half that makes these actresses appear so beautiful is their dress. Mrs. B——'s was blue and silver, which displayed so much taste that I could easily when she sung have imagined her a seraph. Between the acts of the opera was an interlude of dancing, in which they introduced a young creature who first made claims to the public smiles. She was a fine dancer but appeared not enough practiced or that she used too much exertion. I do not know her name. The ballet was the favorite new piece of "La Surprise de Diane ou Le Triomphe de l'Amour." This inimitable little piece is from a fable in mythology. Diana and her nymphs are discovered (when the scene first opens) arranged in groups amongst the trees weaving garlands of flowers. This scene is exquisitely imagined, the distant figures all in motion seen thro the opening vistas, the light and sylphlike forms represent the fabled driads of old. Diana is the celebrated I—— and her favorite nymph Mad'lle Parrisot. Whilst they are thus employed one of the nymphs enters hastily and informs them of a stag just

[1] Robert Gould Shaw (1776–1853), who was in England from 1805 to 1807. In 1809 he married Elizabeth Willard Parkman (1785–1853), daughter of Samuel Parkman of Boston.

started and they prepare for the chase. They seize their spears and pursue the game, and are led thro several scenes to give effect, and the stags are introduced very naturally flying before them. After a long chase they are joined by a party of shepherds in pursuit of the same stag, and they mingle in the troop of nymphs; and as the creature passes they throw their spears. Diana's reaches him and he expires. The shepherds bring [him] to Diana and make an offering to her, who receives it very courteously, but separates her nymphs from them and retires. The soft persuasion and blandishments of one of the shepherds after some hesitation and timidity prevails on one of the nymphs (Parrisot) to remain with him, who after a little wooing seats herself with him upon a little turf and listens to his tale. Diana missing her favorite seeks her and surprises her with her *amant*. The nymph abashed and confounded implores her forgiveness. Diana is inexorable, not all her tears or prayers can soften her. She throws her from her with disdain and horror, and dismisses her from her train. (You must remember this is all pantomime accompanied with dancing and the expressions all attitude.) The piece is varied with several meetings of the shepherds and nymphs who attempt to join the train, but Diana repulses them with anger. The nymph thus driven from her wanders a long time disconsolate, then throws herself in despair upon the *gazon*. Cupid enters, little Md'lle Bristow was Love, this little creature does not appear more than seven years and is yet one of the most exquisite dancers I ever saw. She is all grace, as light as air, as beautiful as an angel. She seems to have such a perfect command of limbs; her attitude is so expressive, I was delighted with her. She is one of the most favorite dancers on the opera. As I was saying, Cupid enters, raises her and consoles her and declares revenge to Diana who has then treated him with so much *méprision*. The scene is the most beautiful moonlight in order to give effect to the piece. Endymion (M. Deshayes) enters with the shepherds, and after a thousand little expressive trifles he forsakes the band and seats himself upon the *gazon*, breathes a few soft notes upon the pipe, then sleeps. Whilst he sleeps Diana appears upon a car of clouds; she descends and wanders around, sees Endymion, stops with curiosity to gaze at him. In this *moment de danger* Love upon tiptoe watches the time and wounds them both. Endymion starts from his slumbers unconscious what his pain. He beholds the Goddess and knows 'tis love; all the soul of attitude and eyes implore her compassion. She repulses him with horror but cannot fly, she regards him, *tout aimable qu'il est;* she would be angry but in spite of herself relents. Love, as he would facilitate the conquest, leads her to him and when she retreats leads her half reluctant, half relenting back,

and after struggling unavailingly she places the expressive finger on her lips. Endymion swears inviolable silence, the winds are hushed lest they might betray, the conscious moon half veils herself in a cloud and as Diana reclines upon Endymion's shoulder, Love seeks the nymph who had been contemned and makes her witness of the scene, then with his touch [the] scene fades away and the laughing gods witness the scene from High Olympus. This last scene has a most admirable effect, the Court of Jove, with all his train of gods and goddesses appear, the nymphs and shepherds mingle in the frolic dance and Diana, no longer concealing her passion, places Endymion beside her on her car and they ascend to Heaven. The exquisite dancing, the attitude of Deshayes were *trop dangereux*. The grace, the attitude of Parrisot were enough to turn a heavier head than mine. I know not which to admire most Mad'me Deshayes or Parrisot. Mad'me Deshayes was the most consistent in her motion, she was extremely beautiful, her face was infinitely superior to Parrisot, but Parrisot's attitude and form surpassed all. Her face did not belong to so fair a form, and had it been as beautiful I should have imagined I had beheld my Anna Lothrop; her attitude strangely reminded me, her sylph-like form that turned slightly back with such inimitable grace, I might have been well deceived; the same dress almost that I remember at the Cambridge Ball, the simple drapery of green and white was the same. I could not see this resemblance without emotion. I could very willingly have cried myself to sleep or could have sprung upon the stage and embraced her as my friend, or any other silly movement that impulse often prompts me to. It is most astonishing to me how they can attain such a command of their limbs, their feet bear them along so lightly as they seem scarce to touch the ground, the motion is so rapid that it almost makes one dizzy to behold them. And yet they maintain such grace, such ease, it is not perceived they make the least exertion. Mad'me Deshayes is also *embonpoint*, but she springs with the air of a zephyr. She is extremely well-formed for so large a woman. I have been amusing myself with the idea of what you sober, decent beings in Boston, should either Deshayes or inimitable Parrisot appear upon the stage, the extravagance of attitude, the passionate gestures which they use, those *trop* expressive gestures, tho I cannot approve of the style entirely, I cannot but laugh at [the] consternation in which you would all be put. Poor Labottière attempted this style and put all the ladies to the blush at the opera. I hardly dared to confess to myself the apprehension I suffered in many of their most affecting scenes. Mons. Deshayes is the most perfect master of attitude and expressive movement. I could have almost preferred the silent and expressive eloquence of the pan-

tomime to that of the drama. It seems to set in motion all the machinery of fancy, and who is not fond of discovery and is not more pleased that they have found out something too deep for others? It is a kind of compliment paid to the imagination not to descend to explanation but leave it to their *dénouement*. The Opera House is much more splendidly ornamented than Drury Lane Theatre, but I do not admire it so much nor think it so elegant tho more gay. There is a great deal of gilding about it and a great deal of painting, but I thought not with so much taste. The boxes are entirely parted from each other by thick partitions. They are all of them private property and no one has a right to enter them more than a private house, they all generally take upon a lease, some of ten years, fifteen, and some for life, so that strangers, unless they have acquaintance with some of the possessors, are obliged to sit in the pit, which is by far the best place unless the front boxes, because in the side rows only three in front can see the stage, the partition being in the way of the others. In their boxes they feel as much at home as in their houses. The most fashionable generally talk and laugh so loud that they disturb the whole audience which is a source of infinite sport and delight to them. It is a fine sight to see the beauty and elegance of the English women at the Opera, they can nowhere be seen to so much advantage, every one appears there in full dress and displays as much taste and expense as possible. I have always observed that where there is a large assemblage of ladies they appear to a disadvantage, too much beauty cloys; but here there seemed to be an uniformity of beauty, a characteristic trait of elegance throughout the house, almost every one was beautiful and almost every one had a peculiar attraction. The English, take them as a nation, are extremely handsome, the men are generally elegant and the women beautiful. We were very much disturbed in the midst of the opera by the entrance of the Prince of Wales and Mr. Sheridan, they always attract particular notice. The Prince is known by his beauty and Mr. Sheridan by his great red nose! à la Tom Paine. I had a fine opportunity of seeing the Prince as he bent forward for a long time to converse with a gentleman in the pit. He is very elegant but is growing very *embonpoint* and I think that all the great characters of the age are rather inclined thus. Genius is no longer starved but fattens upon the smiles of fools, and is fostered from starvation into comfort. So will this century of 1800 be one of the most flourishing most brilliant the world has known — at least it should be so, and thus I might have run on this year had I continued to say all the silly things that come into my head. I perceive how this idle habit grows upon me (of writing to you) for when I begin I go on in a mechanical movement, something like one of the

Orphean Band who used to play for us at the Assembly last winter. I have seen the fellow asleep over his drum, but his hand would still continue the languid movement of time with the rest, it had become so natural with him that even when asleep his hand continued the same movement. I think there is at least a resemblance.

I have had the pleasure of passing an evening with Mrs. Knowles at her house and have been truly delighted. Her house is highly decorated with her own labours, her paintings and her work. I had never conceived it possible to arrive at such perfection in embroidery as she has attained. She showed to us one piece in particular, it was her own picture working the King (as I suppose she thinks that the most honorary event in her life she has chosen to commemorate it). The likeness is extremely striking, tho taken several years since, yet her features bold and expressive are the same as ever. It resembles the most delicate piece of painting, the colours, the shades are so admirably blended that unless you were told it or examined it, it would be impossible to know it from paint and what is more astonishing it is done with worsted or crewel instead of silk. There are no traces of the needle, the shades are mingled with as much softness and harmony as possible, the eye is full of expression, the tints of the complexion inconceivably delicate. It was necessary to be a painter before she could understand the arrangement of her colours. I believe this and the King are the only figures she ever attempted. Her paintings are confined to landscapes and to fruit, in which she is indeed excellent. West has said that her grapes are the best painted in England and she has painted a great many fruit pieces which embellish her rooms — hers is the only fruit I have seen worth admiring since I have been in England. Her pineapples seem to shed a most delicious juice and her grapes are perfectly transparent. Her landscapes are remarkable for the delicacy of the painting and the simplicity and nature of their design. She has a most elegant cabinet of her own painting, at least the tablets are her own painting, the frame is prepared of a kind of lackar'd mingled with gold, the tablets were left plain for her own painting. It is a fashion here for ladies who excel at the brush to have them prepared before hand and ornament them with their own skill. The tablets were landscapes and extremely well painted. Mrs. K. has worked many fine pieces of game and birds. There was one piece of two birds reckoned extremely fine; there are several of the real feathers of the bird which are not distinguished from her imitations. These would be nothing were it not for the perfection to which she has brought this work.[1] She seems indeed

[1] See Boswell, *Johnson* (Hill), III. 299.

to excel in almost everything, her genius is universal, she is as learned as accomplished, things which are seldom found united. I have been very much pleased with her, the more I see her the more I admire her. Her manners are more polished than we usually find in a Literary, all that was literary in her appearance was a cap *en littéraire*, but you know one must have something to be distinguished, some badge of character.

The Foundling Hospital is the most fashionable resort for a Sunday evening, every one assembles to listen to the most delightful musick in the world. It is not in the style of church musick excepting that it is affecting and impressive, the style is more of the opera, indeed it is generally called the Sunday opera. It is a point of taste to attend on Sunday evening and to be delighted with the musick. It is surely a harmless pastime for those who would most undoubtedly spend it worse. They take great pains to render their choir complete and they indeed possess one most superior. We live very near it and have an [opportunity] of going there very often. I shall not attempt to describe this admirable institution which everyone is acquainted with, and indeed everything in London is so well known with you here that it would be ridiculous to attempt to describe half what I see, and I do not suppose you will ever take the pains to read half what I write so it does not avail if I write nonsense or not. These pages are like a sett of Blackguards, not one of them would have the impudence to appear alone, but they crowd together and conceal each other's faults or support each other by appearing reciprocally bad, not one but would blush to be examined apart, but as they all hustle together the judge, weary of an unavailing scrutiny, send[s] them all off together as incorrigible — a very fine simile, it is not? Confess it an apt one. . . .

I have to tell you that I have seen Mrs. Siddons. This is a kind of catastrophe in one's life that deserves commemoration. I have seen her, but to describe, 'tis impossible. I who have exhausted my fires upon common objects, how shall I animate enough my description of this constellation, this — but every one calls names so I 'll be civil — the noble, the impressive dignity of her gesture, her air, her voice are — Mrs. Siddons. Mrs. Siddons alone compares with Mrs. Siddons, anything else would but diminish her merit. The character of Mrs. Beverly is extremely suited to her, pathos and sensibility are always her *fort*, she seems to enter in the very spirit of the passion, she feels what she expresses. The dignified Kemble was also upon the stage. But I cannot so fully as I wish, nor so fully as I am wont, or so fully as the subject deserves, speak of them, not for want of this prattling humour, but for want of time, as I shall thus state to you. I have six letters to write by the *Jno.*

Adams, six by the *Packet*, six by the *Sally*, six by the *Reunion*, seven by the *New Packet*, and the same number by the new and old *Galen* and a dozen more ships. I have been counting my fingers to reckon how many my number will be and I find my mathematics hardly extends so far. I shall, however, when I have finished these letters, give you a more particular account of the theatres and amusements here, for tho they may not be very interesting I conjecture they may be as much so as anything I can write. There has been only one masquerade since I have been here. I did not go because I knew of no one who would attend it and being strangers and not knowing the etiquette we have postponed it till the next which will be in about a week. Mr. Shaw (your friend) has been and is to be our chaperone the next time. The masquerades at the Pantheon are not generally so decorous as those at the Opera House and we therefore chuse to wait until there shall be another one there. I then should be — anything in the descriptive way I shall certainly be fool enough to write you of it. I shall depend upon your writing me an account of the dissipations of the winter, your balls, your routs, etc., etc.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. GREEN and WENDELL.

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